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PREFACE

The present volume contains the proceedings of Bhubaneswar Session of Indian History Congress held on December 26th, 27th and 28th, 1977.

I am deeply grateful to the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, for their generous grant towards the publication of these proceedings.

I am thankful to the Sectional Presidents who have selected the papers for publication. Dr. Sudhir Chandra, Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh Muslim University, has very kindly copy edited the papers. Mr. B. L. Bhadani, Centre of Advanced Study, Aligarh Muslim University, has shouldered the tedious responsibility of proof reading. I am equally thankful to Dr. D. N. Jha, Joint Secretary, Mr. I. H. Siddiqui, Treasurer, Indian History Congress, for their keen interest in getting the proceedings published. The Printwell Printers have placed me much in their debt for their readiness to undertake the work at short notice.

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Aligarh - 202001
7 December, 1978

CONTENTS

SECTION II : MEDIEVAL INDIA

SECTION III : MODERN INDIA

(i) Political and Administration History :

(ii) Social and Economic History

SECTION IV : COUNTRIES OTHER THAN INDIA

SECTION V : HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, NUMISMATICS AND EPIGRAPHY

APPENDICES

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Shri Nilamoni Routroy

MR. PRESIDENT, VICE-CHANCELLOR, REVERED GUEST OF HONOUR AND DELEGATES :

I feel greatly honoured for being called upon to inaugurate the 38th Annual Congress of eminent historians of India now assembled here. I thank you for choosing this historic place—Bhubaneswar—as the venue for your deliberations and discourses on new historical discoveries, new interpretations of hitherto accepted views or theories and objective analysis of controversial episodes requiring clarity. The Congress had a session in Orissa for the first time about three decades ago. It is, therefore, a rare and unique opportunity for all of us who have been given the privilege to participate in and to listen the discussions that would follow, for, I believe like Francis Bacon that "Histories make men, wise; poets. witty; mathematics, subtle; natural philosophy, deep; morals, grave; logic and rhetoric, able to contend".

2. Mankind knows its own past from history. A society upholds its basic systems and values as derived from a consciousness of history. To men in public life, history provides innumerable and apt lessons and inspirations to mould their policies and actions. The impact of history is, thus, all pervading. Only sceptics wail that peoples and Governments never have learnt anything from history or acted on principles deduced from it. In the light of this reality, historians of every generation have a duty to remind their contemporary society of the fundamentals which history represents.

3. What are these fundamentals which the society expects to learn from the historians? Should we go by what Voltaire says "History is nothing but a register of crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind" ? Or should we go by Froude that "History does teach that right and wrong are real distinctions" ? Let it be the duty of the historians to find their own rationale in the context of the magnitude of the responsibilities which face them as instructors of the society in general.

4. Historians as instructors have two imperative roles to play in the life of every nation. Firstly, history is a subject of study for the young aimed at developing in their impressionable minds an image of their own country, their ancestors, their culture, their traditions and the values that they must uphold and live for. It is for you to think how best this image can be imprinted in the consciousness of the youth. Secondly, history in its broader sense, is a complete picture of the land and the people across times and generations. Historians have a duty to continue to add to this vast picture of knowledge for the sake of knowledge, not only for the benefit of those within the confines of a country but also for the elite outside the national boundaries interested in knowing the history of any particular country. In both these spheres, the roles of the historians ought to be responsible as well as purposeful.

5. In my humble opinion, when the country is privileged to possess an organisation such as the Indian History Congress, the Government and the people will immensely benefit if guidelines emanate from this body regarding the scope and contents of history to be taught from the elementary to the post-graduate levels of study. It will not be beyond the collective wisdom of this learned body to devise a frame of historical studies which will inculcate in the youth a spirit of national pride and unity. Similarly, in the wider contexts of the national and world history, historians are required to search for new directions and new dimensions. However, much the individuals may be capable of ascertaining such directions, collective deliberations on such subjects are necessary for definite ideas in the light of ever-widening horizon of knowledge. I would request the learned members of this Congress to put in their collective efforts in these directions too.

6. When we look at our national history from a layman's point of view, we come to know how vast areas and various aspects of our ancient and medieval history remain yet imperfectly known. This deficiency is understandable. But there is no reason why our modern history should also remain far from being comprehensive. In my opinion, the historians of today have yet to come to the grassroots for that comprehensive history. I give only one example of a very local character. India's freedom movement has been described by historians outside as an upper class or middle class movement, merely confined to urban centres and to the conscious educated. And going through the history of such move-

ments written by our historians, one would form more or less the same kind of opinion. But a closer study will reveal a different story. Take for example, the struggle and suffering of the poorest and the most illiterate and miserable inhabitants of the feudatory States of Orissa who, without urban influence, without great leadership and without political organisations, defied their despotic rulers and their mighty imperial protector and suffered untold hardship not merely for political freedom but also for assertion of human dignity and rights. Such spontaneous struggles of the really down-trodden people for liberation remain undiscovered, unknown and unnarrated. Let me give yet another example of a village in the area I come from—village Eram—where the largest single massacre of the Quit India Revolution took place in 1942. In this village far away from any city and town, men and women from the humblest sections of the society came out on their death-defying mission to violate the order of the British Raj and to court death in all determination to disobey and die and they fell. I have not yet come across any reference, in the authoritative volumes on Indian Freedom Struggle, to this incident—I repeat, the biggest political massacre of 1942.

7. I humbly suggest that the history of today will be a history of the people. It is for the historians to apply themselves to this great task and adventure of making history all comprehensive.

With these few words, I inaugurate the 1977 Session of the Indian History Congress.

JAI HIND

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Satish Chandra

FRIENDS,

It is difficult for me to find words for my deep sense of gratitude to you for the honour you have done me in asking me to preside over this session. This position has been occupied by a galaxy of distinguished scholars and I am conscious of my shortcomings in filling the chair adorned by them. I have the honour of being associated with the Indian History Congress for over thirty years. During the period this association has become the most representative organisation of professional historians all over the country. The deliberations in the sessions of the Congress have, over the years, shown a gradual deepening and broadening of the discipline of history in our country. That is why historians from all parts and from all institutions have thronged to this annual conference with eager expectations, and have found it a fit avenue for discussing different shades of opinions and new approaches to history. This makes me even more conscious of my limitations and realise that I owe this honour to the affections my colleagues have for me.

During the last two decades, new vistas have been opened up in the study of the development of society in its various manifestations. The study of economic and cultural life has made steady progress. Large numbers of monographs have added to our knowledge of political history. New approaches have led to a renewed search for new sources, or of a critical utilisation of old sources. In this way new insights have been gained into the structure, organisation and development of society. Archaeology has been an important instrument in this direction. Archaeological excavations have pushed back into time the boundaries of the rise and growth of cultures in different regions of India, and of the pattern of living.

I am happy that more University departments are now engaged in archaeological excavations and that Indian archaeologists have also taken part in excavations in a number of countries outside India. A

more persistent effort is being made to utilise literary writing as a source of information for economic and social life. For the purpose, the task of preparing critical texts has been taken up in a number of universities. I am glad that the University Grants Commission has been able to play some little part in this. The Indian Council of Historical Research has taken an initiative in publishing inscriptions and other sources. The promulgation of the Antiquities Act by Government has made it necessary that all works of antiquity in private possession must be listed. This is a collossal task in which the Universities must play their part. The Indian Historical Records Commission has, for many years, urged that a systematic survey of historical records be undertaken. The Commission rightly stressed that by historical records it did not include merely the records created by official agencies. Apart from religious institutions, business houses etc., many old families have documents of historical importance in their possession. Even a cursory listing of some of the Thikana records in the Ajmer Division in Rajasthan have unearthed documents going back to the 16th century. To prevent these records being destroyed or lost, a mass campaign appears necessary. Perhaps the listing of records could be made a part of course work at the M.Phil. level by Universities. The University Grants Commission has already written to Universities on the subject, and offered to give financial help in the publication of catalogues of records etc.

There has been immense interest in the study of Indian social history. Despite the great progress made, we have yet to clearly delineate the fundamental characteristics of various phases of the development of society in our country. The works of a number of distinguished historians, have established more or less convincingly that during the historic period, state and society assumed a definite form with the rise of Buddhism which coincided with the establishment of large territorial empires in north India, and the large scale use of iron. There is, as yet, little agreement as to the processes by which the Aryan and non-Aryan tribes interacted to produce an agrarian community, the phases and special features of this new social order in different regions of the country and the character of the ruling class.

Our scholars have clarified that even during the ancient period, a surplus was generated by agriculture over minimum needs of the tiller of the soil. However, the latter was not able to keep the full fruits, a

considerable part of it being appropriated by the state in various ways, even if some of the surplus extracted reached back to the working people in one way or another. This is a phenomenon which was by no means confined to India. The concept would have to be discussed in the context of the recent discussions on the slave system and as also the Asiatic mode of production. Neither of the two concepts appear to be wholly applicable to India. However, in order to arrive at any definite conclusions, it would be necessary to encourage and inculcate the methodology of comparative study as also to pay greater attention to the examination of concepts. There is hardly any study of Greek or Roman history in our universities. The study of the languages and civilisation of the Ancient Near East is completely neglected. In view of our continuous commercial and cultural relations with these countries from Harappan times this is a serious lacuna which needs to be made up speedily. It appears to me that our almost exclusive pre-occupation with Indian history and neglect of the study of the history of neighbouring countries, is in part, a hang over of the colonial past, in part a reflection of our deep seated belief in the "uniqueness" of the Indian development.

The writings of Professors D.D. Kosambi and R.S. Sharma, to name only two of the distinguished scholars working in the field, have demonstrated that in course of time, the ancient mode of production gave rise to a new social order which may be designated the feudal order. There has been a lively debate among scholars whether feudalism was specifically a European phenomenon, or whether some of its more general features, *e.g.* the domination of state and society by a class which lived on the surplus produced by agriculture but which did not work the land itself, extraction of agricultural surplus by extra-economic means, a strong sense of hierarchy based on domination and control of land, domination of domestic production etc. could be extended to cover societies outside Europe. Whether the word feudal is used or not, there has been a broad consensus that the period from the 8th century onward represents a new phase of society. A number of valuable studies dealing with economic and social history of India during the 8th-12th centuries which have come out recently have concretized various aspects of the social structure in the country. However, a number of aspects have yet to be examined in detail. Thus, greater

study is needed to delineate the forces which led to the gradual emergence of what has been feudalism in the context of India. The relationship of the new social order with the village communities on the one hand, and with the persistence of clan and caste forms on the other also needs detailed study. The nature and pattern of India's external and internal trade during the period has to be studied in the context of the rise of Islam, on the one hand, and the spread and expansion of India's commercial and cultural contacts with South-east Asia on the other. It has been postulated that the rise of Islam largely severed India's commercial relations with West Asia, so that gold ceased to come to North India and hence gold coins were not minted there till the 11th century. This leaves a number of unresolved problems. Pirenne's thesis tracing the decline of trade in medieval Europe to the rise of Islam is no longer accepted by European scholars, and is even less applicable to India. Even if we accept that North India was no longer importing gold from West Asia, why did gold, which was coming to South India from South East Asia, not come to North India in the course of normal trade ? Was this due to decline of long distance intra-regional trade in India during the period ? What were the factors which made north India opt for silver currency as the main medium of exchange while gold coins remained more popular in south India till the third quarter of the 17th century. Perhaps a closer interaction of numismatists, historians and historical geographers, and the collaboration of scholars of the ancient and medieval period (as per the present division which persists) may help in throwing some light on these problems. In order to study this problem in the wider Asian context a careful study of Arabic sources is a prime necessity. Although the works of a few Arab geographers have been translated, little effort has been made to screen the vast mass of Arabic language and literary sources for the nature and direction of medieval trade and India's role in it. Similarly a careful study of South-east Asian sources is called for.

Although the general features of feudalism in India during the Turkish and Mughal period are fairly well-known, there has been a considerable discussion about some of its specific features, and the broad lines of its development. Some of the points at issue have been (*i*) the nature and role of the two wings of the ruling class—the *thakurs*/*zamindars* or the local ruling class, and those holding central power,

called *iqtadars* or *jagirdars* in relation to development especially agricultural development : (*ii*) classification of different elements which could be grouped under the head "peasant" or "cultivator" and their relations with the state ; (*iii*) the role of caste in the village community, and its development and impact on the formation of social groups and popular movements during the period ; (*iv*) the composition, strength and role of the commercial classes, and their relationship with the state. The question whether the feudal order had more or less reached the limit of its development towards the end of the 17th century or whether it was capable of development to a higher stage of society *i.e.* capitalism on its own if foreign rule had not intervened has been raised by a number of scholars, both Indian and foreign. While the question may appear to be speculative, it has helped in focussing attention on the study of developmental trends in medieval society. However, a good deal of intensive work adopting the methodology of quantitative study of limited branches and regions may be necessary before we can essay any definitive answer. The role and functioning of the Mughal state and the Mughal ruling classes will have to be assessed in this context, and in the context of the interplay of various groups and classes rather than ascribing the rise and fall of the Empire to the actions and policies of individuals, or tussle for power between religious and ethnic groups. In other words, it is not the managerial aspects to which primary attention needs to be given but to the study of the deeper economic and social strivings and tensions.

In the study of the period of colonial rule in India, there has been a welcome trend away from the study of British policies to assessing the impact of these policies on the life and condition of the Indian peoples. A closer study of the "drain theory", the impact of the policies of the East India Co. on the trade and agriculture of the areas under its control, the problems of re-feudalisation and de-urbanisation during the period, and the impact of the decline of village industries on the economy and the social system are some of the aspects which need to be taken up for detailed study. Like the earlier periods of our history, these studies too will have to be put in the wider framework of the nature and working of European colonialism in Asian and African countries during the 18th and 19th centuries. To emphasise the "objectively progressive rule" of the Imperialist countries in their colonies, even while the

scholars of these countries are trying to independently assess the nature and impact of foreign rule on their countries would only mean a distribution of the historical process. Similarly, the rise of nationalist movements, in these countries has to be seen against the wider economic and social and cultural developements, rather than as a reflection of individual frustrations or the ambitions of elite groups. In this connection, the decision of the Government of India to bring out, under the aegis of the I.C.H.R. collections of documents of the national movement in its wider bearing is to be welcomed.

In their approach to the writing of Indian history, scholars will have to guard against the temptation of uncritically projecting modern tensions between different religious, caste or linguistic groups into history. While these conflicts have their own place in our history, they must not be used to negate all developmental and syncretic processes. History is not just a catalogue of wars, civil commotion, oppression, and the deeds of heroes. It must basically deals with the growth of the human spirit and human civilisation in the context of the development of society. Let us not echo the charge made by Sir Charles Eliot, a hundred years ago, in his *History of India as Told by its own Historians* (Ist ed. London 1867, reprinted Kitab Mahal, 1969, Vol. I, pp. XX) that Indian history, like all Oriental history was nothing but "the monotony of successive conspiracies, revolts, intrigues, murders and fratricides and the rise and fall of dynasties". Let us rise to the noble quest that the muse of history is.

II

It is not feasible, within the limits of this address, to attempt to answer even broadly the problems that have been raised above. Nor am I competent to do so. May I, with your permission, touch only a few problems concerning the period of my study. At the outset, may I say that it is unfortunate that after the pioneering work of K.M. Ashraf, little attention has been paid to the study of social and economic developments during the Sultanat period. Even now, the Sultanat period tends to be regarded as being largely sterile from a developmental point of view. However, if we look beneath the outward shell of violence, acts of vandalism, and frequent change of dynasties, a different picture emerges, especially if seen in the context of the earlier period. Growing regionalism and localism was an important aspect of the state

in Northern India between the 8th and 12th centuries. The integration of Northern India under the Turkish rule, the strongly urban ethos of the new ruling class and the need to set up garrison-towns in different parts of the empire etc , led to a definite process of urbanisation which becomes clearly marked during the 15th century. The need for a token currency, and the growth of a number of new towns in the Gangetic plains was an index to this process. Barani repeatedly testifies to the wealth and power of the commercial classes both Hindus and Muslims. He mentions how gold was found only in the houses of the Hindu and Multani merchants who catered to the extravagant tastes of the Turkish class by lending them money on interest, and by "regrating" (*ihtekar*, profiteering) on commodities. Allauddin's market control policy was designed to squeeze this class, while Muhammad Tughlaq went to the other extreme : he tried to forge an alliance with the Hindu and Muslim merchants and artisans who had become rich and influential.[1] The policy did not succeed, due to a strong feeling of resentment and opposition by the Muslim feudal aristocracy, and the lack of support by the local Hindu gentry—the *rais*, the *thakurs* and the village *chaudhris* with whom the Hindu traders and artisans hardly had any integral relationship. Firuz Tughlaq reversed the policy and also tried to provide stability to the state and to the ruling class by making the nobility largely hereditary in character. In the long run, this militated against the centralizing and integrationist trend established by the Turks, and become a factor in the disintegration of the Sultanat. The interplay between centralizing tendencies which implied, in a certain measures, the bureaucratization of the nobility, and the search for stability which often implied that the nobility should become largely hereditary in character, in fact if not in form, was a problem which persisted during the Mughal period, so also the problem of how to curb the power and authority of the local landed gentry in the interests of a centralized state and also to draw them into the task of administration for the sake of stability.

The further development of society during the period of the Mughal

1. Barani says barbers, cooks, gardners, weavers, other mean and ignoble persons were given high posts and *iqtas*. It is not clear whether Kishan whom he mentions more than once was a "shop keeper" (*bazari*) or belonged to a low caste (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Bib. Ind. p. 505).

rule, and the class nature of the alliances forged by the Mughal rulers to stabilize their position in the country has to be seen in this context. It may be pertinent to point out that while classifying society on the traditional Indian model of the four states or *varnas*, Abul Fazl assigned the first place to the warriors, the second to artificers and merchants and the third to the learned (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Bib Ind. p. 4) thus reflecting the position the various classes/castes had come to occupy. However, in his efforts to stabilize the empire, Akbar paid special attention to the first and the third of these. Akbar liberalised the policy of giving *madadd-i-maash* grants to Hindus *i.e.* Brahmans, some of them were also employed in the translations department, or as royal astrologers. It is interesting that *madad-i-maash* grants continued to be made to Hindu *sanyasis* even under Aurangzeb. The Mughals were conscious of the importance of trade and commerce. On balance, trade and the traders were cherished and protected, but the "political connections" between rulers and merchants remained tenuous. Little attempt was made to remove the difficulties which often hampered trade and commerce. Nor were the merchants more closely involved in the formulation of economic policies or in the running of the administration even locally. While a noble like Mir Jumla could take to trade, instances of a successful merchant being ennobled were few and far between.

The most important element in society were undoubtedly the local landed elements. After returning to India from his exile, Humayun embarked upon a definite policy of alliance with the powerful zamindars both Hindu and Muslim. This policy, which included matrimonial alliances, led to the close association of what may be called the regional ruling class *i.e.* the zamindars. Many rajas were assigned a *mansab* to fix their place in the social hierarchy, while a section of them who had a substantial military following was drawn into the task of actively aiding in the expansion and defence of the empire. These were mostly the Rajputs. The alliance had many positive aspects : it helped the process of Indianization of the Mughals and contributed to better relations between the two major communities, the Hindu and the Muslims. In return for their services, the Rajput Rajas were helped to consolidate their states against rival claimants, or from hostile neighbours, and were granted *jagirs* outside their states to augment their resources, thus strengthening their position. Later, a similar policy was

sought to be applied to the Marathas in the context of the Deccan. But it met with much more limited success. It has been shown that during the latter part of Aurangzeb's rule the Marathas far out-stripped the position at various levels that the Rajputs had ever enjoyed. However, the Marathas never became the sword arm of the empire like the Rajputs. It is difficult to expatiate on the causes. The Maratha *deshmukhi* families were accustomed to the rule of the Bahamani kings, and later of the Nizam-Shahi, Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi rulers. Exchanging them for the Mughals would hardly have implied a major change for them. The reasons why this did not happen may, perhaps, be found in the structure of Maratha society as also developments in the Mughal empire. Unlike the Rajput rajas in the north, the Maratha *deshmukhi* families did not have an assured position : they had not been rulers for generations like the Rajput rajas with a definite clan following. The Mughals were, therefore, not prepared to look upon them as their social equals. This was reinforced by the fact that the local Brahmans not only refused to countenance the claim of many of these *deshmukhi* families to the Kshatriya status. On the other hand, many of the Brahmans like Murari Pandi, Madanna and Akhanna, who had their own political ambitions, had no local base of their own, being dependent on mercenary soldiers.

Thus, even the limited policy of alliance with the local landed classes could not succeed. The failure was not essentially personal, though personal factors such as the narrow outlook and understanding of Aurangzeb, and the legitimate ambition of Shivaji of setting up an independent principality did play a part. A closer look at medieval society is needed to understand some of the causes of those developments. For purposes on analysis, Professor Nurul Hasan had classified the zamindars into three categories : the autonomous chiefs, the intermediary zamindars and the primary zamindars. According to him, these categories were hierarchical but not mutually exclusive. Also, there was a latent struggle for land, power and authority among them. Thus, attempt of the bigger rajas to bring intermediary zamindars under their control was a continuous feature. Struggle between the Rathors and Bhatis in the Pokharan area, between the Chauhans and the Hadas in the Ranthambhor area, and between the Kachhawas and the Jats in the Mathura-Bharatpur were to some extent a reflection

of this conflict. The Mughals tried to utilise conflicts between the various sections of zamindars for their own purposes. In this confiict many factors, including religion, caste and clan played a role. Thus Jat solidarity enabled them to defeat the Kachhawas—even though the latter were backed by the Mughals. Similarly, the religious brotherhood (*Khalsa*) enabled Guru Govind Singh to triumph against the hill-rajas of the Punjab who were again backed by the Mughals. In the case of the Marathas, Shivaji who derived a great deal of support from the smaller *deshmukhs* successfully rallied a section of the peasantry against the big *deshmukhs* who were allied with Bijapur, and thus forged a weapon which could withstand the Mughal might.

For a better understanding of the problems facing the ruling classes in the medieval period, the nature of the opposition movements, and the problems of development, a detailed study of the functioning of the caste system and the village community is necessary. Recent studies show that the peasantry in medieval India was not an undifferentiated mass. It was divided on the basis of occupations, caste and economic position. The largest category consisted of those who either owned land, or who derived their major income from cultivation. Among these may be included zamindars, the village officials and the *khud kashta*, the *pahi*, and landless labourers who were sometimes indistinguishable from the low-caste artisans or the *kamin*. The *khud-kashta* who was called *gaveti* in Rajasthan and *mirasdar* in Maharashtra, was a peasant who was the owner (*malik*) of the land he cultivated, as well of the plough and oxen used for cultivation. He had resided in the village for a long time where he had his own hutment (*chaparband*). He paid the land revenue at a concessional rate, was exempt from certain village-cesses, and had a number of communal privileges in the pasture and common lands, to the water-reservoir or fisheries, to the services of village servants or officials etc. As an acute British observer W. H. Hunter, noted. "The *khud-kashta* right was a valued right. not only because it implied an economic advantage, but because it conferred a certain social status, The Resident cultivators formed the governing class of the village commune, its *bhadralok* or respectable class," (*Bengal Records*, p. 52). This was under-pinned by the tradition incorporated by the Mughals that the body of the *khud-kashta* were collectively responsible for the payment of the land-revenue.

The *pahi* (called *palti* in Rajasthan, *upari* in Maharashtra) has been defined as the opposite of the *khud-kashta*. He did not own the lands he cultivated, and often did not have his own ploughs and oxen. He was basically an "outsider", and as such was not a part of the village community. These cultivators often moved from village to village for better terms, and many of them belonged to the class of untouchables. They were, however, not tenants-at-will. They were not ejected from the lands they cultivated as long as they paid the land revenue. Under certain circumstances, especially where new land was to be broken, they could acquire the status of *khud-kashta*. Similarly a *khud-kashta* cultivator who fled from his village due to over-assessment, or inability to pay, sank to the position of a *pahi*. Thus, the two categories were not divided in water-tight compartments. Economically, also, their positions varied. A *pahi*, owning his own oxen and ploughs, could cultivate more land than a poor *khud-kashta* peasant.

This system was under-pinned by caste. The castes belonging to the *khud-kashta* formed the dominant castes in the village. However, members of the three upper castes were generally included in this category and if evidence from eastern Rajasthan is any guide, they had a separate *dastur* and were assessed at a lower, concessional rate—about 15% less. The *khud-kashta* and the upper caste elements thus, had an advantageous position which they tried to exploit in a variety of ways. They let out their surplus lands to them on a share-cropping *(nalbant* or *sanjha)* basis to the *pahis*, while pretending it was under their personal cultivation and hence assessable at concessional rates; or they tried to extend their *khud-kashta* cultivation at the expense of the *pahis*, sometimes by force, sometimes by mortgaging the lands of needy farmers by lending them money, seeds, bullocks etc. and then seizing their lands. The role of the *khud-kashta* in the functioning of village society, their relationship with the weaker elements in the village, on the one hand, and with the state as well as with the zamindar on the other is important in understanding the functioning of the revenue administration and the nature of the crisis faced by the Mughal ruling class at a certain stage. The Mughal revenue administration depended for its success on maintaining a balance between contending sections in the rural society. On the one hand, they tried to stand forth as protectors of the poor peasants against the encroachments i.e. the dominant castes, and the

zamindar against the village community, i.e. the *khud-kashta*. On the other, the Mughal state depended for collection of land revenue largely on the zamindars, and in some instances, on the village headman. If the state could no longer act as mediator in the tussle between different sections in the rural society, the delicate balance which kept the various sections in their proper places could collapse, and the way would be opened for a particular section to try to establish its dominance, thereby appropriating a larger part of the agricultural surplus. A crisis could also be created if the state tried to increase its share of the land revenue, thereby running the risk of uniting in opposition these various sections in the rural society. For this reason, this expedient was rarely tried, and there is evidence to suggest that the incidence of the land-revenue did not increase, in the over-all situation.

It were the social conflicts which the Mughals were unable to resolve, within the broad frame-work of the class alliance formed by them The failure was reflected in financial crisis and in the crisis of the *jagirdari* system which were inter-related. The word "crisis of the *jagirdari* system" has now passed into popular currency. As one who first put in forward as a major factor in the downfall of the Mughal empire, perhaps I should explain that I did not understand by it an administrative crisis, linked to the lack of sufficient jagirs required for a growing number of *mansabdars*. Thus, *be-jagiri* as also frequent transfers which made the jagirdars grasping were only incidental to the crisis. The crisis, as I have said, was rooted in the structure of medieval society and its working.

Interpreting the crisis of *jagirdari* system in a narrow administrative sense, an attempt has been made recently to show that the crisis was only of a managerial nature Thus, it has been argued that the augmentation of the revenue resources of the empire following the annexation of the Deccani states roughly kept pace with the expansion of the nobility during the second half of Aurangzeb's reign, and that the lack of *paibaqi* lands was due to a deliberate decision on Aurangzeb's part to keep the most lucrative jagirs under *khalisa* in order to provide for the continued campaigning in the Karnatak and against the Marathas. It might be recalled that a similar policy had been followed by the Murshid Quli-Khan in Bengal, making the bulk of lands in Bengal under *khalisa* and pushing out the jagirdars to less fertile lands in Orissa. In

fact, it was a part of Aurangzeb's policy pursued since the beginning of the reign to considerably augment the lands under *khalisa*. There could have been several factors responsible for this policy. In a general way, it strengthened the position of the monarchy vis-a-vis the nobility. Assignment of the nobles to the less developed or disturbed (*zor-talab*) areas was to give them a personal incentive and reason for expanding and improving cultivation and bringing the zamindars of the area under tighter imperial control. Thus, pursuit of a more warlike policy could hardly be considered the major purpose of the policy. Frequent transfer of jagirdars was common even under Jahangir, as Hawkin complained. We have no detailed information whether transfers were more frequent than earlier. Under Aurangzeb, they were apparently confined to certain parts of the empire *viz.*, the Deccan generally which should not be generalised for the empire as a whole without further detailed study. Even in the Deccan, there are many cases where individual nobles held on to their jagirs for long periods. As long as the local revenue and administrative machinery functioned, and since in most cases the armies of the jagirdar has to deal with the local zamindars, who were generally powerful enough not to submit to arbitrary or illegal exactions, transfer of a jagirdar did not have as effect on the peasants as has been postulated.

A crisis of the jagirdari system has made its appearance fairly early in the history of the empire. Akbar had to face it, but the rapid expansion of the empire, and the setting up of an administrative machinery which benefitted the peasants and also satisfied the zamindars resolved the problem for the time being. The problem surfaced again under Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Towards the end of Shah Jahan's reign, a *mansabdar* was lucky if his realisation from his jagir was more than 5 monthly (5 out of 12 months *i.e.* less than half). The number of horses, and ultimately the number of *sawars* he maintained for the service of the state (which included contingent needed for realisation of the land revenue) had to be reduced proportionately. Thus, his ability to collect the land-revenue *on his own i.e.* without the intervention of the local faujdar tended to be diminished. In the Deccan, the realisation was even less—3 monthly and the power and influence of the jagirdar proportionately lower. Pressure on the system increased if the local faujdars were unwilling or unable to support the jagirdars. This happened in parts

of the Deccan during Aurangzeb's reign, and in many other areas later on.

It is not my purpose here to try to analyse in detail all the facets in the accentuation of the crisis of the *jagirdari* system from the middle of the 17th century, nor the rise of various opposition movements. For this a detailed study on a regional basis will have to be made regarding the social structure. the nature of the productive relations, the functioning of the cast system and of the village community. Such an analysis will have to be carried out without pre-conceived notions regarding the nature of the Mughal state, or relations between religious and ethinic groups, since the conflict between these groups was often, at heart, a social conflict.

Perhaps, the only manner in which the crisis of the *jagirdari* system could have been deferred for a considerable period might have been a rapid development of the economy, both agricultural and non-agricultural. The question is, could feudal consolidation have aided or permitted such a development? Or could a capitalist order have developed within the framework of the empire, and gradually modified it? Discussions on these themes have helped to open up new lines of the study, and has sharpened our understanding of trends and problems. Although some detailed studies of the nobility have been made, and the involvement of Mughal Emperors, members of the royal family and many nobles including even qazis in both internal and external trade have been underlined, a detailed study of the Emperors and the nobles towards trade and the traders has yet to be made. A careful study of the Portuguese records which have now become available, Dutch, English and French records, as also the records of some neighbouring countries, will throw light on the extent of the involvement of the nobles and Indian traders in the commercial ventures of the foreign companies. But it would not, perhaps, be far wrong to say that trade was a supplementary source of income for rulers and nobles, something not to be ignored but hardly a stable source of income, or of power. Although Abul Fazl did advise nobles to "indulge a little in commercial speculation and engage in remunerative undertakings", and "some what invested in the speculation of others" (*Ain*, tr. Jarrett, pp. 57-58) the question is : was money saved by the nobles used for investment in trade, or was trade made to yield money for the ostentatious

living of the nobles ? In this connection Bernier's remarks about the shameful treatment meted out to the artisans by the nobles is germane, but it is really an index of the attitude towards the working population, by the feudal classes as also by the merchants.

What did the Merchants expect from a state such as the Mughal state ? What did they expect to gain or fear from it ? Bernier's remark that the merchants "strove to appear indigent" lest they be used as "field sponges" appears to be a gross exaggeration. In fact, from Sher Shah's solicitude to Jahangir's Ordinance protecting the property of merchants who died on the way, there are many examples of the state's eagerness to protect the property of merchants. The law of escheat did not apply to the merchants. Forced loans sometimes taken at times of acute stringency, such as civil wars, were paid with interest if the prince was successful. The merchants were familiar with state monopolies in specific commodities (salt, indigo) and efforts at engrossment by individuals, or demands for presents. But these were accepted as parts of the working of the system and had to be put up with. The steady growth of money economy during the 17th century implies that the system did not inhibit the expansion of trade and commerce, at least up to a point. Even the master craftsmen, some of whom employed workmen and sold their goods without the help of middlemen, were emerging to a position of respect in the bigger towns. Witness Tavernier's story (probably apocryphal) of Jahangir getting drunk in a pub in the company of a master craftsman.

Thus, towns, were emerging as centres of trade and manufacture. In some of the regions such as Gujarat, where the merchants were more numerous and influential, there are instances of the merchants putting up organised resistance to some official measures, or handling of a local situation. The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* mentions a number of these. But these were admittedly few and far between, and no conclusions can be drawn from them. As a class, the merchants were nowhere rich or powerful enough to claim a share in state power. However, if the break up of the Mughal empire and consequent weakening of the feudal classes had not been accompanied by the emergence of foreign rule, it is conceivable that the middle classes, which had not been sensibly weakened by the decline of the empire, might have been able to play a larger role in some of the states where trade and commerce had continued to grow apace.

Later in Mysore, Tipu tried to copy the British by setting up a State Bank, and a number of factories. Recent studies suggest that a real set back to trade and manufactures came only during the second half of the 18th century when the traders of the East India Co. were able to use political power to discriminate against the Indian traders, and when the British policies led to a drain of wealth from the country, ruination of handicrafts and a process of de-urbanisation, forcing many of the traders to turn to speculation in land.

No study of the possibilities of economic development can be complete without a careful study of trends in the village economy. The State Archives, Bikaner; Peshwa Record Office, Poona; the Andhra State Record Office, Hyderabad contain masses of records which have a vital bearing on this aspect. Studies of history of the growth of villages and village society have hardly begun. Some recent studies of village society in Rajasthan have added a great deal to our knowledge, regarding the pattern of land ownership, crop distribution, trends of development etc. From a study of *yad-dashti hal bail* from some parts of Rajasthan, the following emerges[1] :

	Pargana	*I (poor) Per cent*	*II (Middle) Per cent*	*III (Rich) Per cent*	*Total*
1	Chatsu (26 villages)	24.4 (363)	66.6 (987)	9 (133)	100 (1,483)
2	Chala Kalan (94 villages)	18.6 (492)	80.9 (2,139)	.5 (14)	100 (2,645)
3	Kotla	.6 (5)	90.2 (741)	9.2 (76)	100 (822)

Thus, a section of rich peasants, rising upto 9% of the *asamis* in some villages, could be found even in some areas of Rajasthan which was less fertile compared to the Doab, the Punjab, etc. On the basis of *jizyah* figures in a pargana in the Punjab Professor Irfan Habib had

1. For details see, Satish Chandra, Some Institutional Factors in providing Capital Inputs for the improvement and expansion of cultivation in Medieval India" in '*The Indian Historical Review*' Vol. III. No. I July, 1976, pp. 83-98.

(*Agrarian system* pp. 119-20) that the rich peasants constituted
5% of the assessed households. Since this was an average for
gana, variations between villages cannot be excluded. What was
pattern of these rich peasants? Did they provide a market,
r limited, for city? In this connection, the role of the small
or *qasbas*, which was a grain collecting centre, a merchant and
y a centre for production is important and needs to be studied in
For a number of reasons, the state policies were aimed at
ng the small peasants economy. Thus, the *khud-kashta* were not
to cultivate their lands with the help of hired labour, or to
their cultivation at the expense of land held by *pahis*. Some of
peasants used their wealth to lend money on interest, or by
ging lands of poor peasants and reducing them to the position of
opper. Thus the only lines on which they could grow was to
intermediary zamindars or mahajans *i.e.* graindealers cum
lenders. These may explain many of the trends of development
, especially its stagnation or slow development.

ends, I have no intention of taxing your patience any further. I
ikful to you for giving me a patient hearing. I am conscious
ave put before you only a few stray thoughts. I look to the
assembled here to examine these thoughts for what they are
I can only hope that some future scholars would be able to
an integrated view of social history so that the processes of
nent at work in Indian society which have recently accelerated
ided a true historical perspective, and also help in a better
nding of the political and cultural processes.

SECTION I

ANCIENT INDIA

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Suvira Jaiswal

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I wish to express my most sincere thanks to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for the honour they have done me by electing me President of the Ancient India Section this year. Probably this decision has been prompted by their desire to encourage the study of Ancient Indian history and culture from a perspective which looks upon historical phenomena, whether in the realm of ideas or material features, as products of interaction of socio-economic factors and which tries to explain historical developments in their total material context. Although application of this method to the interpretation of Indian history is still in its exploratory stages, its usefulness and potentialities are being widely recognized. The process will certainly continue, attacks from jingoist and obscurantist elements notwithstanding.

I would like to take this opportunity to draw your attention to some recent trends in the study of the caste system and share with you my views on certain aspects of the problem. The study of traditional Indian caste structure has a special significance, for although there is no dearth of historians who acclaim it as a superb example of the "Hindu genius for organization" which ' envisages a fixed type of work for the section having a natural aptitude for it",[1] its exploitative character continues to cause severe tensions and killings to this day. The institution is supposed to be rooted in Indian ethos and is often given the credit for saving Hindu culture from the onslaught of "foreign powers". Such assumptions naturally imply that a few reforms could restore its so-called originally tension-free harmonious character and that it is neither necessary nor feasible to work for a radical restructuring of the traditional Indian society. Therefore, a scientific study of the origin, evolution and functioning of the caste system in ancient and early medieval India may act as a corrective to such fallacious notions. Although it is not possible to go into the details of these questions owing

1. Lallanji Gopal, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 43 (1965) p. 771.

to the constraints of time, I shall try to give you a broad outline with a view to show how these problems are closely linked with the socio-economic developments in early India.

Of late, there has been a growing awareness of the need to adopt an interdisciplinary approach and use sociological tools of analysis for interpreting Indian History. A healthy result of this trend has been to question the indiscriminate use of terms and concepts applicable to a variety of specificities without defining them, for such use leads to a confused understanding of the past. A historian may profit a good deal from the sociologist's search for precision without however losing his primary aim of making the past intelligible in the meshing of hair-splitting jargon. Recent attempts[2] at re-examining the meanings of the terms *varna* and *jati* strive for greater exactitude in analysing the ancient Indian system of social stratification. It has been suggested[3] that *varna* should be translated as 'order' or 'estate' and not as 'caste' or class'; since it is a sacred concept conceived as a divine creation and is immutable. It may be better understood with reference to 'estate' in medieval European thought rather than in terms of class which is "too objective, scientific and modern to represent adequately the notion of *varna*".[4] Making a distinction between social order and economic order Max Weber had also stressed the point that *varna* was 'status group' or "estate" and not 'class',[5] for classes are stratified according to their relations to the production and acquisition of goods; whereas 'status groups' are stratified according to the principles of their consumption of goods as represented by special "styles of life".[6] Nevertheless, it is known that in precapitalist social formations classes appeared as 'castes', or 'orders' or 'estates'. The economic class position of the 'estate' was described in terms of its juridico-political status, for in the small-scale economy relations of production were deformed into superstructural relations owing to the immediacy and directness of social relations. Marx held that class-

2. N. Wagle, *Society in the Time of the Buddha* (Bombay, 1966), p. 122f.
3. T. R. Trautmann, 'On the translation of the term *Varna*' *JESHO*, VII, 1964, pp. 196; 201.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Max Weber, *Religion of India, The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism*, New York, 1968.
6. Max Weber in *Class, Status and Power*, edited by R. Bendix and S.M. Lipset p. 73.

struggle was the motive force of change in the 'history of all hitherto existing society', although it was only under capitalism that class antagonisms were simplified and classes appeared in their "pure form". Hence, in Marxist historiography of early India[7] *varnas* are looked upon as theoretical abstractions of relations of production, which acquired ritual overtones owing to certain specific historical circumstances.

However, more significant than this semantic exercise is the distinction which is sought to be made between the concepts of *varna* and *jati*. Modern sociologists[8] distinguish between the *varna* model and the *jati* model and point out that the *varna* concept is inadequate to explain the fact of castes or *jatis* as these exist today in the various regions of India; the *jatis* operate at a local level, whereas *varnas* have an all-India spread. Further, it is held[9] that the theoretical principles underlying the two concepts are different, the *varnas* are divided on the basis of their functions, but the *jati* hierarchy is organized on the principles of absolute purity of the brahmana caste and relative impurity of all other castes. One of the earliest writers on the subject was Senart, who thought that the institutions of *jati* and *varna* were in essence independent of each other; the *jatis* were grafted on the *varnas* by the brahmanas to maintain their superiority, but the *varna* system never corresponded to reality. A more systematic exposition of the point was made by Bougle, who stated that hereditary specialization, hierarchy and repulsion or isolation of one group from another were the three fundamental principles of the caste system. Bougle held that the hierarchy of caste was determined less by the usefulness or difficulty of occupations than by their relative purity and impurity.[10] His ideas have been further developed by Louis Dumont[11] who has reduced the three principles to one, namely the opposition of the pure and the impure, a religious idea which according to him is at the base of hierarchical gradation, separate existence of endogamous groups and hereditary division of labour. This idea gives unity to the whole for

7. For example, in the writings of D. D. Kosambi. Also see R. S. Sharma, 'Problems of Social Formations in Early India', General President's Address, *Indian History Congress*, 36th session, 1975, pp. 8-9.
8. M. N. Srinivas and others, 'Caste a trend report and bibliography' *Current Sociology*, Vol. 8 (3) (1959) p. 135f.
9. Louis Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus* (Vikas, Delhi, 1970) p. 66f.
10. Celestin Bougle, *Essays on the Cast System*, trans. by D. F. Pocock (London, 1971) p. 38.

the system is founded "on the necessary and hierarchical co-existence of the two opposites". Thus Dumont tries to explain the social reality of the caste system as deriving from the concept of hierarchy. Arguing against the "atomistic" conception of cast he emphasizes the interdependence of the elements constituting it and states that caste should be viewed as a system of hierarchical relationships based on the notion of purity and impurity of its constituent elements. It is a system of values which is able to insulate and absorb changes in the politico-economic spheres without losing its "essence". Criticizing an often-quoted remark of Marx regarding breaking down of the Indian caste system with the growth of modern industry and the railway system, he writes "Caste society has managed to digest what was thought must make it burst asunder",[12] for the castes are still present and untouchability still effective. Dumont acknowledges[13] that in recent years there has been considerable relaxation of rules regarding food and drink, caste no longer determines occupation and the ideas regarding hierarchy and purity/pollution have much weakened. In other words, the relationship of interdependence arising out of the division of labour or *jajmani* system and the notion of hierarchy, which is at the root of the caste system according to Dumont, have dissolved or are in the process of dissolution. It is curious that Dumont does not regard these developments as evidence of the breaking down of the system as he defined it. As the main plank on which the caste rests now is endogamy, he concludes that the essential character of caste, its religious basis, continues to exist owing to its remarkable plasticity "even when there is a weakening of the opposition between pure and impure".[14] In our opinion, the continuance of endogamy is not so much due to the strength of certain religious values in our society as to the stranglehold of some material factors such as the socio-economic subordination of women resulting in their segregation and a system of arranged marriages, which naturally take place along the traditional channels. The social context of caste is provided not only by the exploitation of the lower castes by the dominant ones but also by the subordination of female sex who is to be "gifted away" in a manner which would enforce caste relationships. Recent

11. Louis Dumont, p. 43f.
12. Ibid., p. 218.
13. Ibid., p. 221f; 232 note 112b.
14. Ibid., p. 228.

changes in socio-economic spheres have not been of the kind to have eliminated all types of exploitation on these two fronts. Hence the obvious continuance of the social framework of caste albeit in a modified form in a changed situation. Although some attempt has been made to study changes in the political and economic roles of caste in modern India and its transformation from a non-competitive ranking system to a system of social stratification consisting of competitive political units under the capitalist mode of production, it is yet to be studied how far this mode of production is likely to bring about changes in the endogamous kinship pattern rooted in the concept of private property[15] and loosen old social ties.

However, Dumont thinks that caste system, based on the opposition of the pure and the impure, developed in post-vedic times, and it was still in an embryonic stage at the time of the composition of the classical smrtis, that is, in the early centuries of the Christian era;[16] for caste hierarchy is based on the notion of absolute purity of the brahmana and relative impurity of all other castes. This presupposes a separation between priesthood and royalty and the subordination of power to (ritual) status as envisaged in the *varna* concept[17]. Irawati Karve remarks[18] that untouchability is a characteristic of the caste structure from top to bottom and a few decades ago a brahmana would have thought himself polluted by the touch of any other caste. But she is of the opinion that the system goes back to Harappa culture as is indicated by its pattern of settlement, the low *jati* which specialized in pounding grain lived in a separate street in a cell-like isolation, and this fact was mistaken by archaeologists as evidence of slavery.[19] Similar views are expressed by

15. What F. Engels says regarding monogamy is perhaps more applicable to endogamy. This form of marriage arose out of property relationships—women themselves being a form of property—and the dominance of man. "Thus, full freedom in marriage can become generally operative only when the abolition of capitalist mode of production, and of the property relations created by it, has removed all those secondary economic considerations which still exert so powerful and influence on the choice of a partner." F. Engels in the *Origin of the Family, Private Property and State*, (*Selected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970) pp. 253-4.
16. Dumont, op. cit., pp. 71; 148.
17. Ibid., pp. 72-5.
18. *Kinship Organization in India* (London 1965) p. 7.
19. *Hindu Society-An Interpretation* (Poona, 1st ed. 1961) 2nd ed. (1968), p. 55.

those who regard caste as the "Indian Style of life"[20] peculiar to Indian ethos; and it is remarked that the Great Bath at Mohanjodaro clearly indicates that the ablution ritual had an important place in the religious beliefs of the Harappa culture.[21]

Nevertheless, our knowledge of the Harappa culture is still insufficient to allow us to draw such bold inferences regarding its style of life and the extent of its survival and contribution to later Indian culture. The argument based on the Harappan pattern of settlement having separate residential areas for people belonging to three different strata does not carry us very far; for segregation along ethnic and/or occupational lines is a common feature of pre-industrial cities of Asia as well as Europe.[22] It has been convincingly established[23] that there is nothing to support the view that the Harappan peasant-urban system with its specific settlement pattern survived and was adopted by the Aryans, and it is generally accepted that the early cities of the Ganga basin do not betray any Harappan feature. Even if it is granted that some elements of Harappa culture. i. e., some sections of the rulers and the ruled survived, it is still debatable whether the ruling authorities were priest-kings or merchant-kings. Even though the existence of "fire-altars" along with several bath-pavements on a platform in the citadel-complex strongly suggests prevalence of an ablution ritual, it may only indicate the antiquity of certain religious notions which regard water as a great purifying and sanctifying agent. Such ideas may be still seen behind the practice of having a 'holy dip' and ceremonial baths on various ritual occasions. But this evidence need not be construed to imply the social division of labour on the basis of ritual purity and impurity of occupational groups. We may note that whereas the pounding of grain is considered to be non-polluting occupation, studies have shown that

20. S. C. Malik, *Indian Civilization: The Formative Period,* (Simla, 1968) p. 559; 128f.

21. A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That was India* (Fontana Books, 1967) p. 18.

22. Gideon Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City: Past and Present* (New York, 1965) p. 100f.

23. A. Ghosh, *The City in Early Historical India* (Simla, 1973) chapter VI. Also see R. S. Sharma, 'Iron and Urbanization in the Ganga Basin; *Indian Historical Review,* Vol. I. no. i., pp. 98-103.

several sections of the artisan class such as potters.[24] carpenters,[25] leather-workers and washermen[26] became hereditary gradually and were reduced to depressed conditions in historic times. Enough evidence has been produced[27] to show that even in later vedic times leatherwork did not involve contempt or impurity. In our opinion, the ideology of purity/impurity developed later with a deepening of class contradictions in the brahmanical society in order to secure hereditary exploitation of the labouring classes; and it cannot be explained away simply as a heritage from the Harappa culture. It is a dangerous procedure to extrapolate wholesale a phenomenon observed in modern times into a remote antiquity without working out the intermediate stages or seeking alternative explanations. We agree with Dumont[28] that the *jajmani* or service relationship which bound the caste system as a whole in the traditional village community was based on the natural or closed economy as opposed to monetary economy. It evolved in the Gupta or post-Gupta times with the growth of self-sufficient villages as units of production.[29]

24. Early Buddhist literature clearly distinguishes between the five low castes and the five low professions and enumerates potter in the latter category. This may indicate that potters were still an occupational and not an endogamous kin-group. Also see A. N. Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, Vol. II (IInd revised ed., 1967) p. 241-2. There is hardly any evidence to support the view of B. N. Saraswati that potters formed a hereditary endogamous group in the Indus Valley Civilization. (*Brahmanic Ritual Traditions*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1977, p. 24). In the *Digha Nikaya* a potter is described as belonging Bhaggava (Bhargava) gotra (N. Wagle, *Society at the time of the Buddha*, Bombay, 1966, p. 138). He is a friend of a brahmana youth and addresses him in terms of familiarity. In two *Jataka* stories a ksatriya and a vaisya is shown practising the profession of potter. (Fawsboll, Vol. V. no. 290; Vol. VI no. 372). Later brahmanical Smrtis place the potter in the sudra *varna* and his food is forbidden to a brahmana, although Devala and Mitaksara allow it (P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasa*stra Vol. II, pt. ii, p. 788, 789)
25. The Jatakas (IV. 207), speak of brahmana carpenters.
26. V. Jha, 'Stages in the History of Untouchables', *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. II, No. i, p. 16; D. D. Kosambi, Early stages of the Caste System in Northern India, *JBBRAS*, new Series, XXII (1946), p. 38.
27. S. K. Das, *The Economic History of Ancient India*, (Calcutta, 1944) pp. 139f; R. S. Sharma, *Sudras in Ancient India* (Delhi, 1958) p. 48.
28. Dumont, op. cit., p, 97.
29. D. D. Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline* (London 1965) p. 15; 21; *Journal of American Oriental Society*, Vol. 75, p. 235f. no. 20.

It is not without significance that although the *Arthasatra* lays down the method for founding new villages on unoccupied land by settling sudra agriculturists, it does not refer to service relationships either in this or other contexts. On the other hand, restrictions on the mobility of the artisans and agricultural labour, continuation of land-holdings from generation to generation and a weakening of exchange economy, which are the well-known features of early medieval polity,[30] would provide the proper climate for the growth of *jajmani* relations. Even though we have no specific reference to these, the inter-dependence of the village community and localism is emphasized in the early medieval sources,[31] which lay stress on the observance of *gramadharma* and *gramacara* along with the *jatidharma*.[32]

Since the "essential" and enduring character of caste is supposed to be rooted in its ritual aspect rather than in its economic dimensions, it is worthwhile to trace the beginnings of the notion of pollution. Some[33] attribute it to the beliefs and practices of the aboriginal peoples whose assimilation in the Aryan society led to the adoption of these ideas by the Aryans themselves. Others, while rejecting the theory of non-Aryan

30. B. N. S. Yadava, *Society and Culture in Northern India in the twelfth century*, (Allahabad, 1973) p. 163f; R. S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, (Calcutta, 1965) p. 128-9.

31. *Skanda Purana*, III. 240f; *Devi Bhagavata* quoted by R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upa Puranas*, Vol. II, p. 325; R. S. Sharma, *Social Changes in Early Medieval India* (The first Devraj Chanana Memorial Lecture, 1969) p. 6.

32. We may further note that with the ritual client (jajmana, more properly, *yajamana* as its central figure of the entire nexus the *jajmani* system underscores the high status and supremacy of the *yajamanas*; apparently members of the land-holding castes; and it emphasizes the relation of dependence of all those who serve this class including the priests. At least in this aspect of caste no idea of subordination of power to ritual status is involved.

33. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, *Social Life in Ancient India*, (Calcutta. 1968) p. 151f. Earlier N. K. Dutta had argued that untouchability was not a part of the original Indo-Aryan institutions, it was borrowed from the Dravidians who were culturally far superior to the pre-Dravidian aborigines and treated them as 'pariahs' (*Origin and Growth of Caste in India* Vol. I, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 31; 106-7). However, R. S. Sharma has shown that there is nothing to support the view that the Dravidians practised untouchability before coming in contact with the Aryans or that the Southerners had a more conservative and contemptuous attitude towards the sudras, which category also included untouchables in the early centuries preceding the Christian era (*Sudras* p. 131).

or Dravidian origin, nevertheless trace it to tribal taboos on accepting food and women from outsiders.[34] A third view[35] asserts that specialization in certain ritually 'impure' tasks led to the attribution of permanent impurity to some categories of people. None of these however explain why our earlier sources do not speak of social hierarchy in terms of purity/pollution but a growing concern with this problem is noticed in later sources. The earliest form of social ranking mentioned in our sources is the *varna* division which delineates the social role of each *varna* in the organization, production and distribution of the surplus. The idea of hierarchy was inherent in the *varna* organization from its very inception, but at least in the later vedic age when the system was still in its formative stage,[36a] it does not seem that the commensal and connubial restrictions through which pollution was controlled in later times were operating already. In some later vedic

34. J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India*, (Cambridge, 1946,) p. 62 et. el; Vivekanand Jha, *Indian Historical Review*, II, i, 23-4.
35. Dumont, op. cit., p. 47.
36 a There is some difference of opinion over the growth of tribal aristocracy and priesthood in the Rgvedic society. G. S. Ghurye (*Cast and Race in India*, Bombay, p. 42f) and A. L. Basham (*The Wonder That was India*, Fontana Books, 1967, pp. 35-6) perhaps following the authors of the *Vedic Index* think that a rudimentary form of class division had already come into existence in the Rgvedic society. But P. V. Kane comes to the conclusion after a detailed examination of the Rgvedic passages that in the age of the *Rgveda* neither the ksatriya/rajanya nor the *vis* formed a compact group, *vis* being almost undistinguishable from the *jana* or tribe. The brahmanas appear to have been a distinct group, but it was still not hereditary. (*Hist. Dh.* Vol. II, pt. i, pp. 25-33). Recent researches of R. S. Sharma in the nature of property and class formation in vedic society clearly show that in the Rgvedic times there was no social group living off the surplus produced by others. The transition from pastoral to the agricultural economy in the later vedic times gave rise to a form of social organization in which the priestly and warrior classes acted as organisers of production collecting the surplus produced by the large peasant class of vaisyas and a comparatively small serving class of the sudras. This was the origin of the *varna* system (R. S. Sharma, 'Class formation and its material basis in the Upper Gangetic basin (c. 1000-500 B.C.) *Indian Historical Review*, Vol. II no. 1, pp. 1-13; 'Forms of Property in the Early Portions of the Rgveda' *Proceedings of the Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 34th session, Chandigarh, 1973, Vol. I pp. 94f; 'Conflict, Distribution and Differentiation in Rgvedic Society, Cyclostyled Copy, pp. 19-20). Also see D. D. Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, London, 1965, p. 85f.

texts[36b] the performer of the *visvajit* sacrifice is required to live with the Nisadas in their village for three-nights and partake of their food and even though the Niṣādas were still a tribe and not yet degraded to the position of inferior sudras, the ritual shows that there was no prejudice against accepting food from those who were outside one's kingroup. In another context[37] the ksatriya and the *vis* are instructed to eat from the same vessel, which fact suggests, in our opinion, absence of any strict notions of commensal exclusiveness owing to a common tribal past rather than deliberate violation of a taboo for ritual needs. This is also confirmed by the fact that in some later vedic passages the *ksatra* is said clearly to have been created out of the *vis*.[38] Several examples have been cited[39] to show that inter-*varna* marriages of the *anuloma* type were allowed in later vedic times. We may suggest that even when tribes were disintegrating into *varnas*, marriages continued to take place for some time in accordance with the tribal kinship pattern across the *varna* barriers but with due respect to the patriarchal norm which would not allow a male of the lower *varna* to marry a woman of the higher *varna*. This may also explain how the three wives of the later vedic king, *mahisi*, *vavata* and *parivrkta*, came from three different *varnas*.[40] that is, ksatriya, vaisya, and sudra respectively. Apparently these marriages also served the political purpose of securing alliance of all the three *varnas*, but the point to note is that in several later vedic Samhitas and Brahmanas *parivrkti* is included[41] among the list of *ratnins* at whose house the sacrificing king offered oblations to appropriate deities during the Rajasuya

36 b *Apastamba Srauta Sutra*, XVII. 26.18; *Latyayana Srauta Sātra*, VIII. 2.8; Vivekanand Jha, 'From Tribe to Untouchable : The Case of Nisadas, *Indian Society Historical Probings* ; in memory of D. D. Kosambi (ICHR, Delhi, 1974) p. 69.

37. *Satapatha Brāhmana*, IV. 3. 3 15; R. S. Sharma, *IHR*, II, i, p. 12.

38. *Satapatha Brāhmana*, XII. 7. 3. 8; Jogiraj Basu, *Indiā in the Age of the Brahmanas*, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 115-6.

39. R. S. Sharma, *Sudras*..., p. 62-4; B. S. Upadhya gives several examples of the brahmana girls marrying ksatriya kings from vedic literature (*Women in the Rgveda*, p. 55f)

40. Jogiraj Basu, op. cit, p. 37.

41. *Taittriya Samhita*, I. 8. 9, *Maitrāyaniya Samhitā*, II. 6. 5, IV. 3; *Taitriya Brahmana*, 1. 7. 3f. In the *sotapatha Brāhmana* she is not included among the ratnins but is mentioned at the end of the list. This may indicate loss of status of the sudra wife. See R. S. Sharma, *Aspects of Political ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, 2nd revised edition, Delhi, 1968, p. 133.

ceremony. We may contrast this practice of associating the sudra wife with the Rajasuya sacrifice with the later dictum given in the *Visnu Dharma Sutra*[42] that a twice-born should never associate a sudra wife with himself in religious ceremonies. The fact is that later vedic rituals were meant for much smaller and less complex peasant communities, which were in a state of transition from the tribal to a class structure in response to the material conditions created by the small-scale peasant economy. At this stage *varnas* were not mere classificatory categories but real social groups whose relationship with each other was regulated by a division of labour in which the majority of the people was assigned the task of production but a special category of people were set apart to rule others permanently and establish apparatus for the appropriation of the surplus. The important role of coercion in this scheme is evident from the fact that war was the only pursuit for a ksatriya. His obligation of protecting his subjects is to be viewed along with the ideal of *asvamedha*, which regarded the unabashed wars of aggression as the crowning achievement of a ksatriya. These class relations emerging on the ruins of tribal values had received the whole-hearted support of the specialists in the tribal ritual who shared the surplus along with the warrior class and invented the myth of the divine origin of the *varnas* thus helping in their stabilization on a hereditary basis, but although the politico-economic dominance of one section of the population and the formation of a servile sudra class out of the dispossessed and defeated peoples in the inter and intra-tribal wars[44] led to the concept of high and low in the *varna* scheme, its role was still unmasked and it had a factual[45] rather than ritual basis. That is why in the later vedic texts no attempt is made to disguise the nature of *varna* relations; and the need for the submission of the two lower *varnas* to the higher *varnas* and mutual co-operation between the brahmanas and ksatriyas

42. *Visnu Dh. Su.* 26, 1-4 quoted by Kane, *Hist. Dh.* Vol. II, pt. i, p. 559.
43. In the *Pancavimso Brahmana* (VI. 1. 6f) it is stated that "the Brahmana by his mouth is the strongest, the rajanya's strength lies in his arms", quoted by U.N, Ghoshal, *A History of Indian Political Ideas*, Oxford University press, 1966, p. 22.
44. R. S. Sharma, *Sudras*..., p, 40.
45. P. V. Kane too is of the view that the *varnas* represented the real divisions of society in later vedic age and were not just theoretical categories (Hist. Dh,, II, i, p. 47-8.

is repeatedly stressed.[46] But in subsequent times under changed material conditions vedic ritual by itself without the support of politico-economic factors was not enough to ensure the prosperity of the brahmana, so the claim to ritual purity could even degenerate into ensuring his right to a certain type of servile work. To illustrate the point, we may refer to the *Apastamba Dharma Sutra* which permits the employment of sudras as cooks in a brahmana household provided that a member of any of the three upper *varnas* supervised their work and they observed certain rules regarding cleanliness such as shaving their hair, paring nails, etc..[47] But later, when the concept of ritual purity had become rooted in tradition rather than in historical necessity this practice was forbidden in the name of the kali age[48] and the custom of employing needy brahmanas for cooking food came in vogue. Perhaps the earliest epigraphic reference to this practice is found in an inscription[49] of the 10th century from the Deccan which while recording a gift to the temple of Suvarnaksi stipulates that the cooking at the almshouse attached to the temple should be done by a brahmana woman.

Altekar[50] and Kane[51] have shown that the early law-givers such as Gautama, Apastamba and Baudhayana make no reservation in permitting a brahmana to taking food cooked in the houses of the members of the other three *varnas*, and a gradual increase in commensal and connubial exclusiveness may be noticed in later texts such as those of Angiras, Yama and Vyasa. A close examination of the Buddhist sources also leads one to the same conclusion that endogamy and commensality, the two chief characteristics of the modern caste system, were absent in society at the time of the Buddha.[52] It is held[53] on the basis of the *Tantravartika* of Kumarila Bhatta that dining in the company of one's relations and friends belonging to a different *varna* did not cause con-

46. Jogiraj Basu, op. cit., p. *15*f: U. N. Ghoshal op. cit., p. 30f.
47. *Ap. Dh. Su.*, II. 2. 3. 4 quoted by Ram Gopal in *India of Vedic Kalpasutras* (Delhi, 1959) p. 125; Kane, op.cit p. 161; Vol II pt. ii, p. 791.
48. *Smrti Candrika*. 1, quoted by U. N. Ghoshal in the *Struggle for Empire* (*The History aud Culture of Indian People*, Vol. V. Bombay, 1966) p. 475.
49. The Sogal inscription of the time of the Calukya Taila II, E. I. XVI, no. i, 18 67-8
50. A. S. Altekar, *The Rastrakutas and Their Times*. p. 338.
51. *Hist. Dh.*, II, i, p, 789-790.
52. Narendra Wagle, op. cit p. 132-3.
53. B. N. S. Yadava, op. cit p. 7.

tamination down to the eighth century A. D. The brahmanical lav books not only provide differential rules of inheritance for the sons bor of wives belonging to different *varnas* but even prescribe different perioc of ceremonial purity and impurity to be observed on the death of relative belonging to a different *varna*.[54] Instances of inter-*varna* marr ages mentioned in the literary and inscriptional sources[55] may ha\ been exceptions rather than the rule, but these certainly suggest th: restrictions on accepting wives and cooked food from the lower *varn* evolved gradually and became stricter in course of time. No doul certain commensal and connubial taboos may have derived from prim tive notions which regard the partaking of food a magically oriente religious activity and which regulate marriage alliances in accordan with the tribal norms; and all such ideas need not have been borrowin from the aborigines for similar notions prevailed among the Ind Europeans as well;[56] but in the early medieval times there was a gre increase in the rules of purification or *saucacara* which was develop into an ideology. The concept of *saucacara* underscored not only tl religio-magical significance of such acts but transformed them in instruments to measure the privileges or disabilities of various soci groups and to restrict social mobility with a view to maintaining tl status quo. Thus the taboo on accepting cooked food from tl members of castes other than their own became typical of the brahm nical society, in which the brahmana standing at the apex set tl pattern and had to take maximum precautions against pollution.[57] Tl

54. A. S. Altekar, *Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, (3rd ed. Delhi, 196 p. 75-6.
55. Altekar, ibid., J. C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canon* (Bombay, 1947) pp. 153-6.
56. Hutton op. cit., pp. 163-4.
57. Sometimes it is argued that the sudra was better off than the brahmana prescriptions for purificatory rites were less rigorous for him then for t brahmana, and what others regarded as his disabilities, the sudra might ha regarded as "boons". See Brij Narain Sharma, *Social Life in Northern Ind* (Delhi, 1966), p. 55. This is, to say the least, extremely superficial. In society which put the premium on the observance of purificatory rites soc recognition of the comparative laxity of a community in these matters mea its low status, and as the well-known sociologist M. N. Srinivas has sho lower communities tried to improve their social status through a process sanskritization, i. e. by adopting the behaviour pattern of higher communit and emulating them in matters of food, drink and marriage. According

preoccupation of the orthodox brahmana with the preservation of his purity through *saucacara* should be understood in the light of growing traditionalism and belief in the magical and supernatural potency of purificatory observances in early medievel society. This was a feature which grew out of the same social conditions as Tantricism, a movement aimed at breaking social taboos. Both *saucacara* and Tantricism were different sides of the same coin, the former being the manifestation and the latter a protest against the deepening of class-contradictions. The social function of the ideology of purity/pollution was to justify the low position and exploitation of a large section of population and keeping them segregated; and the fact that it is on the whole the attitude of the brahmana which determines the status of a caste shows the important role of the brahmana ideologues in the formulation of this ideology.

However, I would like to reiterate that in its beginings *varna* was not a mere theoretical imposition on the existing caste realities but a description of the realities of the later vedic age. As the Aryan society advanced both spatially and demographically owing to the greater efficiency of its production system, and new social groups were drawn within its vortex, the *varna* system become more complex and diversified and was stretched a good deal to maintain the myth of its universal applicability. This is also proved by the fact that in the classical *varna* theory there is no place for the untouchable groups. Later theoreticians who wanted to emphasize the unchangeable and everlasting sacred character of the Hindu social structure were hard put to explain the existence of the Candala and allied social groups who,

Brij Narain Sharma the Smrti rule that a sudra who has taken water polluted by the touch of a Candala becomes pure by observing fast on that day only, but a brahmana has to fast for three days is an example of the "concessions" given to the sudras. But he does not realize that this so-called concession originated from the concept of relative impurity of the sudra and his comparative proximity to the Candala in the social scale. Once the ideology of purity/pollution developed in the social framework of the *varnas* it was further elaborated in a logically consistent manner by the brahmanical thinkers. See Henry Orenstein 'Logical Congruence in Hindu Sacred Law : Another Interpretation *Contribution to Indian Sociology*, N. S. No. 4. 1970 p. 22f. But we must not forget that even though the ideologies evolve through individual inventions these arise out of the prevailing material conditions and as such reflect the ideas of the dominant class. Further, it is the role of the ideologies to secure the acceptance of the exploited.

although sometimes placed on the lowest rung of the sudra *varna*, were the distinct enough to have given rise to the concept of the fifth (*pancama*) *varna*, which was known at least as early as the time of Sankaracharya, who speaks of it in his Sarirakabhasya.[58] It seems that although the vaisya was a residual category ever since its inception, there was a good deal of homogeniety within the upper three *varnas*, but the sudra *varna* consisting of the defeated and dispossessed peoples, who were reduced to propertyless menial positions, had from the very beginning a heterogeneous character.[59] *The Chandogya Upanisad*[60] regards birth in the brahmana, the ksatriya and the vaisya categories as auspicious (*ramaniya*) contrasting these with the Candala, dog and swine, birth among whom is described as impure, the result of evil conduct. The passage shows the stabilization of the upper *varnas* on a hereditary basis by the end of the vedic period ; and the mention of the Candala in place of the sudra implies hierarchical stratification of servile communities with the Candala occupying the lowermost position. In some early Buddhist and Jaina sources the Candalas and the Pukkusas are enumerated separately after the mention of the four *varnas* indicating thereby that their position was lower than that of the sudra.[61] They are mentioned in some later vedic sources as well[62], but the idea of pollution inhering by birth in the Candala and some other despised social groups is stated clearly in early Dharma and Grhya Sutras and Pali literature, which justifies the conclusion that untouchability appeared in post-vedic times before the Mauryan epoch.[63] The brahmanical law-givers include them in the lists of mixed castes which are given a sudra status, but the Pali sources seem closer to reality. It has been argued[64] with a great deal of plausibility that the 'impurity' of the Candala, Pukkasa, etc. did not arise from the fact that they followed ritually impure professions ; but their cultural backwardness and precarious living as hunters, fowlers and food-gatherers, condemned them

58. *Sarirabhasya* on the *Brahma Sutra*, I, 4. 11-13.
59. R. S. Sharma, *Sudras*..., p. 280f.
60. VI. 10, 7.
61. *Anguttara Nikaya*, I 162; *Samyatta Nikaya* PTS, Vol. V, p. 161; Richard Fick, *The Social Organisation in North-East India*, (Calcutta, 1920), 27f.
62. *Vajasaneyi Samhita*, XXX. 17-21; *Taittiria Brahmana* III. 4.14-17.
63. R. S. Sharma, op. cit., p. 126; Vivekanand Jha, IHR, II, i, p. 14f.
64. R. S. Sharma, op.cit., p. 132-3; B. N. S. Yadava, A Note on 'Stages in the History of Untouchables', IHR, II, ii, p. 514.

o take up such menial tasks as carrying unclaimed corpses, sweeping he streets, etc. With the growing economic disparity and intensifica-ion of class relations, the privileged classes, organized now on a ereditary basis. developed an attitude of contempt towards manual abour. Added to these were certain primitive ideas of horror and mpurity associated with certain materials, such as, dead bodies. A ombination of all these factors led to a hierarchization in the status f those who were engaged in manual labour and gave rise to the nique institution of untouchability.

The early Buddhist sources give us a clear idea of the polarization f society into privileged and unprivileged classes. Thus often the khattiya—brahmana' are clubbed on the one hand and the 'vessa—idda, on the other. The dichotomy between the high and low *jatis* is lso emphasized. One may not agree with the view[65] that there was an bsence of settled grouping in terms of *jati* and *varna* which were concep-ıal categories denoting status-position in the time of the Buddha, for as ıstances quoted by R. S. Sharma show,[66] even the Buddhist texts attest) the existential realities of the *varna* system. In our opinion, the term *ıti* was used to stress the fact of birth in a particular community, and ıe term became popular owing to the hereditary nature of social roups. Hence it is sometimes applied to the brahmana, the ksatriya, ıe vaisya and the sudra divisions[67] but is more often used to signify

5. Wagle, op. cit., p. 131.
5. op. cit., p. 87.
7. It has been asserted by T.R. Trautman (op cit., p. 197) and A.L. Basham (op. cit. p. 149) that Sanskrit literature scrupulously observes a distinction between the words *varna* and *jati*; but detailed studies of the early uses of these terms lead to a very different conclusion. V. S. Agrawala (*India as known to Panini*, University of Lucknow, 1953, p. 75) points out that Panini uses the term *varna* twice for castes which are mentioned as *jatis* in later legal literature. According to P. V. Kane (*Hist. Dh.*, II i. p. 55), although the *Yajnavalkya Smrti* makes a distinction between *varna* and *jati* in two passages, the two words are often con-founded, *jati* is used to indicate *varna* and the term *varna* is applied to 'mixed castes' which were evidently *jatis* or endogamous, craft-exclusive social groups closely approximating to what is meant by the modern usage of the term. We may point out that the indiscriminate use of the two terms continued in popular parlance, as is shown by the name of a village known as 'Brhat-Chattivanna', a village inhabited by thirty-six *varnas*, mentioned in a tenth century Copper plate inscription from Bengal (see Puspa Niyogi *Brahmanical Settlements in Different Subdivisions of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1967 p. 55). Since the principle of

distinct social groups of tribal origin such as the Candala *jati*, the Vena *jati*, the Nisada *jati*, the Pukkusa *jati*, the Sakya *jati* and so on. The incorporation of new tribal groups into the expanding Indo-Aryan *varna* system popularized the use of the word *jati* in the sense of caste.[68] Later it also denoted professional groups and guilds which acquired a hereditary basis in an atmosphere of restricted mobility characterizing early medieval times.

R. S. Sharma holds[69] that in the later vedic age sudras were a numerically small class engaged in domestic and agricultural labour, but the *vis* or the peasantry bore the main burden of production. However, in the Mauryan times sudra labour was employed in agriculture on a large scale. With the decline of the Mauryan state control in the post-Maurya and Gupta periods, there was some improvement in their position and they were transformed into petty peasants, hired labourers and artisans. There is no doubt that in the Gupta and post-Gupta times

heredity has played an important role in the division of labour envisaged in the *varna* scheme the difference between *varna* and *jati* has not been qualitative but only that of scale. It is well known that the Hindus themselves even today apply the term *jati* to all levels of the caste system beginning from *varna* to what is described by the sociologists as 'subcaste'. See Adrian C. Mayer 'The Indian Caste System' in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Science*, edited by David L. Sill, Vol. II (Macmillan 1968) p. 340.

Dumont writes that it is wrong to assume that in the *varnas* 'heredity is more important than function which is true of caste but not of *varnas*' (op.cit.p.73-4). But we may point out that even in the later vedic age, which was the formative period of the *varna* system the membership of a *varna* was dependent theoretically on birth (Kane, op. cit. p. 48); and in early Buddhist literature hereditary basis of the *varna* is taken for granted even though the Buddha tries hard to refute it. Dumont criticizes those who regard accession 'to the dignity of Ksatriya by dynasties of different origin'' as an ''irregularity'' in the *varna* system saying that the true ksatriya lineages had been long extinct. But he convenlently ignores the fact that the rise to the ksatriya status of people of unknown origins was itself dependent on their achieving putative hereditary links with the ksatriya of the old through invented genealogies, and those who did not seek such validation continued as members of the lower *varnas*, for example, Harsavardhana of Kanauj and Reddi Kings of Andhra.

68. D. C. Sircar, *Society and Administration of Ancient and Medieval India*, Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 103-5.
69. R. S. Sharma, IHR, II, i. p. 8; Sudras ..p. 46, 281f. Also see Devraj Chanana, *Slavery in Ancient India*, English ed,, Delhi 1960 for the employment of sudra labour in agriculture.

the number of the sudra communities had increased considerably and the majority of them was employed as field labourers, craftsman and petty agriculturists.[70] One of the reasons for increase in the number of the sudras was the assimilation of the tribal peoples in the expanding agrarian economy, for although a few leading men, the chief and sometimes even the tribal priest, found entry into the higher levels, the majority of the tribe took up agriculture and allied crafts for its living and was given a sudra status. The process has been discussed by Kosambi in a very clear and logical manner.[71] However, I would like to draw your attention to the general decline in the numerical as well as status-position of the vaisya *varna* especially in post-Gupta times; for it seems that wherever the *varna* system spread under feudal conditions when trade was not an important factor in the economic system a three-tiered stratification emerged marked by an absence of the vaisya *varna*. This is broadly true of Bengal and the South where the ruling dynasties such as, Palas, Pallavas, Colas, Hoyasalas, etc., claimed either ksatriya or brahmaksatriya ancestry but there is hardly any reference to the vaisya *varna*. It is remarked[72] that although some brahmanas migrated to these areas under the incentive of the landgrants and spread brahmanical ideas functioning as "enlightened landowners", there was no mass migration of the vedic *vis* which formed the bulk of the Aryan population. Hence the non-Aryan population of the peripheral regions was ranked mainly as sudras. This may partly explain the phenomenon, but we may point out that migration was not the main factor in the *varna* system, which has been flexible enough to accommodate indigenous priests, rulers and tribal segments at various levels. The main reason for the absence of the vaisya *varna* seems to lie with the changes in the economic system. It is rightly held that the rise of the intermediaries had depressed the condition of the old peasantry; as such the distinctions between the vaisya agriculturists and the sudra agriculturists had become hazy. The result of this was that on the one hand we find close approximation of the vaisya and the sudra *varnas*[73] in the early

70. B.N.S. Yadava, *Society and Culture...*, p. 14f.
71. D. D. Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, London, 1965, p. 171f.
72. R. S. Sharma, *Social Changes in Early Medieval India* p. 12.
73. B. P. Mazumdar, *Socio-Economic History of Nothern India* (1133-1194 A. D.) Calcutta, 1960 p. 96; A.S. Altekar, *Rastrakutas and Their Times*, p. 23, f.; B.N. S. Yadava, op. cit., p. 11f; R. S. Sharma, *Social-Changes*...p, 11f.

medieval sources, on the other hand there is a noticeable tendency to assign only trade and commerce as the specific *varna* duty of the vaisya.[74] In our opinion, although there had been some brahmanical penetration of the perepheral regions in the early centuries of the Christian era or, may be, even earlier, large scale dissemination of brahmanical ideas took place in early medieval times with the settlement of brahmanical *agraharas* in an agricultural setting. Trade was not a very important factor in the economy of these regions at this stage, and the number of communities dependent on trade must have been fairly small to have been practically ignored in the records of this period. We may note that later, in the circumstances characterizing the revival of trade and industry, several communities of the Andhra desa claimed vaisya status in the inscriptions of the 11th to the 16th century, and a *Vaisya Purana* was also composed.[75] Nevertheless, it is striking that the subdivisions of the vaisya *varna* mentioned in the early medieval sources of north India have either a territorial or occupational basis, but hardly any one of them points to an aboriginal tribal background.[76] This suggests fragmentation of the vasiya *varna* in the north following the loss of status of those who were still dependent on agriculture and cattle breeding and had become almost indistinguishable from the sudra peasantry.[77] The influential section of the vaisya community who flourished on trade and commerce in western India[78] consciously emphasize[79] their subcaste affiliation rather than their membership of the wider *varna* group. The fact is suggestive of the existing socio-economic unequalities within the

74. Ibid., p. 11. B.N.S. Yadava, op. cit., p. 13f; J.D.M, Derret, *Religion, Law and the State in India*, (London 1968), p. 172.
75. K. Sundaram, *Studies in Economic and Social Condition of Medieval Andhra*, Triveni Publishers (Madras, 1968); p. 57f.
76. B. N. S. Yadava, op. cit., p. 38.
77. B. N. S. Yadava points out that in earlier times *kinasa* was regarded as a vaisya peasant but in the early medieval times he was depressed to the status of sudra see, 'Problem of the Interaction Between Socio-Economic Classes' *IHR*, III, i, p. 47.
78. In early Pali sources also the prosperous vaisya *gahapatis* enjoy his social status but the vaisya class as a whole is joined to the sudra *varna*. However, there is no reference to any subcases of the vaisya *varna*.
79. K. C. Jain, *Malwa Through the Ages*, Delhi, 1972, p. 485. But his argument that the vaisyas gave up agricultural and cattle breeding under the influence of Jainism as these involved *himsa*, is hardly convincing. A similar view is expressed by Brij Narain Sharma, op. cit., p. 50f.

varna. Some prosperous sections of the community even claimed ksatriya origin[80] and had access to political roles.[81]

Thus the politico-economic system of the early medieval period l to important modification in the *varna* system, and as it spread frc midland to other areas it developed regional versions. Perhaps the m(important adjustments had to be made in the ksatriya *varna* whose ch function was to rule with the force of arms. As new ruling grouj foreign and indigenous, emerged on the scene, there was need for coı tant adaptations. The descendants of dominant ruling lineages of t later vedic age who had arrogated to themselves superior status aı political power as a hereditary right may have contributed mainly to t formation of professional armies of the post-vedic monarchies. T ruling groups of the oligarchies in the age of the Buddha were ve conscious of their ksatriya ancestry. Their pride in 'blue blood' is shov by the fact that accord ng to the Buddha although the brahmanas wou adopt a son who had partial non-brahmana blood on either paren side, the ksatriyas would refuse to accept as their equal anyone who w not pure by birth for seven generations on either side.[82] Thus, althou an identity of interests and professional solidarity would lead to t compactness of the ksatriya *varna*, the emphasis on pure lineage mı have contributed towards the formation of subdivisions within its fol Manu shows his awareness of the existence of a number of *jatis* in tl ksatriya *varna*.[83] As the political vicissitudes of the ruling classes oft lead to the displacement of the old by new groups, the loss of politic power compelled some of them to take up such occupations as trade aı agriculture, a fact which is sometimes mentioned in the inscription

80. Dasharatha Sharma, *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, Vol. I, (Bikaner, 1966), 438. But he is wrong in his view that the contention that the vaisyas had be levelled to the position of the sudras is based on the evidence of Alberuni onl See B. N. S. Yadava, *loc. cit.*
81. Two vaisya brothers, Tejahkala and Vastukala of the Pragvata family we ministers under Bhima II of Gujarat who ruled from A. D. 1178-1239. Ibi p. 25.
82. Wagle, op. cit., p. 102.
83. *Manu Smrti*, 43-4 mentions *ksatriya-jatayah.*
84. The existence of some ksatriya merchants in the Andhra desa in the ear centuries of the Christian era is noted by K. Gopalachari *Early History of tl Andhra Country*, Madras, 1941, p. 91. For some other examples from the 10 century, see B. D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Origin of the Rajputs: The Political Ec nomic and Social Processes' *IHR*, III, i, p. 77.

and is sanctioned by the lawgivers as approved behaviour for critical times (*apaddharma*).

An important development in the social structure of early medieval India was the rise of the *rajaputras* or Rajputs whose origin has been a matter of long debate. The theory of their 'foreign' or indigenous origin was hotly contested against the backdrop of nationalist historiography which was looking for model 'Freedom-fighters', among the rulers noted for their chivalry. Recently a plea has been made to view the phenomenon in its totality rather than in terms of the ancestry of individual dynasties,[85] and enough evidence has been marshalled[86] to prove that the Rajputs who formed the ruling aristocracy in early medieval times had a mixed origin. The caste assimilated within its fold elements from various *varnas* as well as sections of aboriginal population and Hinduized foreign invaders, such as the Hunas and the Kusanas. A study of the formation of this caste throws valuable light on the functioning of the *varna* system for it shows how new castes could be formed forging new bonds of kinship, provided that political and economic factors favoured a restructuring of this kind. Useful studies from this point of view can be made of some other castes[87] too which came into existence in the 11th-12th centuries revealing the process of fission or fusion, as the case may be, under the impact of secular forces. In the case of the Rajputs their advent on the political scene is linked with the emergence of landed intermediaries and fragmentation of political authority. They emerged as a powerful landed aristocracy as a result of the system of distributing land through interclan relationships. Having achieved politico-economic predominance they sought ritual validation as well to justify their hereditary right to rule and enhance social prestige in the prevailing atmosphere of castes. This was done through fabricated genealogies of ruling houses claiming their descent from the Sun, the Moon or the

85. Ibid., p. 61.
86. B. N. S. Yadava, *Society and Culture*...., p. 34f.
87. Such as the Ambasthas and the Kayasthas. An investigation into the formation of these castes would reveal that the main factor in the growth of commensal and connubial restrictions was not the survival of tribal taboos but the lack of mobility and restrictive environment of the early medieval society which fostered exclusiveness in a traditional, superstitious atmosphere imbued by the brahmanical ideology of purity/pollution. For the transition of the Ambasthas from a tribe to caste spread out in different regions, see D. C. Sircar, op. cit., p. 107f.

Fire-pit and/or same ancient hero, sage or god; and the ensuing glory extended to the whole clan. There is no doubt that the achievement of political eminence led to a movement towards corresponding social status, especially as it was not a case of an individual family but of the whole clan which shared politico-economic power. But it will be wrong to assume[88] on the basis of selective evidence that claims to respectable ancestry were made only when the family had achieved sovereign power, such claims being incompatible with the feudatory status. There is plenty of evidence to show that feudatories enjoyed considerable prestige and power which was more tangible at the local level than that of the sovereigns, and once the fashion of establishing one's 'blue blood' through relationship to old ksatriya dynasties came in vogue the powerful tributary chiefs would not be lagging behind. Thus a family of local chiefs ruling in Maharastra and owing allegiance to the Calukya king Somesvara I (or II ?) claimed to have belonged to the Agni-kula, being the descendants of the hero who was created out of the firepit by the sage Agastya to bring back his *kamadhenu* cow after killing the evil minded rulers who had snatched it away.[89]

The convergence between high ritual status and politico-economic dominance may be further seen in the claims of the brahma-ksatra origin of some ruling dynasties. A number of the dynasties of the early medieval period such as the Pallavas, Guhilas, Cahamanas, Paramaras and Senas claimed their descent through brahmana ancestors and describe themselves as brahma-ksatriyas, but in their later records emphasize their pure ksatriya status.[91] According to one view the brahma-ksatriyas had both brahmana and ksatriya blood in them but preferred to be known as ksatriyas.[92] The same tendency may be noticed among the rulers of the Kadamba dynasty, which was founded by the brahmana Mayura-sarman,

88. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., p. 69; 70.
89. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, p. 159f; D.C. Sircar, *The Guhilas of Kiskindha* (Calcutta, 1965) p. 21.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 6; B. N. S. Yadava, *Society and Culture...*, p. 29.
91. For example, the Pallavas in their earlier records trace their origin from Brahma and enumerate among their ancestors Angiras, Brhaspati, Bharadvaj, Drona and Asvathama (*Es.c. Ind.* XVII, No. 2 verses 2-15) but in later records the Pallava king Rajasimha is described as ksatriya-simha-Pallavesvara (*Ep. Ind.* XIX, p. 109). For Guhilas, see D. C. Sircar, op. cit., p. 3.
92. Ibid.

but his descendants took over the title 'varman' indicative of their ksatriya status. One may explain it as a change of occupation leading to a change in the ritual status[93] but it is curious that the earlier brahmana rulers such as the Sungas, Kanvas and Vakatakas did not feel the need of such a change. It is further argued[94] that the assimilation of the brahmanas in the ksatriya rank was not difficult, as both shared the same culture. But it is not made clear why this so-called "common cultural inheritance" should have been shared by the brahmanas and the ksatriyas only resulting in their close association, but the vaisyas and the sudras should have remained outside it, especially as in the opinion of these historians there had been no degradation of the vaisya caste and no polarity between the upper and the lower *varnas*. Clearly the close alliance between the brahmana and the ksatriya was due to their mutual sharing in the distribution of economic surplus, which relationship goes back to vedic times. But in early medieval period with the emergence of a feudal polity based on the possession and control of land, the land-holding class experienced tremendous increase in power and prestige; and the ksatriya ranking, which always rated high in secular terms must have appeared more attractive. However, as happened in the case of the vaisya and the sudra *varnas*, material factors led to a hierarchical gradation within the ksatriya *varna* also. On the authority of the Arab traveller Ibn Khurdadba we know that this *varna* was divided into two major divisions, identified by Altekar as Satksatriya and ordinary ksatriya.[95] It is suggested[96] that the distinction may have developed partly owing to the dislike of the older aristocracy towards the new entrants. But in our opinion, in view of the clear statement of the Arab writers that kings were chosen from the former category, the descendants of the former ksatriyas, who were dispossessed by the new ruling groups and no longer shared power but had to take up other professions such as trade and agriculture, were regarded as ordinary ksatriyas and differentiated from the superior ksatriyas of the ruling clan. It is significant that Ibn Khurdadba and Al Idrisi rank the Satksatriya even higher than the brahmanas, a situation which would explain the preference to ksatriya status by the royal families of brahm-

93. D. R. Bhandarkar, JASB, 1909, N.S. p. 186.
94. Dasharatha Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 441; Brijendra Nath Sharma, *Social and Cultural History of Northern India*, Delhi, 1972.
95. A. S. Altekar, *Rastrakutas...*, 117f.
96. B. N. S. Yadava, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-6.

ana origin and also the growing popularity of the term Rajput and less frequent use of 'ksatriya'.

In some studies of caste much is made of the separation between power and ritual status in the *varna* scheme and the theoretical subordination of the former to the latter. But we must note that this did not happen without conflict between these two sections which had joined together for the appropriation of surplus. The later vedic texts as well as early Buddhist and Jaina sources contain sufficient traces of tension between the brahmana and the ksatriya *varnas*. However, as the main function of the brahmana was that of the ideologue who helped in the stabilization of the *varnas* on a hereditary basis and provided ritual justification for the appropriation of surplus, he was able to establish his superiority at least in theory. But in our view, this theoretical superiority could be retained only because the brahmanas as a part of the upper strata, came to play increasingly secular roles. It is a well-known feature of traditional Indian society that the brahmana holding lucrative and powerful secular assignments enjoyed a higher status than his priestly compere. The phenomenon may be traced back to early medieval times when the practice of making landgrants to brahmanas came in vogue, ostensibly to increase the 'spiritual merit' of the donors but with an underlying purpose of either bringing virgin soil under cultivation in the peripheral areas or to create a class of loyal intermediaries wedded to the maintenance of the established order in cultivated areas. The inscriptional evidence undoubtedly shows that the donees were preceptors, astrologers and scholars of repute, and the landgrants were a tribute to their personal achievements; but the permanent nature of these grants, which were to be transmitted from one generation to another and carried all fiscal and administrative rights with it,[97] transformed the beneficiaries into a superior landowning class creating status distinctions within the *varna*, and this may be one of the reasons why the brahmanical law-books of early medieval times especially recommend the grant of land to brahmanas and their appointment as commander-in-chiefs and in other administrative capacities,[98] but they look down upon those who live by

97. The phenomenon is discussed in detail by R. S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, Calcutta, 1965.

98. *Agni Purana*, CCXX. 1. 6; *Matsya Purana*, CCXV. 8-10; Also see *Manu Smrti* VII. 58; VIII. 9-11; V. S. Agrawala, *India as described by Manu* (Varanasi, 1970), p. 19.

worshipping the deities in a temple or make a livelihood by serving as priests.[99] Professor Romila Thapar[100] has drawn attention to status gradation among the brahmanas as a result of the recruitment of local tribal priests, but this is only a part explanation. The condemnation of the priest who "commercialized" his ritual services was largely due to the fact that there was a large section of the brahmanas living off the land without endangering its ritual purity by undertaking physical labour which was to be done by the dependent peasantry or field labour of inferior castes[101], and it is in this light that we should view the emphasis placed on the maintenance of *varna* order in contemporary inscriptions and brahmanical literature.

The problem of interaction between the classical *varna* structure and the socio-economic forces distinguishing early medieval polity has only recently attracted the attention of some scholars, and it is shown that feudal hierarchy had begun to cut across the *varna* hierarchy.[102] But the problem requires further investigation especially in view of the fact that caste came to have local versions in early medieval times and a good deal of diversification took place within each *varna*, and especially in the category of the sudras, which may have allowed some occupational mobility to high ranking sudras. In some areas such as the South a section of the sudras may have even formed part of the ruling class, but this will have to be viewed in the background of the formation of a class of untouchables, the majority of whom was employed as field labourers. However, even the preliminary work done in the field has exploded the

99. B. P. Mazumdar (op. cit p. 77) expresses his inability to understand the logic of the lawgivers "who found no fault with a Brahmana engaged as a general or royal officer but degraded the person who lived by teaching or acting as priests of the non-brahmanical community". The phenomenon becomes explicable if we take it as a manifestation of feudal attitudes which put a premium on the secular rather than on purely ritual role of the brahamna class.

100. 'Social Mobility in Ancient India with special reference to Elite groups'; in *Indian Society : Historical Probings* (in memory D. D. Kosambi), p. 109.

101. In an excellent study of the caste system of rural Kumaon R. D. Sanwal has shown how those brahmanas who were not able to secure administrative positions and had to take up priestly vocation for economic reasons were downgraded and looked at contemptuously for "peddling" their services. *Social Stratification in rural Kumaon*, OUP, Delhi, 1976, p. 112f.

102. R. S. Sharma, *Social Changes*, p. 6f; B. N. S. Yadava *IHR*, III, i. p. 43f.

myth of perfect social harmony[103] prevailing in what has been described as the "Hindu" period of Indian history. Much work remains to be done, and it is to be hoped that in coming years more in-depth studies will be undertaken to unfold the nature of early Indian social structure from a scientific perspective.

In the end I would like to thank all of you for giving me the opportunity of presenting some of my views on ancient Indian history.

103. *Ibid.*, p. 55f. Also see Suvira Jaiswal, 'Studies in the Social Structure of the Early Tamils' in *Indian Society : Historical Probings*, p. 150f.

(a) Political & Administrative History

THE MEGHAS OF KOSALA

J. K. Sahu

We come across the rule of the Megha dynasty of Kosala fron single verse of the Puranas which states that nine kings known as Meghas would rule over Kosala and they would be very power (Mahavalah) and intelligent (Buddhimantah). The Puranas further rev that about this time the Guptas established a kingdom extending o Prayaga, Saketa and Maghadha along the river Ganges.[2] This kingd of the Guptas is generally ascribed to the time prior to the conquests Samudragupta, i.e. to the reign of Chandragupta I who founded Gupta empire and promulgated the Gupta era in A.D. 319-20.[3] T portions of the Puranas dealing with political history, therefore, seem have been compiled in the second quarter of the fourth century A. The ninth Megha ruler of Kosala may thus be taken as a contempor of the Gupta king Chandragupta.

Scholars[4] have identified the Meghas of Kosala with the Che Mahameghavahanas who were a paramount power of Kalinga a Kosala during the time of Kharavela. A Prakrit inscription,[5] discover at Guntupally in the west Godavari district of Andhra-Pradesh, reve that a king named Sada of the Mahameghavahana dynasty ruled o Kalinga and Mahishaka in the first century A.D. Kumara Varada Siri, mentioned in the rock inscription[6] of Gunji in Sakti State (Madh Pradesh), also seems to have been a ruler of this family about this tin It appears that the Mahameghavahanas continued to rule over Kos and Kalinga long after Kharavela till this territory was conquered by t Satavahanas in the first half of the second century A.D. The Satavaha occupation of Orissa is upheld by eminent historians like R. D. Banerj G.V. Rao,[8] N.K. Sahu,[9] Gopalachari[10] and others with strong evidenc It was probably Gautamiputra Satakarni who conquered this regi from the Mahameghavahanas and avenged the defeat of the Satavahan by Kharavela about a century before.[11] After this the Mahameghav hanas were not heard of. It is, indeed, difficult to connect them wi

the Meghas of Kosala who flourished during the post-Satavahana period. It may at best, be said that the Mahameghavahanas served the Satavahanas as their subordinate and, after the fall of the latter, they asserted their independence and again became a sovereign power.

The above theory is, however, based on conjecture and is not supported by any record. A more probable suggestion may be offered in this regard identifying the Meghas of Kosala with the Megha Kings ruling in the Allahabad District of North India in Second century A.D.[12] This dynasty was founded probably by a lieutenant of the Kushanas named Magha.[13] The records of its kings are characterised by the use of an era which seems to be the Saka year[14] of A.D. 78. The earliest ruler of this dynasty known from epigraphic sources is Maharaja Vasisthiputra Bhimasena whose Bandhogarh (Rewa State) inscription and the Ginja (Allahabad) inscription are dated in the year 51 (A.D.129) and 52 (A.D.130) respectively. Maharaja Kautsiputra Praustha-Sri, son of Bhimasena, is known from six records dated in the year 86, 87 and 88 corresponding to A D. 164, 165 and 166. Other kings of this dynasty as known from the inscriptions and coins were Maharaja Kausikiputra Bhadramagha, Maharaja Gautamiputra Sivamagha, Maharaja Vaisravana, Maharaja Bhima Varman, Maharaja Satamagha, and Maharaja Vijayamagha. The coins and inscriptions[15] of this family have been discovered not only from Allahabad district, but also from Fatehpur district and the Rewa State. It is very likely that a branch of the Maghas occupied Kosala after the fall of the Satavahana dynasty and established their rule in the beginning of third century A.D.

The political condition of South-east India during this period indicates that the Meghas ruled over Kosala at a critical time. In the third century A D., the Vakatakas had established their rule in parts of Modern Madhya Pradesh and Berar close to the kingdom of Kosala. The second ruler of this dynasty, Maharaja Haritiputra Pravarasena I, also called Pravira in the Puranic account was a powerful king. He extended his empire from Bundelkhand in the north upto Telengana in the south.[16] In the Andhra country, the Ikshvakus rose to the height of their power under their king Mathariputra Vira-Purusadatta who flourished in the third quarter of third century A.D. After this, the Pallavas became powerful and ambitious in that region.[17] About this time, Kalinga came under the rule of a foreign dynasty known as the

Murundas as evidenced by numismatic and literary records.[18] The Murundas ruled over an extensive territory from Chhotnagpur region of Bihar to the district of Ganjam in Orissa. One of its kings, Dharmadamadhara,[19] circulated gold coins and bore the title of Maharajadhiraja. In North India, the Maghas had declined and the Nagas had risen to power. There was matrimonial relation between the Vakatakas and the Nagas.[20] The Meghas of Kosala had to deal with all these powerful neighbours and their allies. We know nothing about the political activities of the Meghas during this time. But their successful rule and policy are indicated by the Puranas where they have been described as wise and powerful.

It is clear from the above discussion that the Meghas flourished in Kosala country in the second quarter of fourth century A.D. and the ninth Megha ruler was a contemporary of Gupta king Chandragupta I. In the absence of any evidence whatsoever to prove that the Megha rule came to an abrupt end in the middle of fourth century, we can say with a great deal of certainty that when Samudragupta invaded Kosala, it was a Megha king who faced him. Mahendra of Kosala referred to in the Allahabad Prasasti[21] of Samudragupta may therefore be taken as ninth or tenth ruler of Megha dynasty.

The neighbour king of Kosala, who also was defeated by the Gupta monarch, was Vyaghraraja of Kantaraka country which has been read and interpreted as Maha Kantaraka in the inscription. Kosala and Kantaraka are mentioned in many ancient literary works as adjacent territories,[22] but nowhere the prefix 'Maha' is attributed to either of them. The term 'Maha Kantaraka' appears unconventional and it is not expected from a scholarly poet like Harisena. A close observation of the term, however, leads to a different reading. There is a medial sign in the letter म which may be read as मा and possibly also as मे whereas the letter ह is clear without any medial sign. The correct reading of the word is माह् or मेह् and not महा and it appears to be a suffix of Mahendra instead of a prefix of Kantaraka. The intention of the scribe probably was to write Mahendra Megha or Mahendra Magha. The line in the inscription, if read correctly, will be

Kausalaka Mahendra Meha (Megha)
Kantaraka Vyaghraraja etc.

Thus the Allahabad Pillar inscription itself describes Mahendra as a Megha King of Kosala.

Mahendra Megha was overpowered by Samudragupta during his southern campaign. But Samudragupta did not depose him nor was the kingdom of Kosala annexed to the Gupta empire.[23] There is absolutely no evidence to show that the Megha dynasty came to an end during the time of Mahendra or immediately after him.

In this connection our attention is drawn to a copperplate inscription[24] of Maharaja Bhimasena discovered at Arang in Madhya Pradesh. This inscription reveals a line of kings extending over six generations as given below:

Maharaja Sura
Maharaja Dayita I
Maharaja Bibhisena
Maharaja Bhimasena I
Maharaja Dayitavarman II.
Maharaja Bhimasena II (The Donor)
Rajaputra Subhadra

The Arang grant is dated in Gupta era by numerical symbols which are interpreted as '282' by Hiralal[25] and as '182' by Mirashi.[26] The difference of opinion arises only in the symbol of the hundredth figure which, however, seems to represent 100 because the horizontal bar on the right of the vertical to change it into 200 is wanted here. The reading of the date by Mirashi as 182 Gupta era, equivalent to A.D. 502 may, therefore, be accepted as correct.

In the transaction of the Arang Grant, Rajaputra Subhadra acted as the agent (Dutaka) of the king which indicates that king Bhimasena II, by the time of the issue of the charter, was well advanced in age, his son being a grown-up person discharging responsible work in the administration. So Bhimasena II may be assigned a reign period in the last quarter of fifth century and the first decade of sixth century A.D. Taking an average period of 20 to 25 years for the rule of each generation of kings who preceded Bhimasena II, we may assign the third quarter of fourth century A.D. to the reign of Maharaja Sura. The name of the king, who preceded Maharaja Sura, is not known from any source. The Allahabad pillar inscription reveals that Mahendra Megha was ruling over Kosala in the third quarter of fourth century A.D. when

Samudragupta invaded the south. If Maharaja Sura would be taken as a king of Kosala, which he was in all probability, it may be contended that he was the immediate successor of Mahendra Megha of Allahabad inscription and the line of kings referred to in the Arang plate may be co-related with the Megha dynasty.

In the fifth century A.D. during the rule of the Megha kings, a powerful dynasty known as the Nalas rose in western Kosala. The relation between these two dynasties is not known from any source. The Nalas faced, on their western border, a formidable enemy, the Vakatakas of Berar, with whom they waged a protracted war. It is because of this that they probably preferred to maintain friendly relations with the Megha rulers who were their eastern neighbours. We do not hear anything of the Meghas of Kosala after Bhimasena II. It appears that they were defeated and ousted along with the Nalas by Vakataka king, Harisena,[27] in the first decade of sixth century A.D. or by the Sarabhapuriyas who rose to power in Kosala as feudatories of the Vakatakas.

The Meghas ruled over Kosala for about three hundred years from the beginning of third century A D. to the beginning of sixth century A.D. This period between the fall of the Satavahanas to the rise of the Sarabhapuriyas had so far remained dark and obscure in the political history of South Kosala. This gap is now bridged by the discovery of a long rule of the Meghas. It is believed that further research on this dynasty would throw a good deal of light on the history of Kosala during this period.

REFERENCES

1. Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 51.
   कोशलाया तुराजनः भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः
   मेघा इति समाख्याताः बुद्धिमन्तो न वैवतु ।
2. Pargiter, op. cit. p. 53.
3. R.K. Mookherji, The Gupta Empire p. 13.
4. I.H.Q. XIV p. 471.
5. JAIH Vol. I No. 3, pp 217 ff.
6. Hist. of Orissa I, p. 83.
7. EHDI. Vol. IV p. 118.
8. Utkal University History of Orissa I pp. 415 ff.
9. Comprehensive Hist. of India II, II. p. 313.

10. The conquest of Kosala and Kalinga by Satakarni is attested to by the Nasik Cave inscription of Vasisthiputra Pulumavi which describes Satakarni as the Lord of the Vindhyas, Rksavat Svetagiri and Chakara most of which are traceable in that region.
11. Proceedings of Ind. Hist. Congress, 1965 pp 102 ff.
12. The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 176.
13. New Hist. of Indian People VI p. 41 fn. 2.
14. For inscriptions and coins of the Meghas vide Sel. Insc. p. 365, E. I. XVIII pp. 159 ff, XXIII, pp. 245 ff. XXIV, pp. 146-48 & 253 ff. Jha. Comm. Vol. pp. 100-14, IC I, p.692, III pp, 179-83, JNSI II, pp. 95-108 & XXXVIII Pt. I, pp. 46 ff.
15. JRAS 1914 pp. 317 ff.
16. B.V.K. Rao Early Hist. of Andhradesa Vira Purusadatta pp. 53 ff. and for the Pallavas pp. 130 ff.
17. For the rule of the Murundas, vide Utkal University Hist. of Orissa I pp. 418-30.
18. JNSI XII pp. 1-14.
19. The Vakataka king Pravarasena I married her son Gautamiputra with the daughter of Bhavanaga, a powerful Naga King of Bharasiva family.
20. CII III pp. 1 of line 19.
21. Vide Mahabharata, Sabha Parva verse 39.
22. This is indicated by the term Grahana-Moksha-Anugraha in line 20 of Allahabad Prasasti.
23. E. I. IX pp. 342-45.
24. Ibid.
25. E I XXVI p. 228.
26. The Ajanta insc. describes Harisena as Lord of Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala etc. EHDI p. 187.

VIJAYANADIN, AN HITHERTO UNKNOWN KING OF KAUSAMBI

Ajay Mitra Shastri

During my visit to Varanasi in November, 1972, Shri Murarilal Kedia, an enlightened coin-collector of the city, showed me a few coins which, he said, belonged to a large hoard, and, having been assured of my interest in the coins, handed over the entire hoard to me for study. According to the information supplied by Shri Kedia, the hoard was found at the ancient site of Kausambi (modern Kosam) about 30 miles from Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh, and, as will appear from the sequel,

there is nothing incompatible about it. No other information about the circumstances of the discovery is available.

The hoard contained nearly three thousand coins. On examination all of them, with the exception of only nine pieces, were found to belong to the Megha chiefs[1] whose inscriptions have been reported from the Kausambi and Bandhogarh regions.[2] They are also known from some seals[3] and coins[4] published earlier. It is true that some four hundred odd coins either do not contain legends or bear very fragmentary legends; for their blanks were much smaller than the dies employed to impress them; but typological and other considerations leave no room for doubt that they, too, belong to the Meghas.

The nine coins, which form an exception, are of great historical value inasmuch as they reveal the existence of a new chief not known so far from any other source. He is Vijayanandin. Since with the exception of these pieces all the coins bore names of only Magha chiefs, it was at first felt that Vijayanandin, too was a Magha ruler brought to light for the first time by these coins. But it soon dawned upon me as I progressed with my study that there are significant differences as regards typology and other features between the specie of the known Magha rulers on the one hand and those of Vijayanandin on the other, and, therefore, the latter had probably nothing to do with the Maghas. From the point of view of the present study it would be convenient to describe the coins before highlighting these differences.

All the coins are of a copper alloy and squarish or roundish in shape. The devices on them are in a shallow relief. Their obverse is occupied by Nandin (humped bull) couchant to left or right in the upper part and legend in the lower part. The reverse of a few pieces is blank; in other cases it bears either (i) bow and arrow strung together accompanied by a device consisting of a group of six dots arranged in the form of a triangle placed over a horizontal line, or (ii) humped bull couchant to right with a line of dots placed over its head. On the basis of these devices four varieties may be distinguished. Var. 1, which is represented by three coins, shows humped bull seated to left on the obv., while the rev. is blank. The obv. of Var. 2 is the same as that of var. 1, but on its rev. we come across an interesting group of devices, viz. bow and arrow strung together and a group of six pellets over a horizontal line. If statistical considerations are to be relied

upon, this appears to have been the most popular variety; for we have as many as four specimens of this variety out of a total of nine coins. The rev. of var. 3 is identical with that of var. 2 and the obv. device is the same as that of var. 1, but the animal faces right. Var. 4 has the same obv. as var. 1. but its rev. is distinguished by the occurrence of humped bull couchant to right, with three dots arranged in the form of a horizontal line over its head. The last two varieties are represented by only a single coin each.

The legend, which is in Brahmi script and Prakrit language, gives us only the name of the king without any regal title or honorific prefixed to it. In most cases only a part of the name is accommodated, but a few coins give us the full name which is invariably written as Vijaynandi, the dental nasal or the *anusvara* preceding *di* being conspicuous by its absence. On two specimens a portion of the letter *sa* following the concluding letter of the name has also come out, indicating thereby that the name is given in the genitive singular in accordance with the general practice of the period. It is interesting to note in this connection that the employment of the genitive singular suffix *sa*, which is regular for *a* stems, for *i*-[5] and *u*-[6] stems is commonly noticed in the epigraphic and numismatic Prakrit during the period in question. The omission of the *anusvara* or the nasal consonant is also not unknown.[7]

Palaeographically the coins are datable to the 2nd—3rd century A. D. as the characters of the legend evince some characteristics of the Kushana alphabet. Attention may in this connection be invited to the form of the letter *v* the upper parts of all the three verticals whereof are equalised. On coin no. 4 the upper portion of the left vertical of this letter shows a rightward curve while the right vertical has become angular.[8] The horizontal line forming the base of *n* has developed downward curves at both the ends. The letter *v* has assumed a triangular form, though the angles are not acute The forms of *i* and *d* and the medial sign for *i*, which shows a strong curve, are also fully in consonance with this dating.[9] It would thus follow that Vijayanandin flourished sometime in the second or early third century A. D. And the findspot would show that he ruled in the Kausambi region, provided, of course, that the coins did originally belong to their provenance and that they did not migrate to this place from somewhere else. But of this there is hardly any possibility. Particular importance also attaches to the number of his coins which is not insignificant. Circum-

stantial evidence of the discovery of these coins also deserves to be noted in the present context. All the other chiefs whose coins are included in the hoard are known to have ruled in the Kausambi region.

Attention may now be invited to the differences between these coins and those of the Magha chiefs which form the basis of the assumption that Vijayanandin did not belong to the Magha dynasty. First as regards fabric. It is true that like Magha coins Vijayanandin's coins also were cut from a sheet of copper; but in respect of shape the latter are much more regular and uniform than the former. The coins of the Maghas bear tree within railing and three-peaked hill, sometimes surmounted by a crescent in the upper part, and a ladder-like device below the legend in the lower part on the obv. and a humped bull standing to right or left on the rev. as principal obv. and rev. types. The devices in the upper part on the obv. are sometimes flanked by a spear and/or a curved vertical stroke on one or both sides. On the rev. we sometimes find a wheel or conchshell on the back of the animal and a sacrificial post (*yupa*) before it. On some specimens we have what looks like a trough under the animal's mouth. In some cases we find a few other devices instead of the bull or in association with the latter on the rev.

None of these devices is noticed on the monetary issues of Vijayanandin. It is of course, true that humped bull is the obv. type of his coins and one variety has it on the rev. also, but it is couchant, not standing, as on the Magha specie. Likewise the bow-and-arrow and the device of nine pellets over a horizontal line which occur on the rev. of two of the varieties of Vijayanandin's specie are conspicuously absent on the coins of the known Magha chiefs.[10] Moreover, although we meet with several varieties in the form of the bull on the Magha coins, the form of the animal on Vijayanandin's coins is peculiar to them. Lastly, there are also some differences in respect of the legend. It is a fact that except for the solitary coin of *Maharaja* Magha no regal title like *rajan* or *maharaja* or hororific like *sri* is met with on Magha coins and the same is true of the specie of Vijayanandin also. But the similarity comes to an end here. The legend on Vijayanandin's issues ends in genitive singular whereas the Magha coins give only the royal names without any case-ending even though sometimes we have some space left after the last letter of the issuing chief's name. The letters on Magha coins are thick, squat and perfectly angular (*v* and *m*) while

those on Vijayanandin's issues are thin small and less angular and point to an earlier date as compared to the former. There is thus nothing to connect Vijayanandin with the Maghas except the area where they flourished. Judging from palaeography, Vijayanandin seems to have preceded the Maghas. There could not, however, have been a big gap of time between them.

Unfortunately, however, Vijayanandin is not known to us from any other source except these coins. We, of course, know of two kings with a similar name-ending, Sivanandin and Srinandin, who also are known only from coins. Three copper coins of Sivanandin were found at Puranpur in the Pilibhit District of Uttar Pradesh. These coins, which are round in shape, bear, within square incuse, the Brahmi legend *Sivanadisa sirisa* on the *obv.* and tree within railing on the rev.[11] K. D. Bajpai, who has published these coins, includes them in the Panchala series on stylistic grounds.[12] But it will be seen that except the name-ending, *nandin*, and the omission of the *anusvara* in the name of the king there is hardly anything similar between these coins and those of Vijayanandin. The seated humped bull, bow-and-arrow and the device of pellets over a line, which are the principal devices of the latter's specie are absent on the coins as Sivanandin whose only device, tree within railing, is not with on the issues of Vijayanandin. The findspots of their respective coins are also separated from each other by a long distance. It may thus be reasonably concluded that the two rulers had nothing to do with each other. The solitary coin of Srinandin, which is of copper and square in shape, is said to bear the legend Srinandin on the obv. and tree within railing, the first of the Panchala symbols, on the rev. This coin is reported to have been found at Ahichchhatra itself. R. R. Tripathi proposes to identify this chief with Nandin, one of the nine rulers of Aryavarta defeated by the Gupta emperor Samudragupta.[13] It will be seen that this coin also bears no similarity to the issues of Vijayanandin and its provenance was far removed from Kausambi where Vijayanandin's coins were found.[15]

For the present we have to content ourselves with what little we know about him from the coins published here which are our only source of information. We can expect to know more about him only when new literary or epigraphical evidence comes to light.

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1. All the rulers represented in the hoard were known earlier except only *Maharaja* Magha, probably the founder of the line, whose existence has been first brought to light by a solitary coin contained in this hoard. The study has also established the fact that all the coins bearing the name Sivamagha cannot be attributed to the same king and that coins of two rulers of this name can be easily distinguished on palaeographical grounds. Sivamagha I has probably to be identified with Kautsiputra Sivamagha and Sivamagha II with Gautamiputra Sivamahga. For the bearing of this hoard on the Magha history see my papers in *JAIH*, viii, pp. 294,300; *Itihas*, iv, pp. 27-54.
2. *EI*, xviii, pp. 158-60; xxiii, pp. 245-48; xxiv, pp. 146-48; xxxi, pp. 167-86.
3. K. K. Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*. Lucknow, 1972, pp. 36-41;
4. *BMC, AI*, pp. 156-58 (included under coins with incompleted legends); *JNSI*, ii, pp. 95-108; iv, pp. 10-12, 136-37; viii (i), pp. 15-16; xxxiii, pp. 46 ff.; *JAIH*, viii, pp. 294-300; *INC*, iii (i), pp. 11-21.
5. *Cf Amoghabhutisa* on the coins of Kuninda Amoghabhuti and *odubarisa* on Audumbara coins. *Vide BMC, AI*, pp. 122ff., 159ff. Also *cf. Vemakisa* on the coins of Vaimaka chief Rudravarman. See *ibid.*, p. 125. There are several other examples.
6. R. O. Franke, *Pali and Sanskrit*, p. 65; *BMC, AI*, p. lxxxiv.
7. *Cf. Odubarisa* in place of *Odumbarisa*.
8. It bears close resemblance to the form given by Buhler in 31, iv on plate iii of his *Indian Palaeography*.
9. For similar forms of letters, see Buhler, *Indian Palaeography*, pl. iii, G.H. Ojha, *Bharatiya Prachina Lipimala* pl. vi.
10. It must, however, be pointed out that strung bow-and-arrow device is found on the sealings of some of the Magha chiefs. See *ASI, AR*, 1911-12, p. 51, no. 27, pl. xviii. 27 (Bhimasena); *ibid*, p. 51, Nos. 26 and 28, pl. xviii (Gautamiputra Sivamagha); *JNSI*, xxiii, p. 412 (Kautsiputra Sivamagha); *ibid.*, xxxiv, pp. 70-71, pl. v. i (Vijayamagha ?). This device, which is common to both the Maghas and Vijayanandin, seems to indicate some connection between them. But the nature of this relationship cannot be determined in the present state of insufficient information.
11. *JNSI*, xv, pp. 42-3, pl. ii. 3-4; *Indian Numismatic Studies*, pp, 86-87.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 87; *JNSI*, xv, p. 43
13. *Ibid.*, xxiv, p. 22, pl. ii. 4.
14. Bela Lahiri (*Indigenous States of Northern India*, p. 181). doubts the attribution of these rulers to the Panchala region.

THE NAGA ORIGIN OF THE PALLAVAS OF KANCHI

T. K. Venkatasubramanian

The origin of the Pallavas has been the subject of keen controversy. The question remains open. The view that the Pallavas represent a dynasty and not a people is generally accepted. They succeeded in the third or fourth century A.D. to the rule of the Southern Provinces of the Andhra empire and expanded towards the northern areas of the Chola country. Roughly the theories of origin are divided into two groups : (1) Theories holding the pallavas to be foreigners; (2) Theories that they were indigenous inhabitants (Autochthons). The foreign origin of the pallavas cannot be said to have been established.

Pallava records are many and varied. The earliest of these consist of Copper-plates in Prakrit which have been assigned to the third century A.D. The dynasty of kings who issued these must have come to power soon after the fall of the Sathavahana power. Another set of inscriptions and copper plates in Sanskrit is ascribed to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Yet another set of inscriptions in Sanskrit with a Tamil version dates from the seventh to the ninth centuries. The three dynasties which issued these different records may have been connected. The Gothras of the first two dynasties are the same and the records of kings of the third dynasty claim some kings of the second dynasty as their ancestors. Hence the information exclusively from pallava records misleading. Necessarily scholars differ in their interpretations and it accounts for the variety of theories.

M. Srinivasa Iyengar sponsored the Naga origin of the pallavas.[1] Supporting the view in general, this paper seeks to make use of fresh evidence in support of the postulate. Literary and epigraphical evidences are made use of in the venture. M. Srinivasa Iyengar connects the pallavas with the Nagas basing his theory on the Naga alliance with the Cholas mentioned in the Manimekalai as well as the Naga ancestry mentioned in epigraphs like the Talagunda inscription. Vincent Smith agrees with the view and also holds that they might be somehow connected with the Kurumbas.[2]

Naga is a Sanskrit word meaning snake. It may also mean a 'hill'.[3] Attempts at deriving the word from 'Nagna' meaning naked have also been made.[4] Evidently, the primitive tribes did not use

clothes. A better explanation of the word is found in the cult of Tree and Serpent worship. This cult had been widespread in ancient India. From evidences available this cult beyond doubt *is a universal cult.*[5] The Vedas, the oldest literature in India, describe the antagonism between the Aryans and Dasyus and associate the later with serpents.[6] The Puranas divide the nether world into seven regions of which the first four were occupied by Daityas or Danavas and the rest by the Nagas. The lowest region Patala is vividly pictured in the Vishnu-Purana.[7] A different account is also given of the existence of nine parts of which the western was the Naga.[8]

To the Tamils, 1800 years ago there was no kingdom older than that of the Nagas. The 'Tirayar' were the next tribe of Tamil immigrants followed by 'Vanavar'.[9] N. Subramaniam made an attempt to connect the pallavas with the Tirayar-Tondaiyar of Tondi-mandalam.[10] He has not mentioned the source that gives the information of the migration of the Tondayars to the region north of the Tirupathi hills. Again he has not satisfactorily established his postulate that the Chola rulers of the post-Sangam age ousted the Tondayars from Kanchi. It is, therefore, difficult to admit the Chola-Naga-Tondayar-origin though there is a partial truth in the Tamil origin of the pallavas.

The Nagas are mentioned in some of the early Tamil works. The Manimekalai describes the Nagas as persons in human form "with curved lips red in colour, with large bright teeth, a voice like thunder, who delighted in mischief and were always armed with the noose."[11] The pattuppattu speaks of a prince, Tirayan by name, who was washed to the Indian shore by the waves of the sea.[12] In Manimekalai is narrated the story of the Chola king Netumkilli, the ruler of Kaverippumpattinam who fell in love with a Naga lady whom he happened to meet by chance in a grove near his capital. The lady disappeared after a month and later sent to the King, in a ship, the son born to them. The ship was wrecked near the coast. The Chola king who heard of it was much upset. He became so much absorbed in searching for the child that he forget to perform the annual Indra feast. The gods became angry and the city was destroyed by the waves.[13]

Another story in the same work relates that a Tamilian Chetti, named Saduvan, was trading with Vanga. He was driven to the shore of the naked nomads, the Nagas. But Saduvan made good his escape

because he had mastery over their language.[14] Despite the fact that these are legends, it can be said that "the Northern part of Ceylon was the land of the Nagas in the centuries preceding and succeeding the dawn of the Christian era, and there was communication by sea between the east Coast of South India and the Nagaland of Ceylon".[15]

From the evidence of early Tamil literary works it appears that Puhar, the Chola capital at the mouth of river Kaveri, was in more ancient times the capital of the Nagas.[16] According to the evidence of some early Tamil works and the Meckenzie Manuscript, Tondainadu, the north of the Chola country was the land of the Kurumbar, Aruvar or Aruvalar.[17] The region seems to have been divided into two halves, Aruvanadu and Aruvavadatalainadu. Of the two, the former extended between Bahur, near Pondicherry in the south, and Kancipuram in the north. The latter lay between the region about Kancipuram in the South and the river North-Pennar in the North. Beyond that was the country of the Vadugas who spoke a language different from Tamil. Ptolemy's geography refers to the defeat of some Nagas at Uraiyur by a Chola.[18] The Sangam poems also speak of the Nagas in the service of the rulers. Besides the reference in *Silappadikaram* of the Chola capture of Puhar from the Nagas, the *Akananuru* speaks of the great Naga defeat effected by palayan Maran of Mokur."[19] Kanakasabhai Pillai says that the oldest of the Mongolian tribes who invaded Southern India and conquered the Nagas appear to have been Marar, and the chief of the tribe was ever after known as palayan (ancient), being the most ancient of the Tamil settlers in the Southern part of India.[20] At any rate during the Sangam days, the Nagas seem to have ceased to exist as a political force within Tamilnadu without having been completely annihilated.

The Pallava appears late on the scene as a power in the Tamil land. To those who call the pallavas descendants of Tondaiman Ilam Tirayan, it may be said that no where do the historic pallavas claim relationship with the Cholas or the Ikshvaku family, though their founder claims to have become king by marrying a Naga, Virakurcha, the first pallava king attained the high status by marrying a Naga Princess.[21]

Even the earlier pallavas had Naga blood in their veins as their ancestor Asvathaman, the Brahman archer, had a Naga wife who gave

birth to the pallava dynasty.[22] Coming to historical times, it is necessary to enquire as to which Naga princess was married by Virakurcha. If Virakurcha's kingdom was Kanchi, then in all likelihood, he married a princess of the family of Nalliakkodan whose family is said to have patronised Tamil literature after the great days of the three kings and seven chiefs and ruled over Oymanadu, Erumainadu.[23] Malanga, Aruvanadu and Aruvavadathalai or Tondainadu. A Pallava could have possibly become king only after the Sathavahana Pulumayi III (about A.D. 230). So it is probable that the tradition about the obtaining of a kingdom by Virkurcha by a Naga marriage was in reference to the kingdom of Kanchi which was evidently partitioned out of Oymanadu as a dowry to the princess.[24]

Oymanadu, literally the land of the Bulls (Buffaloes) seems to have been another name for Aruva or Aruvavadathalai. In later Chola inscriptions Oymanadu is placed round Tindivanam taluk.[25] Amur, Eyilpatnam, Vellore and Malaṅga were its chief towns according to Siru-pan arruppadai, one of the Ten Idylls of the Sangam collections.[26] This poem describes the chieftain Oyman Nalliakkodan (Kodan-Nagan) who lived after the heyday of the Muventar and chiefs.[27] (Third century A.D.). Nannagan has also sung of the chief and his successors Oyman Nalliathan and Oyman Villiathan.[28] (Vijayaskandavarman Maharaja of Kanchi ?—Ref : *Ep. Indica*, Vol, 8, p. 143).

According to a ninth century inscription Mavilankai may be identified with Tindivanam.[29] Why it was so called. we cannot guess at present. Ptolemy mentions the Arvornaoi who had in their territory Malanga the emporium, and Malanga the inland capital where Basaronagas, their king, resided.[30] There is a place called Kil Mavilangai, in Tindivanam taluk and Singavaram (Sinhapura) near Gingee is another significant place.[31] Kanakasabhai located the inland Malanka at Kanchi.[32] The coastal Malanka in that case would be Mahabalipur (Maha+ila+pur ?). Malanka can be written as Mailam also and in that case Mylam and Mylapore would compete with the other places for the distinction conferred by Ptolemy.

The name Basaronagas of Ptolemy. the meaning of Aravar, a variation of Aruvar, in Tamil, and the existence of the Oliya-Nagas as late as the eleventh century according to an inscription of Rajendra I at Mahabalipur lend support to the view that the Aruvar or Kurumbar

were Nagas.[33] Ilam Tirayan was a Naga on his mother's side (who ruled Tondi). The suffixes 'Koda' and 'Athan' in the names of Oyman chiefs and the affiliation in name to Lanka the land of the Nagas and Naga kings tend to confirm, to a large extent, the above suggestion.[34]

Thus it is possible to disentangle the theory of Pallava-Naga origin from the legends attached to it and establish the Naga origin on more solid grounds. We do not hear of the Nagas as being powerful since their defeat at the hands of Palayan Maran of Mohur. They might have shifted their centre of political activity within the Tamil country. They could have regained political strength after a long period of political hibernation, taking advantage of the unceasing warfare among the Crowned monarchs (Muventar of Tamilakam). Perhaps, there necessarily was a long interval of confused political rivalry and activity which explains the appearance of the Pallavas of Kanchi on the scene rather late.

If this is admitted, it may lead to a re-assessment of the so-called 'Kalabhra Interregnum'—details of which are still vague. Let future investigation illuminate this dark corner of Tamilian history.

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25. No. S. 253, 256 of 1913; 303 of 1910, 279 of 1909; 246 & 247 of 1901 353 of 1900. *M.E.R.*
26. Lines 111-26. Also the Editors introduction to Pattuppattu.
27. It is difficult to say how sanskrit names were translated in those days. Nilanga might have been his sanskrit name.
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RASHTRAKUTA KRISHNA I AND GANGAVADI (758-774 A. D.)

Shivanna

The meteoric fall of the Chalukyas of Badami in the middle of the 8th century A.D. offered much scope for the rising power of the Rashtrakutas to expand, while it created a new and serious problem for the Western Gangas who were the staunch supporters of the Chalukyas. In this paper an attempt is made to discuss this problem in the reign of Krishna I, who was a contemporary of Ganga monarch Sripurusha, in a little depth making use of the scarce epigraphical records.

Krishna's accession to the throne in 758 A.D. marks an important stage in the Rashtrakuta history. It was during his period that the

Rashtrakuta power was established on solid foundation and that t ground was prepared for further expansion. He inherited a legacy incomplete work from his predecessor Dantidurga. He not only coı pleted it but initiated new lines of policy which had a great bearing ı the future history of the Rashtrakutas. On his accession, he faced tı important tasks, the realization of which was essential to secure imper status. First, establishment of Rashtrakuta authority over the defia feudatories and consolidation of power; and, secondly, expansion of t limits of the kingdom in all directions. In the first task, namely imp sition of the Rashtrakuta authority he was successful Feudator. loyal to the Chalukya house were made to acknowledge Rashtraku hegemony. The defiant feudatories were also reduced and Rashtraku power was consolidated. In the second task, he could not fully succee Krishna I turned his attention towards southern Karnataka which h been referred to in the inscriptions as Gangavadi 96000. This regiı was well organised under the leadership of the Gangas who were power for over four centuries and who at this juncture were passi: through the noon period of their existence. Certainly Krishna w bound to meet a stiff resistance from them.

Two reasons suggest themselves as having brought about the co flict between Krishna I and the Ganga monarch Sripurusha. Krishı was not satisfied with his inheritance and his ambition to possess mo territory soared high with every new addition. Secondly the Gang did not view with favour the rise of the Rashtrakutas in place of the old allies, namely the Western Chalukyas. The Gangas and the Chal kyas had been very good friends throughout and on many occasions the course of the Chalukya-Pallava conflict, the Gangas had partiı pated in the struggle on the Chalukya side and had protected that hou from extinction. Now the Rashtrakutas had succeeded in liquidating to the great Chagrin of the Gangas. In short the imperialistic attituı and aggressive policy of Krishna I coupled with the sluggish attitude the Gangas towards the Rashtrakutas brought about enmity between tl two resulting in an aggressive military confrontation lasting for century.

Krishna, after consolidating his position, launched an expeditiı against Gangavadi. The date of this invasion has remained a moı point as our records contain no information. But it may be suggestı

that two or three years after his accession this invasion took place. The contemporary of Krishna in Gangavadi was Sripurusha, who was a dynamic and resourceful monarch and whose wise and careful husbanding of the resources had led to general prosperity and abundance of wealth that the kingdom itself came to be regarded as 'Sri Rajya'. Further Sripurusha had gained vast experience in warfare and had earned name as a good soldier for his gallantary and competence in the battle field. Hence Krishna's task to establish his hegemony over Gangavadi at this juncture was not an easy one.

Most of the records agree on the point that fierce wars were fought between Krishna I and Sripurusha. Sripurusha, in order to make proper defence arrangements, shifted his seat of power from Makunda in Channapatna taluk to Manne in Nelamangala taluk of Bangalore district.[1] Manne was very near to the operation area and Sripurusha seems to have handled the invaders quite roughly. The large number of *viragals* found there suggests the severity of the battles.[2] The Gangas had fought against the Pallavas and other South Indian kingdoms but nowhere else we find so many hero stones installed to commemorate the fallen heroes as in the Rashtrakuta-Ganga conflict of this period.

This war seemed to have been a long drawn affair, probably extending over six or seven years, in which frequent raiding and plundering could be noticed. Besides the two opposing kings, princes of royal blood also participated in these battles. On the side of the Gangas Siyagella, son of Sripurusha, played an important role. His name appears in many viragals. Siyagella served as the governor of various provinces. In almost all the battles which were fought against the Rashtrakutas he participated and fought valiantly to protect the independence of Gangavadi. A viragal from Hirigundugal records that when Siyagella was governing Kesumannunadu Maridasa Kariyatamma Multi-arasa and a house-child Nagatarasa fought and fell at Bageyur. Siyagella after appreciating the courage and bravery of Kariyatamma granted Hirigundugal in Tumkur District.[3] The echo of this invasion is also heard from another lithic record from the same district immertalising the memory of a hero who had fallen in the war caused by the rising of the Rattas against Gangavadi.[4]

From these and many other records of the period it is clear that the places of the battles were Pinchanur, Kagemogeyur, Ogaballi and Baygeur.[5] Of all these places only Bageyur has been identified with Bagur situated about 5 miles to the north-east of Gubbi.[6] Despite the fact that all these places could not be identified, it would not be wrong if we conclude that present Tumkur district was the theatre of all these battles. In one of these battles Sripurusha's son, Siyagella, an accomplished swordsman, lost his life. Krishna is mentioned in these records as Kannara or by a mere title Ballaha, Vallaha or Ballavarasa.[7] In these wars Krishna gained an upperhand and the Ganga forces retreated. The Rashtrakuta monarch then marched towards Manne, the sub-capital of the Gangas, expelled the Ganga army and occupied the city. Krishna's Talegaon plates themselves testify to the fact that he pitched his camp at Mannanagara, which has been identified with Manne in Nelamangala taluk of Bangalore district.[8] Unfortunately there are no other Rashtrakuta records to corroborate this event. Sripurusha did not lose his morale following these reverses. When the Rashtrakuta army occupied Manne, the Ganga army moved to Makunda in Channapatna taluk in order to prevent further advance of the Rashtrakuta forces. In spite of the occupation of Manne and the loss of a portion of the territory of his kingdom, Sripurusha did not accept the Rashtrakuta supremacy by concluding a peace treaty. He, on the other hand, continued the policy of resistance from other strategic places.

Krishna's occupation of Manne lasted only for a short period. Very soon he withdrew and returned to his kingdom. His Talegaon plates inform us that he was present in his kingdom in 768 A.D.[9] From this it could be inferred that the war between Krishna and Sripurusha took place between 762 and *766 A.D. or 767 A.D.* Sripurusha, it is said, occupied Manne and re-established his authority over that territory.

The withdrawal of Krishna from Manne raises certain perplexing questions. Why did he withdraw? Why did he not annex Manne? Why did he not continue the war against Sripurusha and push ahead into Gangavadi? Was there a peace treaty signed between the two? In the absence of evidence it is dangerous to speculate and find answers to these questions. The possibility of a peace treaty is completely ruled out as they were bitter enemies and the enmity continued for several generations after this war. The possibility of Sripurusha bringing about

expulsion is also not tenable, for if he had done so at least his inscriptions or the inscriptions of his successors would have contained a reference to such an important event.

The inscriptions are all silent about Krishna's return from Manne. We could suggest three possibilities for Krishna's return. First, Krishna was sufficiently advanced in his age. Probably he had become tired of continuous warfare. The issue of the Talegaon plates suggests that he was keen on spending his last days in rendering some meritorious service; secondly the Gangas seem to have handled the Rashtrakutas roughly and the latter were quite tired and exhausted. In the face of continuous resistance from the Gangas they could not hold on to the conquered territory and preferred to return. Thirdly, the Rashtrakutas seem to have sensed a threat from another side, namely the Chalukyas of Vengi. Krishna, in order to checkmate this danger, seems to have returned from Manne. He sent his son and successor Govinda II to deal with the Eastern Chalukya menace. Govinda not only defeated them in a battle but succeeded in annexing a part of their territory to the Rashtrakuta kingdom.

Thus, to sum up, the period in review saw the total exit of the Chalukyas which provided a good opportunity to Krishna to consolidate his authority and the Gangas to struggle seriously to protect their territorial integrity. The Chalukyas were a great ally of the Gangas and their fall exposed the Gangas to a new and dangerous situation pregnant with dire consequences. They had to suffer great hardship to maintain their position. Though Krishna I did not succeed in establishing his supremacy over the Gangas, he paved the way for future hostilities. The significance of his expedition lies in the fact that the hostilities which started in his regime against the Gangas did not cease till the Rashtrakuta monarchs Dhruva and Govinda III had succeeded in establishing their supremacy over Gangavadi

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CATTLE RAIDERS OF THE SANGAM AGE

M.G.S. Narayanan

The institution called *Vetci* or cattle raid, often figuring in *Sangam* works, has received only casual notice from historians who dealt with society in that remote age. The grammatical work named *Tolkapiam* has described *Vetci* as a conventional act signifying the prelude to warfare. Accepting this many standard histories of the *Sangam* period, from those of Kankasabhai to Nilakanta Sastri, have generally dismissed *Vetci* in a few sentences without probing further and analysing its implications for the structure of society and the pattern of culture.[1]

In *Sangam Polity* by Prof. Subrahmanian we come across for the first time an awareness of its importance along with an attempt to explain it in terms of political and social morality. However, Prof.Subrahmanian, quite in conformity with his general tendency to justify and glorify the practices of this epoch, provides a Brahmanical interpretation which transforms the raid into an act of reverence. He states :

> Generally the war started with a well known incident ; viz., cattle-lifting. The *Tolkapiam* gives it a significant name : 'atantombal'. This means 'the protection of the cows'. Cattle-lifting normally is treated as a crime for it is not different from theft. But it is treated in Tamil literary convention at least as an act of 'protection' and a measure of 'safety'. Perhaps this was so in actual practice also. The idea is that the king and his men who wish to attack a neighbouring state wish to save the cows in that state from the horrors of an invasion and so actually steal them away. This is to be treated as an act of humanity and not as an act of malicious robbery. But the cattle that was lifted was generally

distributed among the followers of the invading chief. The protection is thus offered, first and foremost, to the cows because they were most 'essential for the economy' of the land, and were a harmless' species and because religion and tradition held that the cows are very sacred. They were 'incapable of taking care of themselves' so that a mere warning was not enough; they had to be saved.[2]

The author then goes further to state, "that was a well-known practice among the people of most countries,' and suggests that the Tamils were unique in "weaving this incident into their general pattern of military science". He gives a description of the cattle raid based on *Talkapiam* qualifying it as the "initial situation" of the invaders desirous of conquering and annexing another king's territory.[3] They begin by removing the cattle from the enemy land with the ostensible object of saving them. It is also the warning of an invasion to follow. The historian of the *Sangam Polity* would have us imagine that the ancient Tamils had a well-formulated code of conduct in war which would suggest that war was more of an agreed ritual than a catastrophic nonsense.

While conceding the ingenuity of the author in producing an ethical-religious rationalisation based on the grammarian's nomenclature for what appears on the surface to be a blunt and primitive act of aggression, it is necessary to take a closer look at the phenomenon.

Tolkapiam presents a highly conventionalised picture of the types and stages of love as well as warfare. It is primarily concerned with literary forms and not the conditions of social or political life. In such matters there is a pronounced tendency to legitimise and rationalise many practices portayed in crude form in the poems themselves. This is one reason why, in spite of the given traditional order to the contrary, some scholars have postulated a much later period than the poems for *Tolkapiam*, a work of grammar and poetics.[4]

This is the natural order of linguistic evolution also. Whether late or early, the stamp of artificiality is quite evident in the classifications and explanations of the grammarian. This paper turns to the poems in the anthologies for authentic, direct and perhaps contemporary representation of the cattle raids of the *Sangam* age. It shows that the collec-

tive testimony of the *Sangam* poets would suggest that we have in this practice usually a spontaneous expression of greed and lawlessness in a primitive rural society which counted wealth in terms of cattle but lacked the machinery for maintaining law and order provided by the strong arm of the state.

II

There are about half a dozen stray references to *Vetci* or cattle raid in *Akananuru*, the collection of four hundred poems on love and marriage, which throw some light on the meaning of this practice.

In one place it occurs in the form of a smile while the poet is describing the horrors of a forest through which the lovers had to pass. It was infested with *pulavuppuli* or man-eating leopard pouncing on the deer. The whole area was full of the foul smell arising out of the snatches of meat left on the skin and horns of the deer after the leopard's meal. This attracted a crowd of corpse-eating vultures which were in the habit of looking around with their big heads in a raised position. These birds are compared to the bow-wielding heroes of the cattle raid who killed the forest-dwellers at night, plundered their cattle and made a grand feast of the meat on the rocky slopes.[5] From this it may be inferred that the heroes of *Vetci* in this case were just wayside robbers molesting the cattle wealth of the forest tribes. No side in this conflict was having a political connection with the king or a political objective. The robbers who made a randezvous on the rocks could be described as cow-protectors only if protection meant ultimate liberation from the ordeals of life.

The next reference is also found in a context where the poet seeks to invoke horror by portraying a scene. The mother of a girl is lamenting that her delicate ward eloped with a flowerbedecked youngster and that the couple entered the deep forest. The passages through the forest are described as frequented by the *Vetci* warriors in the service or Elini, the Maravar with bows returning after triumphant cattle raids, intoxicated with honey and driving the plundered cows of heavy udders along with their bulls.[6] Here the *Marava* soldiers are said to be the followers of chieftain but their purpose appears to be the plunder of cows and bulls, an end in itself rather than the prelude to invasion. This is described as a routine affair in that region.

These cow-protectors of Prof. Subrahmanian appear in a fierce light as cow-sacrificers and cow-eaters in another song in the same collection. They are portrayed as heroic warriors who plundered herds of milk-bearing cows and led them to the forest near the Palai region through a long distance, waving their vactorious swords and shooting the arrows. They congregated under the neem tree, the abode of the spirit, slaughtered a fat cow and sprinkled its blood by way of sacrifice, and consumed the cooked meat in the same place.[7] They are not said to belong to any king's army and their activity is not part of a larger scheme.

Another poet of romance has qualified the Cola king as the guardian of the *Vetci* warriors who plunder the milch cows.[8] The passage does not, however, clarify the role of these warriors in the military set up of the Cola country. There is reference in another song to the tight string of *tudi*, a kind of drum, sounded by the heroic bowmen of Anci when they were engaged in cattle raid.[9] This brings out another association between a chieftain and the cattle raiders. It also distinguishes the act of *Vetci* from theft by suggesting its noisy background, but we have no hint about a religious or ethical or even political motive other than plunder.

All that we have gathered so far is that fierce cattle raiders, often consisting of bands residing in the dry desert lands near the fertile plains and forest areas of the cowherds, organised plundering expeditions to carry off large numbers of milch cows and bulls; that they were sometimes working for some great or small chieftain and sometimes on their own: that their usual activity was not part of any larger plan; and that they did not possess any moral sentiment regarding the cows the meat of which they consumed. They were perhaps the worshippers of the spirits of trees and places and did not as yet belong to any of the higher Hindu groups and castes. This conflict between the violent cattle raiders of the high lands and the peaceful cattle keepers of the plains could have formed part and parcel of everyday life in the *Sangam* age. It represented a way of life at least for a section of the people.

III

There is a group of a dozen poems in the collection of the four hundred political- social songs called *Purananuru* where the *Vetci* is

celebrated as a grand theme. These are helpful in bringing out more fully the character of this practice.

An unknown poet introduces a bowman hero with great admiration. His legs are stout, his chest is broad, his eyes are captivating, his beard is bushy like the growth of wild grass and his cheeks are sunken. He set out against his adversary in the neighbouring village in the morning. He did not stay in the forest for long. The enemy's cows appear to have been left to graze there. He counted them on fingers, fought the *Karantaiyar* or protectors with his bow and brought the whole big herd consisting of a large number of cows to his own village. The poet then praises the boundless generosity of the hero by making fun of his poverty in mock satire since the man has already parted with all the cows in the herd through gifts before the day came to a close. From this it may be inferred that here the cattle raid was part of a local feud between two chieftains, the goals on the part of the raider being the infliction of loss in his enemy, the attainment of glory and the satisfaction of the greed of his own retinue. A brief introduction in prose gives the information that the poem was composed by someone in the midst of a grand feast celebrating victory in this glorious enterprise [10]

The next poem comes from Uloccanar who composed it, according to the introduction, at the time of the grand feast in honour of the hero's quick victory in *Vetci*. The hero in question had already left in search of another adventure. The commentator says that the hero was attached to the *Cola* king named Rajasuyam Vetta Perunarkilli though this royal name does not figure in the text of the song which is addressed to the supplier of toddy. The poet asks the man to reserve a pot of good old toddy for the bearded hero who has gone out on a second trip in the midst of the celebration. He had exchanged all the herd of plundered cattle for toddy for himself and his gang. After drinking toddy and eating the cow-flesh he just brushed the blood-stained hands on his bow and rushed out for another expedition. The poet says that he would return before the seated *Maravar* finished their meal, bringing enough cattle to cover the whole place.[11] These details would show that cattle raids in the neighbouring villages were organised as part of the rivalries of soldiers camping in groups in forest areas. It was not always planned in advance, but undertaken by a select gang on a momentary impulse induced by drink and merrymaking.

A poem by Perum Putanar presents the other side of the picture. He warns the owner of a herd of cattle that it may not be wise to rush ahead in order to recover the herd taken away by the robbers. It was true that the plundered herd would be driven off in haste, but one had to remember that all the *Maravar* in the group would not be with them. Some of them at least were sure to be hiding among the leafy woods with their large bows, waiting for the owners to make their appearance. In this case the owner himself was a hero possessing bright sword and swift legs, capable of pouncing on the herd like a possessed leopard, but still it was better not to give pursuit immediately.[12] Here the raid appears to have been conducted stealthily while the owner and his men were away from station. There is no heroism in such an act, nor any sense of adventure. The only thing is the profit motive.

Another song records the story of a victim of *Vetci* who died heroically fighting to recover the cattle. A set of warriors had committed the raid in public and the hero resisted with his own shield the whole avalanche of arrows from the bows on the other side. In the end he won the battle, he recovered the cattle, but he fell a victim to the *Marava's* arrow near the bank of the rivulet, thereby conquerring the rare world of the martyr's heaven.

Avur Mulam Kilar has contributed a song about Kari Ati, the lord of Mallinadu in the Pandya country. He speaks about the contrast between the house of his patron before and after his death in battle. The poet curses his own eyes for having witnessed the change. His lord was the veteran of many a fight for the recovery of cattle against armies of bowmen who had nothing to learn about their trade on account of long practice. He used to roar like a wild bird calling its partner in the forest. This time he fought and recovered the cattle as before, and then became transformed into a stone.[13] The house had lost its aura of prosperity in the same way as his wife with shaven head, shunning all ornaments and weeping all the time.

There is another anonymous poem where the author appeals to the *Pana* (wandering minstrel) with the big *Parai* or kettledrum which resembled the foot of an elephant, asking him to kneel before the hero-stone. Fighting singlehanded, like a dam resisting a great flood, the hero died after all his professional warriors had abandoned the herd of cattle. They had the cattle retrieved from raiders but the raiders gave

hot pursuit on their way home. He alone deserved the honour of all the village in the form of a herostone.[14] Poet Uraiyur Ilampon Vaniyanar sings about a hero who died fighting under similar circumstances. Quickly the herostone was erected. It was decorated with Peacock feathers and his name was inscribed there. The poet says that there could still be some *Panas* unaware of this tragedy and they might come as usual in search of patronage.[15] A similar situation is recreated by Conattu Mokaiyalur Cirukaruntumpiyar.[16]

The last two poems in the series console and praise the women-folk warriors who fell in the battlefield in connection with *Vetci*. Kalattalaiyar's poem is in the form of a message to the mother of the dead warrior. The poet is requesting the respectable old lady, her white hair untouched with scented oil, to understand how the king himself was bereaved. He tells her that her son fell fighting with manliness in the company of the heroic *Maravar*, hastening into the centre of conflict on hearing the drum calling for action.[17] This incident would suggest the involvement of the king also in the *Vetci* campaign. In this particular case the cattle raid appears to have been employed as a prelude to regular warfare.

In a poem of extra ordinary force, Okkur Macattiyar presents a lady who was hailed as being truly worthy of the *Marava* tribe. Some time ago her father fell dead after killing an elephant singlehanded. Only the other day her husband fell fighting the enemy to prevent them from taking away the cattle. When the drum sounded again for warriors to assemble, she called her only son, gave him a white cloth, put a spear in his hand, smeared oil in his hair and sent him to the field of battle.[18] It would seem that men and women alike in the *Marava* community considered fighting for their master or for their village as family obligation or *kuladharma*. They had cultivated a philosophy of life which made them look upon death with a smile on the face. It was this kind of family attachment to the hereditary occupation which hastened the absorption of tribes into the cast system everywhere in India.

IV

The foregoing analysis would help us bring together information from different court poets and wandering minstrels belonging to the Cera, Cola and Pandya countries. All of them were familiar with the

cattle raiding practices of the *Marava* groups. To them cattle theft and cattle raid formed an established way of life. The whole village stood behind their chief, in defence as well as in offence. They organised cattle raids for fun, for settling feuds, for immedite gain and glory and for pleasing the royal masters too. They celebrated victory with beaf and drink, and poetry and sacrifice. The cows could be slaughtered for food or bartered for drinks.

Even the three great kings of Tamilakam patronised the *Marava* soldiers by recruiting them in the army in large numbers, assigning whole villages to them in return for personal loyalty and military service. They utilised the famous *Marava* skill in cattle raid to their advantage. Even in the major conflicts of Tamilakam, the cattle raid came to be employed as the opening gambit in warfare. These people, fierce in fighting and strong in loyalty, played such a prominent role in the politics of the country that Brahmans forgot their antipathy towards beaf-eating in praising their virtue. The learned poets who were guests of honour in the grand courts of Tamilakam felt no shame in singing the glory of *Vetci* as it formed part of the country's martial heritage.

Far from being a pious attempt to safeguard the lives of the cows and warn the enemy of impending danger, the cattle raid was part of the bloody means of earning livelihood for the *Marava* community which showed little interest in cattle rearing or food cultivation. During the incessant raids and counter-raids, the victors got the cows and a hero's welcome in their village. Those who fell fighting attained the hero's paradise. The place of death of a hero was marked by a hero-stone. The villagers appear to have performed regular worship at the site, developing it into a shrine. They looked upon the departed spirit as the guardian of their property, the chief part of which was their cattle. It is in this context that we realise the historical value of the statement of Mankuti Kilar that there is no God worthy of adoration except the herostone.[19]

The *Marava* robbers of the open highlands must have proved to be a perpetual threat to each other and to the cowherds of the neighbouring villages. The conflict between the cattle keepers of the plains and the cattle raiders of the highlands resulting in the military domination of the latter over the former explains a good deal of early history in South India. The *Marava's* notions of heroism, pride, honour and wealth were

all centred on the cattle raiding practice. They did not exhibit an appreciation of the higher values and religion of the Brahmanical Hindus or follow the code of conduct prescribed in their scuptures. A violent spirit of lawlessness was demonstrated and celebrated by them.

The scholarly poets who championed the cause of morality and acted as the spokesmen of the people's conscience gladly compromised with this crude aspect of primitivism, perhaps accepting it as reflecting the peculiar character of people in a particular region. Whether early or late, the author of *Tolkapiam* supplied an elegant theoretical gloss to accommodate the tribal reality within the framework of his advanced concept of socio-political organisation and culture.

The present survey of the field of *Sangam* literature in relation to the problem of *Vetci* depends chiefly on a casual acquaintance with *Akananuru* and a detailed study of *Purananuru* which is professedly a collection of war poems admitted all around to belong to the earliest layer of *Sangam* literature. The clear-cut difference in the character of *Vetci*, as presented in *Purananuru* and in *Tolkapiam*, exposes the real nature of this institution as different from a fancied nature. There are several other references to the *Maravar* and their military exploits in cattle raids in works of the *Sangam* age [20] A general reading of these passages by the present writer has only served to confirm the impressions outlined above.

V

There appears to have been great similarity between cattle raiding practices in all primitive societies. These raids formed an important theme of tribal songs and mythology all over the world as reflected in early literature, though surviving references are often brief, confused and vague. In a recent study of subject, Bruce Lincoln gives various examples of cattle raiding myths from the African, Semitic and Indo-European literature. He also criticises previous commentators on Vedic hymns like Macdonell, Perry and Roth for interpreting the references to cattle raids in the Indra story in symbolic terms following Yaska and Soyana who presented later Indian speculative thought rather than the knowledge of the original sense.[21] In a typical episode Aptya, supported by Indra, killed the enemy in battle and recovered the cattle which had been taken away.[22] Nestor's cattle raid in the *Iliad* and theft of

Helio's cattle in *Odessey* may be cited as well known examples from the Greek side.[23]

Prof. R. S. Sharma has drawn attention earlier to the situation that cattle was synonymous with wealth in Vedic society, that the king was essentially a protector of cattle and not of land, and that, consequently, it was cattle, not land which formed a source of inter tribal conflict. The *Panis* were feared for they were rich in cattle, basides being stealers of cattle.[24] In discussing the nature of *dana* and *dakshina*, Prof. Romila Thapar observes that a successful cattle raid was one of the events which occasioned the gifts to priests in the Vedic age.[25] These remarks are very much relevant to the *Marava* society in the *Sangam* age. The *Maravar*, as represented in the early *Sangam* works, had not yet emerged from the tribal stage of social development. They possessed immense military potential which influenced Tamil polity, society and literature.

Here we have a unique record of the socio-cultural milieu, realistically portrayed, without the religious and symbolic ascretions or distortions of a later age. Fortunately we are in a position to read the text without a Sayana's misleading commentary or a Homer's romantic illusion. To this extent the early *Sangam* poets are strikingly realistic in their treatment of these themes.[26] Perhaps the crucial factor behind this rare historical objectivity was the Brahman or Brahmanised bard embodying the more advanced consciousness of contemporary Aryan culture and working on material from Tamil society with intimate knowledge. He formed an integral part of this tribal society as its mentor but at the same time he could also look on it with an outsider's detachment and curiosity. This enabled him, in his roles as composer and editor, to portray and to preserve the representative outpourings in literary style.

More interesting from the angle of comparative study between the Aryan and Tamil societies in the subcontinent is the fact that cattle raids were also characteristic of the epic age in India. There is an account of the *gograhana* or cattle raid in the *Virata Parva* of the *Mahabharata*. This was organised by the *Kauravas* against the *Matsya* king in order to provoke him and his allies into war by way of retaliation and recapture. This might have given the clue to *Tolkapiar* in regarding cattle raid as the conventionalised signal for warfare. There is a good possibility that many of the *Kshatriyas* of the North and the South who

emerged as a powerful ruling class came originally from nomadic or semi-nomadic groups, both Aryan and non-Aryan, so that they retained some of their primitive traits including cattle raiding mentality even long after they were christened as members of the solar or luner race.

In many sites of the Far South like Brahmagiri Maski and Pikhlf-hal, the archaeological strata indicating megalithic period of the iron age are followed by those in which a distinctive white-painted black-and-red or plain red ware with russet dressing (the 'Russet coated' or 'Andhra' ware) appear along with tray bowls recalling North Indian forms appearing in the NBP ware.[27] This may be taken to reveal the superimposition of the Maurya-Satavahana layers on the megalithic layers of relics. It seems to suggest that, in terms of social development, society in the tribal stage was overwhelmed by an incoming classical civilization. The traces of such a meeting and mingling of two groups of people, one less developed and another more developed, are found in the literary record also. It is noticeable in the cattle raiding society of the *Maravar* attached to the Aryanised monarchies of three kings with their Brahman courtiers and Vedic sacrifice.

However, the classical spirit was comparatively weak in the Tamil part of India as in certain other parts of the country which did not come for any length of time directly under powerful slave-owning polity with urban character like the Mauryan empire. Therefore the primitive tribal identity of groups like the *Maravar* was not liquidated even when they were politicalised and inducted into the classical type of caste society in a later age. They continued to be cattle thieves and crooked murderers with clannish affinities down to the early part of British rule.[28] Thus the present study may claim to have exposed in a significant manner the uneven form of early social development in South India. The *Maravar* and their socio-political ethos have remained comparatively unexplored in the studies of the *Sangam* age. These people with their celebrated cattle raid morality exemplify the process of transformation of a warlike tribe into a military subcaste through gradual absorption. Their case would also bring out the nature of the strategy adopted by the Brahmanical-political elite in their treatment of such people a strategy consisting of compromise in religious values, accommodation of primitive tribal elements in the Aryanised society, gift of land and the distribution of political patronage.

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NILANGA STELE OF NATARAJA AND NARASIMHA

By P. V. Ranade

While Ajanta and Ellora have been engaging the attention of renowned scholars, the antique art personality of Marathwada region as a whole has remained a 'terra incognita' till recently. Of late, however. a good number of young research scholars from the region has become active in tracing the antique contours of the art personality of Marathwada and gradually the gap is being filled up.[1]

A brief study of a twin-panel of Nataraja and Narasimha carved on both sides of a stele recovered from Nilanga is being presented here for the first time. The stele which is in stone is now in the History Museum of the Marathwada University, Aurangabad.

Nilanga is a tahsil place in Osmanabad district, in the Marathwada region of Maharashtra. Nilanga, located on the North bank of a small river Terana, is 25 kilometers south of Kharusa caves. Nilanga is in the vicinity of such well-known ancient centres as Tagara, Dharasiva and Kalyani.

Osmanabad district has a cluster of ancient temple structures at Ter, Nilanga, Omerga, Mankeshwar, Wedgaon, Tuljapur, Javali, Sakol, Achaler, Narangwadi, Jakapur, Alur, Ashta, Kesapuri, Ganeshwadi, Hippalgaon, Murud, Kantha, Hipparga Bhojaraj Siruri and Hallimpur.

The most important temple structures of the Osmanabad district are, however, located in Ter, Omerga and Nilanga. The Nilakantheswar temple of Nilanga compares favourably with some of the important temples of Marathwada like Anwa (Aurangabad district) Pangaon (Bhir district), Charathana (Parbhani district) and Hottal (Nanded district).

The Nataraja and Narasimha stele was found in Nilanga town at a site which is quite close to the Nilakantheswar temple. It was found lying in the town-chowki. The Nataraja and Narasimha stele, however, has striking architectonic and stylistic affinities with the art personality of Nilakantheswar temple. A little discussion about the Nilakantheswar temple will not be out of place here.

On the eastern outskirt of the township of Nilanga stands a Saivite shrine called Nilankantheswar temple. It is a cruciform-based star-shaped temple with a garbagriha, antarala sabha mandapa and three sub-shrines attached to the main plan. The temple measures 45' x 60'. The cornice and spire of the temple have been destroyed. Only the adhisthana and prastar parts of the temple enclosures along with the ceiling of the sabha-mandap have survived. The ceiling of the sabha-mandapa shows affinity with Pangaon and Hottal temples. Kirtimukhas, Saptamatrikas, gandharvas, Yaksas, Shardulas and Vyalas have been laid in floral settings all around the temple walls, door frames, pillars and ceiling. The Gajalakshmi carved in the middle of the lintel graces the doorframe of the central shrine.

The exterior walls of this temple display diagonally arranged projections and recesses having richly carved niches on three sides. Images of Mahakali, Mahisasuramardini, Siva, Varaha, Vishnu, Narasimha and Bhairava are set in these niches Ornamental architraves beautifully carved around these niches make a splendid company to a row of well cut figures of yoginis, apsaras, salabhanjikas, Surasundaris and to the two hands of decorative friezes that adorn the exterior wall. In the absence of any epigraphic evidence it is difficult to fix the chronological identity of Nilakantheswar temple. The location of Nilanga explains the affinity that Nilakantheswar temple keeps with the architectonic and sculptural diction of late Chalukya art centres like Itagi, Khedrapur and Somnathpur. Ashtadikpalas, Gajalakshmis, Kirtimukhas, Siva, Gauri, Varaha, Bhairava, and Narasimha of Nilanga have remarkable affinity with the sculptures of Kalyani an important late Chalukya art centre.

Nilakantheswar temple presents many features that are similar to Saivite temples at Ambarnath and Balasane. The triple shrined ashtadhara plan of Nilakantheswar brings it closer to Hoyasala type. This brings the chronological identity of Nilanga temple to the eleventh century A.D. James Burges was, however, misled to call this temple a 'hemadapanti temple'.[2]

Nilanga Stele :

Nilanga Stele is a pentagonal slab that adorns sculptured panels on both sides. The stele measures 110 cm × 70 cm × 20 cm. The trefoil formed by the Kirtimukhas and makaras on the pentagonal architrave, the architectonic pillasters enclosing the sides of the stele, and the central figure of divinity through which the vertical line of the entire sculpture passes, make the stele appear in the likeness of a shrine. The shrine holding stele stands on the support of four drops.

Like a shrine, stele is divided into three parts—Adhishthana, Prakara and Shikhara. Adhishthana part represents a band of saptamatrikas, Prakara part encloses central figure of worship attended by minor figures. The shikhara-cum-superstructure is a pentagonal architrave formed by trefoil of Kirtimukhas and ascending rows of dancing warriors meeting at the tusky top. Each side of the stele has been worked into a rich heavy mass of hanging arabesque foliage and makaras which emerge from the jaws of Kirtimukha—a grotesque face. The spirited convolutions of the foliated scrolls, with their circling excrescences aud bewildering whirls form a rich piece of workmanship. What adds to the effect is the remarkably deep undercutting, which makes the whole of this petrified mass of foliage spread over the entire upper part of the stele. The whirlwind and fury emanating from the Kirtimukhas and makaras are allevated by the tenderness of the floral pendants and foliated scrolls. The Nilanga stele has an affinity with Kuruvali temple—mandap torana, wherein at each side of the arch is a makara from whose mouth springs an ornament which goes round the arch and terminates in a Vyala head. From the tail of the makara on the Kuruvali torana, a profusion of floral ornament curves out and fills up the sides of the slab.[3]

The marvelous intricacy and artistic finish in minutest details make the workmanship of the Kuruvali artist a model to be followed by

Nilanga artist. Makara and Kirtimukha motif set in a broad mass of foliated scrolls, standing in light relief from a narrow but deeply cut background leave a very interesting effect on the entire stele. Kirtimukha—the face at the top of the frame which is repeated all over the stele—is an ornamental demon mask which is commonly encountered in Siva sanctuaries and above the doors of the Siva temples. It is an apotropaic device called Kirti-mukha, 'The face of glory'—a manifestation of the terrible aspect of the god, whose function it is to ward off the impious and to protect the devotee.[4] Kirtimukha is one of the traditional motifs sculptured in the temples of this region. In the medieval Deccan Kirtimukhas are generally noted on the middle block of the pillars of Nilanga, Yellumb, Ambejogai and Hottal temples. Kirtimukha is prominently carved in the ceiling of the temples at Hottal, Omerga, Dharmapuri, Nilanga, Pangaon and Ambejogai. Udambaras of the garbhagrahas also display Kirtimukha at Nilanga, Bhir, Omerga and Ambejogai.

Nataraja Panel :

Nataraja panel of the Nilanga stele represents a composition that achieves remarkable aesthetic and emotive effect. If a modern outlooker could feel moved and thrilled on account of artistic merit of composition, one has only to imagine the response of a medieval devotee to this votive slab. Much damage has been caused to the panel. Trisul, damaru, Khatwanga sarpa, and mundamala are nowhere seen in this Siva panel. Perhaps they are broken. Nandi and Parvati who are invariably present at the dance of Siva, are missing from the panel. They are broken. Despite this damage, Nataraja panel holds our attention.

The mid-part of the panel is dominated by Siva Nataraja, the king of dancers. For a Saivite devotee, Nataraja embodies eternal energy of five activities—pancha kriya—Srsti, Sthiti, Samahara, tirobhava and anugraha. Here in this panel Nataraja is dancing on the body of the demon, Apasmar. Siva's hands are broken yet those parts of the two arms that are intact indicate the controlled sway and swing of the dancing pose. Here we see the solemn yet marvellously reposeful dance of Siva. Nataraja, in his measured movement, reveals a condition approaching repose. Divine frenzy is concealed and serene muscularity

revealed, rendering a slow musicality of gesture. Multi-armed image (despite the arms having been broken) dances in Aindra posture the *talasamsphotitam*. The tilted head suggests a mood of abandon. The heel that crushes the back of Apasmara conveys power. While the attending Bhairavas have already reached a mood of frenzy and trance, Siva seems to have just begun his lalit.

The dancing Shiva is shown with left leg bent at knee, right leg raised but broken beneath knee, arms broken below shoulders. Shiva wears an elaborate crown, large earrings, anklets, necklaces and garlands.

Motion and Stillness :

Motion of the whirling struts and stillness of the lotus, the movement of the foliated scrolls and the stillness of the Kirtimukhas, glowing tenderness of the floral pendants and the stumpiness of the pillasters, movements of the dancing warriors at the top and the stillness of the Saptamatrikas at the bottom, all these counterpoises arise from and subside into each other and render an artistic effect to the entire composition.

The Nilanga Nataraja gives us an impression of a dialectical nexus of movement and rest. All the antagonistic stresses have been made to play and diffuse in the central and stabilizing figure of Nataraja. Swinging bodies of Bhairavas, ferocious looks of Kirtimukhas, drowsy yawnings of makaras, whirling curves of foliated scrolls—all such convulsions and stresses fuse and diffuse into the tender petals of floral pendants, and tilted head and swaying arms of Siva Nataraja.

The enclosure in which Siva is dancing has been artistically conceived by the Nilanga sculptor. On both sides of the enclosure, pillasters have been shown to support a roof as well as a lintel from which floral pendants are projected. The pendants hanging over the pillars represent elongated floral buds held upside down. The pendant carved here is a lovely spherical floral drop with a tapering bottom ending up in a bud. It looks almost like a half blossomed bunch of banana flower hanging below the corners of a lintel. The deeply cut petals and their tips, the upward and downward slopes of the floral pendants have rendered pleasing shades to the composition. The two rounded pillasters that enclose the Shiva's chamber are surmounted by

miniature shrines with pyramidal shikharas. One shrine holds an animal mask and the other shrine holds a human figure.

In between the pedestal that holds the Nataraja dancing on apasmara and the frieze of the Saptamatrikas there intervenes a pleasing line of hanging tassels which is broken at several places but displays a few pearly and flowery tassels. The honey comb decorative design on the pedestal makes a befitting setting for the hanging tassels. These broken tassels do not detract our attention from the Vidyadharas holding a foliated creeper, one of whom is almost hovering in the space between the floral pendant and the shrine that surmounts the pillar. The other figure of Vidyadhar is greatly damaged.

The total impression that the Nataraja panel imparts is mainly composed by the trefoils formed by foliated scrolls and Kirtimukhas, the tenderness of the floral pendants and the dancing Siva, who like an artist lost in creation is lost in his own joy of the rhythm of dance. The entire composition is an architectonic carving that contains a concentric organisation of symbolic representation which is pregnant with the inner sensibility and ethos of a medieval devotee.

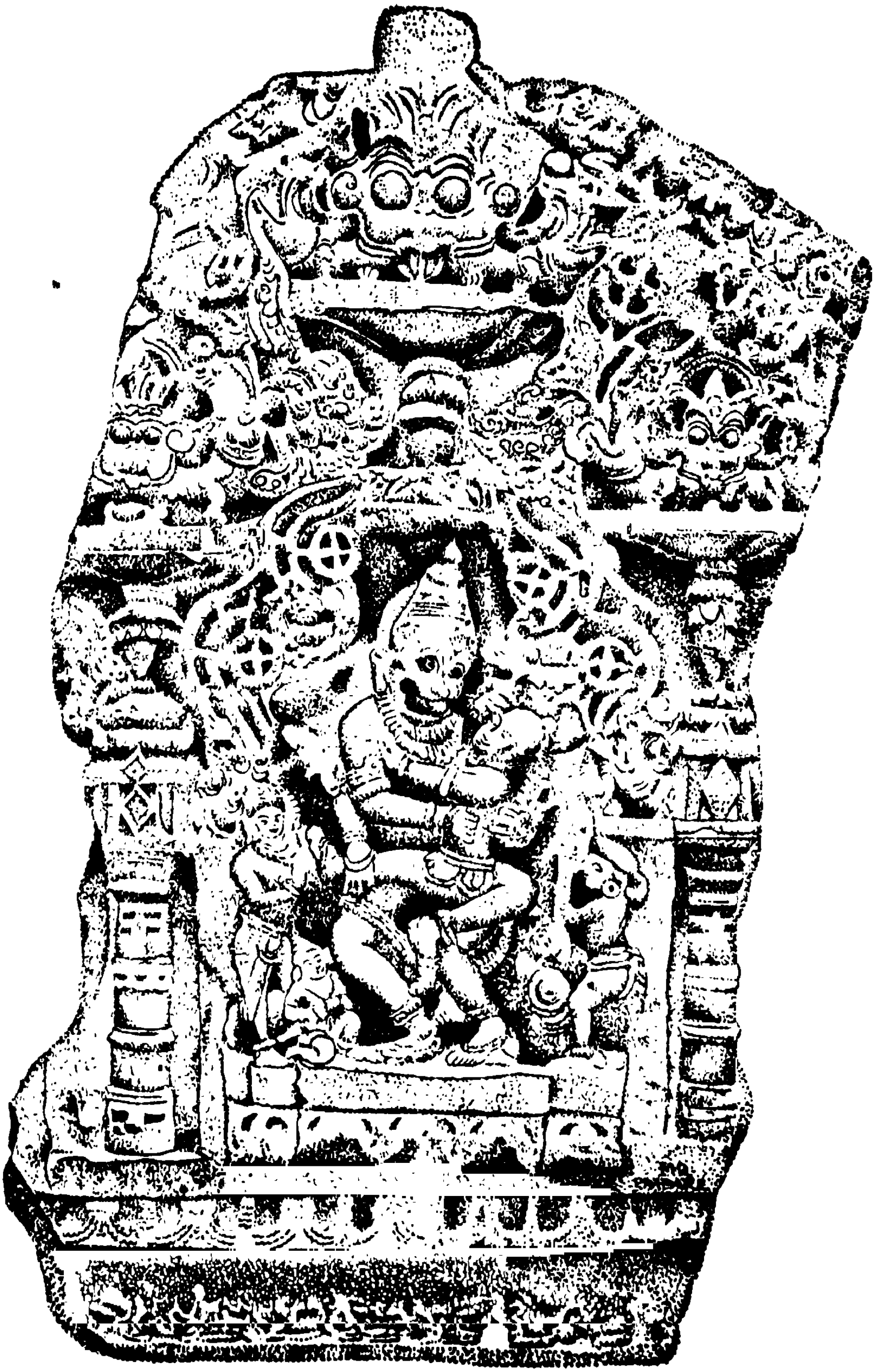
Narasimha Panel :

The other side of the stele reveals Vishnu in his Narasimha avatar. Hence Vishnu appears in the terrible form in which he appeared to the great tyrant demon Hiranyakasipu. When compared with the Ellora Dasavatara Narasimha, Nilanga Narasimha appears clumsy and primitive. Narasimha panel displays all those motifs which have rendered Nataraja panel a remarkable artistic effect. But the Nilanga artist appears to have left in this panel only a foot-note to his splendid workmanship displayed in the Nataraja panel.

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(b) Social and Economic History

WAS THERE UNTOUCHABILITY IN THE EARLY TAMIL SOCIETY

K. R. Hanumanthan

Untouchability is comparatively a modern term denoting segregation and denial of certain elementary civil rights to whole groups of people, by the caste Hindus. In this paper an attempt has been made to find out whether there was any such phenomenon as untouchability in the early Tamil society, as revealed from the Sangam classics which are regarded as the earliest written records, describing the history and culture of the Tamil people. For this purpose, some of the caste groups which are mentioned in the Sangam classics, and which became untouchable during later times have been taken and their status in society has been analysed.

The society depicted in the Sangam classics was a simple one, consisting of a number of social groups divided horizontally on regional and professional lines. Thus the Kurunchi or hilly region was inhabited by hunters called Vettuvar, Kanavar, Kuravar and Eyinar; the Mullai or forest region by dairy farmers and sheep rearers called Itayar and Kovalar; the Marutham or plain region by cultivators called Ulavar; Neithal or littoral region by fishermen called Minavar and Paratavar; and Palai or desert region by martial groups such as Maravar, Mallar and Malavar. Some other occupational groups such as Tutiar or drummers, Panar or musicians, Viraliar or dancers, announcers and Anthanar or Brahmanas are also mentioned. They are all various social groups indulging in different avocations.

The question here is, whether there existed segregation and untouchability among these groups. Many social groups which came to be regarded as untouchables or criminal tribes during the later age seem to have enjoyed a better social status during the Sangam age. For example the Paratavar who became untouchables to the caste-Hindus during later times owing to their fishing avocation, are described in glowing

terms by the Cankam classics. Poet Unpoti Pacunkutiayar praises the Cola king called Ilancet Cenni as one who defeated the southern Paratavar and northern Vatukar.[1] Poet Mankuti Marutanar similarly praises Pantian Netuncelian as a lion in the battle against Paratavar.[2] From these references it appears that the Paratavar were originally an independent tribe with their own chieftains who were conquered and suppressed by the Colas and Pantyas. A king of the Paratavar called Matti is praised in Akananuru as the ruler of the territory known as Kolar which was situated at the confluence of the river Kaveri with the sea.[3]

The Kuravas, who were considered as a criminal tribe by the British rulers of India, seem to have enjoyed an honoured place in ancient Tamil society. Poetess Ilaveyiniyar, a Kurava, has composed a poem in praise of the Eraikkon, describing him as the great Kurava chieftain.[4] Poet Kapilar advises the chieftain Pakan to extend his sympathy towards his neglected wife in the same way as the pouring of the rain in buckets at the imploration of the Kuravas.[5] From these references it is clear that at least some of the Kuravas were literate and were believed to possess some extraordinary powers such as bringing forth rain at their will to the needy people. The common people of that tribe, however, lived in small huts and often took part in a group dance known as 'Kuravai-Kuttu', after taking fermented liqour stored in bamboo bottles.[6]

The Maravas and Kallas who too, were regarded as criminal tribes by the British, are praised as an independent group in Cankam literature. They are said to be the most ancient among the Tamils, who originated in this world with sword in hand, when, after a devastating deluge, the mountains alone appeared while the plains had not.[7] Marava ladies are described as the ancient wise women.[8] From the earliest times they were noted for their heroism and bloodthirstiness. It is said that the Maravas plundered travellers through arid tracts and forests, killing them at times.[9]

The Mallar and Malavar also belonged to the martial classes of the Cankam age. Malavar are described as cavalry men who march into battle-field with horses.[10] One of their chieftains known as Mavallori is called a great Malava.[11] It may be inferred that the Mallas became the Pallas, the untouchables of later times. In fact the Mukkutar Pallu,

of later literature describing the idyllic life of the Pallas, clearly identifies the Pallas with the Mallas.[12]

The Velans of Tamilakam were priests to the God Muruka in the Cankam age. They used to take part in an ecstatic dance called Veriyatal and reveal the causes of and remedies for the love-sickness of young damsels.[13] Though the counterparts of velans are not found in Tamilakam, they still exist in Kerala, where they still participate in wild dances called 'Tullal' to ward off evil spirits.[14]

The Kurumpas, who became an untouchable tribe in modern Kerala and Mysose, are spoken of as independent groups in the Cankam classics. Avvaiyar, the poetess of the Cankam age, praises king Netuman Ahci as one who conquered the many forts of the Kurumpas.[15] Another poem described how a royal herald (Valluva) announced the coming of warfare, as commanded by a Kurumpa chief.[16]

The Panas occupied an enviable position in ancient Tamil society. They served as minstrels of kings and chieftains and received many gifts from them. Thus a king presented a Pana with a garland of golden lotus flowers which was made out of the gold obtained from the face veils of the captured elephants.[17] They rode in chariots drawn by four horses with their wives, who wore garlands made of golden lotuses.[18] They were given delicious food when they went to the houses of Antanas.[19] (Brahmanas.) They sometimes went to the battle-field and bore the shield of kings.[20] They sat with kings and took dinner with them. Killivalavan, a Cola kings, is said to have served sumptuous dinners to the Panas, who feasted on the rich food consisting of cooked Varaku (millet), honey and the fatty flesh of rabbits. While taking the dinner, the open-minded and pure-hearted Panas went on chatting with the king. Afterwards the king bestowed on them lasting wealth.[21] They also participated in drinking bouts of kings and chieftains who poured the toddy into their drinking vessels, called mantai.[22] The view among some authors that the Panas were "a people at the lower rungs of society and wandering minstrels",[23] seems to have been actuated by a knowledge of the conditions of Panas of modern times in Kerala and Madurai, where they were considered untouchables. It may also have been due to the identification of the Panas with the wandering bards of ancient Greece. But the Panas of the Cankam age had their

own permanent settlements at every river port, situated in salubrious surroundings of parks full of beautiful flowers of many kinds.[24] Occasionally they went to the court of kings, pleased them with their music and were honoured in turn. The enviable position enjoyed by the Panas in the Cankam age has been well established by modern authors.[25]

The Paraiyas who formed the major section of the untouchables of modern Tamilakam also occupied a respectable position in Cankam society. Their name occurs only once in Purananuru where it is said that there is no clan other than the four, Paraiyan, Panan, Tutiyan and Katampan.[26] This passage has been interpreted by some scholars to mean that in ancient Tamilakam they were the only four elementary tribes out of which all the other tribes sprang.[27] But it is far from true, because the description applies to the Mullai region alone, and that, too, in a martial context.

Paraiyas are not spoken of as a low class anywhere in Cankam classics. On the other hand, the Tutias are spoken of as 'Ilicinan'[28] and Ilipirappalan[29] meaning "degraded person" and "low-born person". They are also called as "Pulaiyas" meaning impurse persons.[30] The term Pulaiya seems to be a generic term denoting all those persons who performed low and impure occupations. Thus one who performed the funeral obsequies and one who plaited the straps of a cot[31] are also spoken of as Pulaiyas. One who washed impure clothes was thus called Pulaitti.[32] The term Pulaitti need not necessarily denote the wife of a Pulaiyan. It may mean any woman who washed clothes. Thus it is rather difficult to believe that the Pulaiyas formed a separate social unit and were segregated.

A modern author contends that in the Cankam age "untouchability (including unapproachability) was practised as evidenced by different communities residing in strictly different parts of the country".[33] It is true that different groups of people were living in different regions of the country.[34] But they do not seem to have lived in watertight compartments or practised segregation. Much intermingling among groups of people living in different regions is revealed from the Cankam works. Thus we hear of Paratavas of the Neital region going into the Marutam region and exchanging their salt for paddy.[35] So also the Itaiyas of the Mullai are said to have gone into the Marutam and sold milk in exch-

ange for grain.[36] Thus owing to the barter system of economy there was much mobility between different social groups of ancient Tamilakam. There were no watertight compartments between them.

Conditions of war among chieftains necessitated the intermingling of people of various regions. It is said that in military camps people talking different dialects mingled among themselves.[37] Here of course, different dialects ought to be interpreted as representing different cultural norms of the soldiers. Though they hailed from different places they mingled among themselves.

Inter-group marriages also may have taken place during the Cankam age. The Akam literature is full of instances of romantic marriages in which young boys and girls fall in love at first sight, irrespective of their original habitation, carry on secret courtship for sometime, and ultimately marry with or without the consent of their parents.[38] Instances of interdining not were also wanting. Thus we hear of Panas dining with kings and Brahmanas.[39]

People denoted by one class title are found to be performing different kinds of occupations. For example the Panas, who were specialists in playing upon the Yal also engaged in fishing.[40] Maravas whose main task was fighting, also robbed wayfarers.[41] Antanas or Brahmanas also served as messengers and goldsmiths. Some of them like Nakkirar, the famous Cankam poet, made bangles by cutting the conch-shell with the help of the rasp. Such persons were called Velap-Parppar.[42] (The non-sacrificing Brahmanas). The Pulaiyans also were engaged in various kinds of occupations does not seem to have sprung up in the Cankam society, especially in the rural parts.

Only in the cities do we find a society which was a little more sophisticated and influenced by the Aryan culture. The Antanas are spoken of only in large cities. The kings patronized them and showered gifts of cows, land and hamlets of them.[43] But they do not seem to have influenced the society with the ideals of Varanasrama dharma. Only the Brahmanas are spoken of as twice-born (irupirappalar-Dvija)[44] and tending the three fires.[45] From this we may infer that the other three Varnas did not exist in Cankam society. The Brahmanas were of course highly respected for their purity of body and mind. But some of the Brahmanas relished meat also.[46] Taboos against meat eating and drink-

ing are conspicuous by their absence. Aryanization or Brahmanization seems to have touched only the fringes of the Cankam society.

It has been said that the remarks of a king called Ariyappatai Katanta Netuncelian reveal the existence of social stratification in Tamil society. The king declared "of the four divisions based upon differences, if one of the lower classes is learned, those of the upper classes shall also be subject to him."[47] The king, as his name itself indicates, was perhaps aware of the four varna system of the Aryans. But he does not seem to accept it, for he asserts that superiority or inferiority is not based on birth but on merit acquired by learning. Even if it is conceded that the Aryan varna system was applied to Tamil society during his period, we can say that it was done only in the urban areas where kings and Brahmanas lived and not in the rural areas.

In Perumpanarruppatai[48] it is stated that in the city of Kancipuram the Brahmana quarters were in the heart of the town, where neither dog nor fowl could be seen. This may indicate that the Brahmanas kept their houses and surroundings tidy and clean by preventing impure animals (not persons) from entering their streets. Their quarters were flanked by the streets of fishermen and traders. Farther away were the ceris of Mallas and today tappers. In one extremity of the city were situated houses of Pallis and Itaiyas. Beyond them lay the isolated Ceris of the Eyinas and their chiefs. Next to the Malla streets were the temple of Tiruverhka and the royal palace of king Ilan Tiraiyan.

From the above description it may be inferred that there were separate streets for different professional groups. The Antanas and Ulavas occupied the heart of the city near the temple. Fishermen, toddy tappers and Eyinas lived farther away from the heart of the city. But it does not mean that there was actual segregation The word Ceri simply means a place where people engaged in a particular occupation are gathered together. There were Ceris both for the high and low classes. In post-Cankam Literature we hear of Antana Ceris[49] meaning Brahmana Ceris. The term 'Ceri' "had not acquired the unpleasant connection which it now has, meaning some kind of slum area of the poor".[50] Therefore, we cannot say definitely that there was actual segregation of certain groups of people who were considered untouchable by the others. At the most we may say that a certain amount of social stratification had arisen in the cities which were exposed to the influence of Vedic

Brahmanas, while in the rural areas there was perfect mobility and intermingling between the different professional and regional groups. Of course certain professional groups such as Pulaiyas seem to have been considered somewhat low-born and degraded. But there is no indication that they were untouchable to the other groups during this period.

In fact some of the social groups which were later treated as untouchable occupied a place of honour in the post-Cankam society. The Valluvas who were treated as one of the Paraiya groups are described in Perunkatai in glowing terms.[51] They were a sort of personal secretaries to the kings. They rode in the streets on the back of elephants and announced royal news, only on major occasions such as at royal weddings and the commencement of a war and festival. Avalluva wore a white silken dress, a white garland and white sandal paste on his forehead while riding on the elephant and beating the victory drum called Muracu. A small regiment of soldiers called Celvaccenai followed him. Before taking out the royal drum he performed its puja and offered prayers to Korravai, the goddess of victory.

The Pana was denoted by the term Pulaiyan in Kalittokai.[52] Perhaps his connection with fishing and the fibres of animals which were used for his yal made him impure. But he was not segregated as yet. He is said to have acted as a messenger of love, carrying tidings of love to prospective brides and bridegrooms or messages of reconciliation between lovers in high castes.[53] Some of the heroes utilised the services of the Pana to win the hearts of beautiful harlots called Parattaiyar. And the wives of the heroes scolded the Pana as a cheat and a liar.[54] But this happend only rarely. Perhaps such work earned for him the name Pulaiyan. Normally he acted as a go-between for people who were in legitimate love. He entered the houses and announced prospective marriages between youngsters of those houses and received gifts for the same.[55] Thus the Panas seem to have been as serviceable to the Tamils in the post-Cankam period as they were in the Cankam period.

It has been suggested that the Kammalas or goldsmiths were untouchable since one of them is described in Cilappatikaram as walking at a distance from Kovalan, the Vaisya.[56] The Commentator, who belonged to the 12th century A.D. says this because he has in mind the status of the Kammalas during his period. But it may not be applicable to the post-Cankam period. It is quite probable that the goldsmith

walked at a distance from Kovalan, a rich merchant, out of a sense of respect and awe rather than due to notions of untouchability.[57] In an earlier Cankam work Kammalas are spoken of as Macilkammiyar meaning Kammalas without any falut.[58] So also carpenters are praised as capable of making eight chariots in one day.[59] But there is no indication of their low status or untouchability. The habit of identifying the Rathakaras with Kammalas and treating them as a low class had not yet begun in the post-Cankam age. On the basis of a single passage in the epic which is capable of a different interpretation it is not possible to jump to such conclusions.

In Acarakkovai, which is supposed to be a very late product among the post-Cankam works, traces of untouchability can be discovered. There it is said that the water touched by a Pulaiya is unfit for drinking and one should not even look at the Pulaiya.[60] High caste people are exhorted not to give the Pulaiyas even the remnants of eaten food[61] and not to consult them with regard to auspicious days.[62] Of the ten situations in which one should take a bath, one is said to be the touching of the body of the low-born.[63] People are asked to keep away from the Brahmanas and Tapatas (men of austerity) on the way, to step aside on seeing them and to give way to them.[64] One is exhorted not to touch cows, Brahmanas and low-born people.[65] Thus the idea that the Brahmana and the cow are pure and the Pulaiyas are impure and therefore people should not touch them is found in Acarakkovai. The influence of Dharmasastra is clearly noticed in it. It appears to be a translation of a few Dharmasastra injunctions for the practice of orthodox people. Therefore, it cannot be considered as reflecting the actual social conditions prevailing in Tamilakam during this period.

The caste system based on birth and permanent occupation could not have completely taken root in the post Cankam age because the authors of the ethical works of this period are vehement in condemning such a social system. Thus it is said in Tirukkural that "by birth all are equal. It is by profession the merit varies from man to man."[66] Education and character are considered to be the criteria for a higher or lower status in society. It is said that even if an educated man is born low he will become superior to a rich man who is an illiterate.[67] A high born is one who has character, a man without character is called a low-born creature.[68] Nalatiyar is also emphatic about merit being

attached to education and character rather than to mere birth. It declares, "the terms good and bad castes are meaningless. Only austerity, education and perseverence will determine the worth of a caste".[69] Further it declares, "mere riches will not make a low born person high. His degraded profession will betray him."[70] Thus the intellectuals of this period wanted to base the superiority of a man on his education, character and faultless profession. In such circumstances a rigid caste system based on birth alone was well-nigh impossible. From the foregoing discussion it is clear that untouchability had not yet arisen in early Tamil society of the Sangam period.

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12. *Mukkutar Pallu* 12.
13. *Narrinai* 322 : 10-12, *Ainkurunuru* 243 : 11-2, *Akam* 22 : 8-11; 114 : 1-3.
14. Raghava Iyangar, *Some Aspects of Kerala in Tamil Literature* pp 42-43.
15. *Puram* 97 : 1-4.
16. *Ibid* 293 : 1-2.
17. *Ibid* 126 : 1-4.
18. *Perumpanarruppatai* 481-490; *Puram* 141 : 1-3, *Maturaikkanci* 219, 752.
19. *Perumpanarruppatai* 22, 301, 10.
20. *Puram* 285.
21. *Puram* 34 : 8-15, 1.14, 325, 1-13.
22. *Puram* 155, 235.
23. Dr. N. Subrahmanian, *Sangam Polity*, p. 251.
24. *Maturaikkanci*, 335-343.
25. Dr. K. Minakshisundaram, "*Were Panas in a degraded State* ?" in *Panmaiyil Orumai* (Unity in diversity).
26. *Puram* 335 : 7-8.
27. M.E. Manickavasagom Pillai, *Culture of the Ancient Ceras*, p. 41.
28. *Puram* 287 : 12.

29. *Ibid* 170 : 2, 5, 6.
30. See Ref. No. 34 *Supra.*
31. See Ref. No. 35 and 36 *Supra.*
32. See Ref. No. 37 *Supra.*
33. Dr. N. Subrahmanian, *op. cit.* p. 258.
34. See Ref. No. 4 *Supra.*
35. *Akam* 390 : 8-9.
36. *Kuruntokai* 221.
37. *Akam* 212 : 14-15.
38. *Ainkurunuru* 6 : 5-6.
39. *Puram* 34 : 8-15; See Ref. No. 59 *Supra.*
40. *Ainkurunuru* 48 : 1; 111; 1-3, *Kuruntokai* 169 : 4.
41. See Ref. No. 49 *Supra.*
42. *Akam* 337 : 7-8; 24 : 1-2.
43. *Patirrupattu* : 6 : 4-5.
44. *Maturaikkanci* 182-83.
45. *Puram* 367 : 12-13.
46. *Ibid,* 113 : K. A. N. Sastri in his *History of South India,* p. 126, expresses the same view. But Dr. N. Subramanian in his "*Sangam Polity*" p 272 refutes this view on the ground that Kapilar has condemned meat eating in '*Inna Narpatu*'. But Kapilar of the Caukam age appears to be different from the author of *Inna Narpatu* which is generally regarded as a post Cankam literature.
47. *Puram* 183.
48. *Perumpan arruppatai* 299-301.
49. *Perunkatai* 35 : 92, 175.
50 Dr. N. Subrahmanian, *Op. cit.* p. 263.
51. *Perunkatai* 2.11. 30-40.
52. *Kalittokai* 65 : 10; 85 : 22; 95 : 10; 68. 19.
53. M. Raghava Iyengar, *Some Aspects of Kerala in Tamil Literature,* p. 42.
54. *Kalittokai* 85 : 1-22.
55. *Ibid,* 68 : 1-19.
56. *Cilappatikaram* IXVI, 107.
57. K. K. Pillay, *A Social History of the Tamils,* pp. 282-3.
58 *Puram* 353 : 1.
59. *Ibid,* 87 : 3.
60. *Acarakkovai* 6, 13.
61. *Ibid,* 90.
62. *Ibid,* 92.
63. *Ibid,* 10.
64. *Ibid,* 64.
65. *Ibid,* 5.
66. *Tirukkural* 98 : 2.
67. *Tirukkural* 41 : 9.
68. *Ibid,* 14 : 3.
69. *Nalatiyar,* 195.
70. *Ibid,* 345, 347.

THE DATE OF TIRUMULAR—A REASSESSMENT

R. Venkatraman

Tirumular (or Mular) is a unique personality in the history of Tamil religion. He is the only person to have the honour of being claimed by two different schools, viz., the Saiva Bhakti school, which honours him as one of its Sixty-three *Nayanmars* (Saints), and the Tantric Siddha school which venerates him as one of the most famous of its 'Eighteen Siddhas'.

Tirumular's *Tirumandiram*[1] is the earliest work embodying almost all the important features of the Siddha school, such as Kundalini Yoga, Saktism with emphasis on mantras and yantras, some fragments of black magic, reference to the possibility of transmutation of base metals into gold, immortality or *Kaya Siddhi,* etc.

Likewise it is the earliest work in Tamil embodying the doctrine of the Saiva Siddhanta, one of the choicest contributions of the Tamils to Indian culture. Thus it is the forerunner of the Saiva canonical works, including their famous *Siva Nana Bodham* of Meikandar (13th century).

So, *Tirumandiram* lays a foundation for both the Siddha school and the Saiva Siddhanta school. Further, it ably welds the Sankhya, Yoga (classical and Tantric), esoteric Buddhist doctrines of the Sahajayana school, Advaita Vedanta, Saktism, the archaic features of the folk religion that form the Natha Siddha cult, and, above all, the Bhakti elements of the Devaram poets.

Tirumular's greatness lies not merely in this amalgamation, but also in two other directions. First, he evolves a new doctrine defining *Siddhi* or liberation as an absolute merging of individual consciousness *(citta)* in the cosmic consciousness *(Sivam)*.[2] The emphasis on devotion to a personal God (in his case Siva) and His grace, personified as Sakti, as necessary conditions for the liberation of the soul, is the real master stroke of Tirumular. Thus he is the first to provide a philosophy to the Bhakti schools of South India.

Secondly, he is the first in the insertion of the folk elements at the highest level of cultural activities. Being a Sakta, he strongly emphasises the grace of Mother Goddess for salvation. This, perhaps, is the starting point of the importance given to Sakti in Saivism, which culminates

in the building of separate Goddess shrines called *Kamakkottam*, that became a prominent feature of the Siva temples of Tamil country from the thirteenth century onwards.[3]

The purpose of this paper is to reassess the date of Tirumular which is still a problem in the cultural history of the Tamils. Different scholars have suggested different dates, e.g., V.V. Ramana Sastri, 6th century A.D.,[4]; C.V. Narayana Aiyyar, c. 4-6th centuries A.D.,[5]; M. Arunachalam 5th or 6th century[6]; Kamil Zvelebil, 7th century[7]; C and H. Jesudasan, second half of the 7th century[8] and K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, 9th century.[9]

Among these scholars only C.V. Narayana Aiyyar discusses the date in great detail. His argument, based on the reference by Mular to the 'Five Tamil Mandalas', enables him to rightly conclude that the lower limit of Mular's date could not have been earlier than the 4th century A.D.

Narayana Aiyyar's argument regarding the upper limit of Mular's date is insufficient and is reassessed here. He bases his argument on a faint reference in *Tirumandiram*[10] to brick, which he takes to mean the nature of the temples during Mular's days as being brick and mortar structures.[11] This makes him conclude that Mular must have lived before Mahendravarma Pallava (600-630), who records his building a temple without the use of bricks, timber, metal or mortar.[12]

Even if the said reference by Mular is taken to denote brick and mortar structures, Narayana Aiyyar overlooked the fact that the brick structures did not come to an end with the Pallavas. They existed even in the latter period and the replacement of brick by stone structures went on steadily under the Colas upto 1000 A.D. and it is often mentioned in the inscriptions. This practice must have started after Rajasimha Pallava (691-728) who initiated the building of structural temples with dressed stones.

Another fact, overlooked by Narayana Aiyyar, but very significant for assessing Mular's date, is the curse vehemently hurled by Mular against the practice of removal of building material even from the compound wall of the temple.[13] This disapproval of Mular sounds like a reaction of a traditionalist against the profanity of replacement of the brick by stone structures by kings, who might have cared more for pomp and glory than for the sacredness of traditions. In that case, Mular must

have lived definitely after 600, and at a time when such replacements were going on, i.e, between 700 and 1000 A.D.

Certain cross references in *Tirumandiram* and *Tiruttondattogai* of Sundarar enable us to place Tirumular contemparaneous with Sundarar, who lived in the 9th century.[14] While Sundarar refers to Mular as a saint in his *Tiruttondattogai*, the latter refers in *Tirumandiram* to an incident which according to Sekkilar, the author of *Periapuranam*, took place in Sundarar's life.[15] The inicident narrated by Sekkilar is as follows: 'On the eve of Sundarar's marriage, Lord Siva, in the guise of an old brahmin, claimed the bridegroom as His bond slave by showing a document (*avanam*) of perpetual bondage, purported to have been executed in the Lord's favour by Sundarar's grandfather on behalf of himself and his descendants.' This 'divine interruption' in redeeming one is considered as the greatest manifestation of the Lord's grace in Saivism. This 'Redemption through Interruption', called *Taduttatkkollal* in one of the strongest points of Saiva Siddhanta and the above episode in the life of Sundarar is considered as a good example of it. Sundarar himself refers to this incident with great devotion and gratitude in a number of hymns in his *Devaram*.[16] Tirumular also refers to this event in two places, as though it took place in his own life. Here we see Mular identifying himself with Sundarar, perhaps a poetic device of showing that his (Mular's) name was also Sundarar as shown in the *Payiram* (Prologue) of *Tirumandiram*.[18]

The reference of Mular to the "Acarya from the West"[19] is also of great value to a historian as it appears to denote a renowned person from the west of Tamil country. Such a person was Sankara, the great exponent of Advaita, who was popularly known as Sankaracarya and who lived during 788-820 A.D.[20] Mular's repeatedly calling his philosophy as *Vedanta Siddhanta*[21] and at one place even as *Sivadvaitam*[22] supports our view that the Acarya, mentioned by Mular is none but Sankara,[23] and hence Mular lived in the 9th century, if not later.

'*Savvadu*', the Tamilized form of an Arabic word, Zavad, meaning a perfume extracted form the civet cat, is used by Mular at two places,[24] while describing the ritual worship, for which this perfume is prescribed as one of the many ingredients. The use of a substance of Arabic origin together with its Arabic name points to a period of direct and deep cultural relations between the Arabs and the Indians. This word *Savvadu*

is found neither in the list of perfumes in the *Silappadikaram*[25] (7th century), nor in the *Pingala Nigandu*,[26] a Tamil lexicon of the 10th century A.D.[27]

The reference to Zavad[28] as well as to the Kalacakra a late concept of the Buddhists, probably of 9th-10th centuries,[29] will prompt us to place Mular even after 9th century, but for Sundarar's inclusion of him in his *Tiruttondattogai*.

Mular's calling himself a Natha[30] and his mention of the '*Nava-natha*',[31] but his being silent about Maccendranath and Gorakhnath are also significant.

Apart from the system of Yoga dealt with by Mular, the Tamil tradition[32] that he came from the north vouches for his being a Natha Yogi. According to this tradition, Sundaranatha, a yogi from the north, was moved to see the cows shedding tears on the death of their cowherd, Mulan. The yogi, casting off his body, entered into the dead body of Mulan, came to be called Tirumular and then wrote *Tirumandiram*.[33] The mention of '*Navanatha*' shows that Mular lived at a time when the 'Navanatha' tradition was already in vogue.

Mular's silence about Macchendranath and Gorakhnath shows that these two great exponents of the already existing Nathism[34] lived later than Mular, either during the 10th century, as pointed out by Dr. P.C. Bagchi,[35] or 11th-12th centuries as shown by Briggs.[36] Probably these two exponents were included in the traditional *Navanatha* list only later.

Mular's repeated criticism of the concept of liberation followed by the Vinanavadins makes us venture a suggestion on the probable role he played (apart from being the father of Saiva Siddhanta) in the history of Saivism of South India that entitled him to a place of honour in their hagiology.

Mular's indebtedness to Buddhists whom he calls *Vinnanattor*[36a] is apparent in his frequent use of concepts such as *Muppal*[37] (the three Sunyas), Sahaja Marga,[38] Yoga Nirvana,[39] Nana Nirvana,[40] Kalacakra,[41] Bodhi as the highest state of consciousness,[42] etc. Here we find Buddhism, especially its Tantric branch, contributing to the development of Tirumular's Saiva Siddhanta concept, in which the former ultimately loses itself.[43]

The Buddhist concept of ultimate liberated state *cittamatra* or *Vijnaptimatra* (Nothing but consciousness) Mular argues, is inadequate, as it subjects the soul to rebirths.[44] He repeatedly refers to this state derisively as *Kevalam*[45] or *Anavam*[46] or absolute solitude[47] of the soul.

The real liberation, according to Mular, is the *Siddhanta Siddhi*,[48] where the Jiva becomes one with Sivam; the cosmic consciousness,[48a] This state is attained only with the grace[49] (of Sivam) that can be gained by unswerving devotion. This liberation alone can save the soul from the cycle of births.[50] The inclusion of devotion and grace, which cater to the mystical side of man's nature, enables Mular to succeed where Buddhism failed due to the neglect of the same. When Buddhism, in its last days, included these elements, it contradicted the spirit of Buddha by allowing all sorts of superstitions to meddle with spiritual life.

Here the question naturally arises why much of *Tirumandiram*, which is more a religious classic than a philosophical treatise, is devoted to an attack on Buddhism. From the tone of the work it is clear that the author, apart from amalgamating the various elements, as shown above, is also engaged in retaliating a challenge from the Buddhist side, probably from the two great Buddhist logicians from the Tamil country, viz., Dinnaga[51] (5th century) and Dharmakirti[52] (7th century).

Of the two, Dharmakirti in his *Nyayabindu*, vehemently attacked the *Nyaya varttika* of Uddyotakara Bharadvaja (620 A.D.),[53] a fervent sectarian of the Pasupata belief. This Buddhist challenge was met in the north by Vacaspati Misra (9th century) in his Sanskrit work *Nyaya Varttika Tatparya Tika*, which defends Udyotakara.[54] Mular's *Tirumandiram* may be a response from the South to the same challenge.

REFERENCES

1. *Tirumandiram* combines the two extreme levels of Hinduism, viz.,
   a. the sophisticated upanishadic philosophy, with too many Sanskrit expressions, which wins for the work the approval of the elitist and inclusion of it on the Siddhanta tradition, and
   b. many elements of folk cults and colloquial expressions and hence claimed by the Tantries Siddha cult.
2. *Tirumandiram* Kumaraguruparan Pillai, T. M. (Ed), Srivaikuntam, 1960 *vv.* 1585, 1595. 1598.
3. Srinivasan, K. R. "*Tirukamakkottam*", Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference, Nagpur, 1946.

4. Narayana Ayyar, C.V., *Origins and Early History of Saivism in South India*, University of Madras, 1974 cited on p. 206 ff.
5. *Ibid* p. 224.
6. Arunachalam, M. *Tamil Ilakkiya Varalaru—14th century*, Gandhi Vidyalayam: Mayuram, 1969, p. 340.
7. Zvelebil Kamil, V. *The Poets of the powers*, Rider and Compay, London, 1973, p. 73.
8. Jesudasan, C. and H. *A History of Tamil Literature*, Madras, p. 91.
9. Nilakanta Sastri, K. A., *A History of South India* Oxford University Press, Madras, 1966 p. 434.
10. *Tirumandiram v*, 1720.
11. C. V. Narayana Aiyyar, *op. cit.* p. 211.
12. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XVII p. 14.
13. *Tirumandiram* v. 516.
14. Sundarar's date is also a disputed problem. We accept the date (9th century) suggested by K. S. Srinivasa Pillai and accepted by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar in his '*Studies in Tamil Literature and History*' Luzac and Co. London, 1930, p. 98; and Rajamanickam, Dr. M. *Kala Araychi* Pari Nilayam, Madras 1973, p. 155.
15. *Periyapuranam* Vol. I. Kovai Tamil Sangam, Coimbatore, 1975 *vv*. 174-220.
16. *Sundarar Devaram*, Dharmapuram Publication No. 555. 1964 vv. 7-17-10; 7-68-6; 7-17-5; 7-62-5; 7-5-10;
17. *Tirumandiram* vv. 1876 and 1879.
18. *Ibid v*. 101.
19. *Ibid v*. 1780 '*Paccima dikkile vaitta acarivan*'.
20. Keith, A. B., *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford University Press, London, (yr. not given) p. 476. This date helps us to settle the dates of Mular and Sundarar too.
21 *Tirumandiram v. v*. 2384; 2386.
22. *Ibid* v. 3064.
23. Note the similarities between Mular and Sankara. Both were rivals of Buddhism, Saktas (with mantra and yantra cult) and credited by tradition with the Siddhic feat of transmigrating into a dead body. Like Sankara, Mular interprets the Upanishadic *mahavakyas*, viz. *Tatvamasi* (vv 2568 ff) *Aham Brahmasmi* (v 2577;) and *Ayamatma Brahma* (v. 2578).
24. *Tirumandiram vv*. 1368; 1295.
25. *Silappadikaram* Kasi viswanathan Chettiar, Paganeri, 1968 Pukar Kandam, Kadaladu Katai 11, 76-81 See p. 147 also.
26. *Pingala Nigandu* has a long list (No. 1307-1325) of perfumes, which includes musk (no. 1310) and Punugu (no. 1311) an aromatic extraction from the civet cat, but not Savvadu. *Pingalanigandu*, S.I.S.S.W. Publishing Society, Madras, 1968.
27. Arunachalam, M. *Tamil Ilakkiya Varalaru—10 century* Gandhi Vidyalayam, Mayuram, 1969, p. 200.
28. Next to Mular, Adiyarkkunallar (12th century) the commentator of *Silappadikaram* used the word, *Savvadu*, while commenting on the word *manmadacceru*

(an extract from the musk deer) see Swaminathier, Dr. U. V., (Ed) *Silappadikara mulamum, Arumpada Uraiyum Adiyarkkunallar* Uraiyum (8th Edition) Madras 1968 p. 194.

The commentator takes the word rightly to mean as musk and wrongly as *Zavad* also, for *Zavad* is not extract from a deer, but a civet cat. The confusion about 'Zavad' even in the 12th century is significant.

29. Das Gupta, S. B., *Obscure Religious cults*, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, (3rd ed.) 1969 p. 25.
30. *Tirumandiram v.* 68.
31. *Ibid, v.* 3067.
32. *Periya Puranam* Vol. VI. Kovaittamil Sangam, Coimbatore 1953 *vv.* 3564; 3566-68.
33. Mular's being moved and entering into the Cowherd's body may be a mythical-way of recording his change of heart from the Stoic-like Natha Yoga school to the emotional Bhakti cult of the Devaram poets. *Tirumandiram* clearly shows its author as basically a Natha Yogi, blending Sankhya and Vedanta with the Nathism of north and the Bhakti cult of the South, which resulted in the birth of Saiva Siddhanta, with which we find him launching a tirade against Sahajayana Buddhism.
34. The Nathas—Mular in the South and Gorakhnath in the north—are Saivites owing much to Buddhism, but at the same time engaged in driving out the latter.
35. *Das Gupta*, S. B., *op. cit.*, cited on p. 386.
36. Briggs, G. W. *Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Yogis* Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1973 p. 250.

36a. *Tirumandiram, vv.* 2136, 2241, 2242, etc. The terms means Vijnanavadirs.

37. *Ibid vv.* 2135; 2488-2500; 2592 etc.
38. *Ibid v.* 1632.
39. *Ibid* v. 1466.
40. *Ibid v.* 1476.
41. *Ibid vv.* 740 ff.
42. *Ibid v.* 82.
43. A similar development is found to have taken place in Bengal, around the same time, where Buddhist Tantra school being the backbone of Saivism, ultimately lost itself in the latter. Vide, Sarkar, B.K., *Folk Elements in Hindu culture*, p. 169-171.
44. *Tirumandiram, v.* 2264.
45. *Ibid vv.* 2242, 1439 (Kevala Pasam) etc.
46. *Ibid* v. 2241.
47. *Ibid v.* 2246 'Tar Kevalam mutti tane tanimaiyam'.
48. *Ibid vv.* 1437; 2545 'Sivamadal Siddhanta Siddhiye'.

48a. *Ibid vv.* 1481; 2506; 2134; 2320; 2324; 2381 etc.

49. *Ibid* vv. 1514-1529.
50. *Ibid vv.* 2108, 2106, 2265.

51. Dinnaga, the founder of Buddhist logic is regarded as the Father of Medieval Nyaya as a whole. According to Tibetan sources he was born in Simha-Vaktra, a suburb of Kanchi, in the South, in a Brahmin family. (2500 years of Buddhism pp. 224 f.)
52. Dharmakirti, born in a village named Tirumalai in the Cola country, was a successor of Dinnaga and a logician of unsurpassed genius. Dr. Stcherbatsky regards him as the Kant of India. His writings mark the highest summit reached in the epistemological speculation by later Buddhism (*Ibid*, pp. 225 f.)
53. Keith, A. B. *op. cit*. p. 483.
54. *2500 years of Buddhism*, p. 226.

URBAN OCCUPATIONS AND CRAFTS IN THE KUSANA PERIOD

Kameswar Prasad

Contemporary scriptural and epigraphic evidence gives an idea of urban occupations and crafts during the Kusana period in India. The crafts and the persons associated with it seem to be of two types, those engaged in productive works, like carpenters, smiths, potters, weavers, etc. and others like washerman, barbers, garlandmakers and so on. Majority of them depended on towns for their existence. Contemporary literary works like the *Jatakas*, the *Milivdapanho*, the *Lalitavistara*, the Buddhist *Avadanas* (*Mahavastu Divyavadana*, *Avadayna sataka*), the dramatic works of Asvaghosa (*Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda*), the *Saddharama Pundariyka*, the *Jaina Sutras*, the *Kamasutra*, the *Mrichchhakatika* of Sudraka, the early law books of Manu Yajnavalkaya and Visnu also contain interesting information on the subject.

Since most of these texts were composed between the 1st and 4th centuries of the Christian era, the data available in these sources may be utilized for the Kusana period (AD 1st-3rd). Moreover, the *Angavijia*, a Jaina Prakrit text, originally compiled in the Kusana period and improved upon in the Gupta period,[1] contains a detailed account of crafts and occupations. The *Karmayoni adhyaya* of this text mentions five kinds of professions, i. e. government officers, trade and commerce, agriculture and animal husbandary, arts and crafts, and work on daily

wages or labour.[2] Of these five kinds of occupations, except agriculture and animal husbandary, others found a congenial ground in towns. The text gives a long list of professionals and craftsmen.

But by far the best evidence supporting the existence of some of these occupations and crafts is provided by inscriptions and archaeological material. Some of the inscriptions of the Kusana period refer to persons like superintending engineers (*navakarmikah*),[4] actors (*Sailalkan*)[5] perfumer (*Gandhaka*)[6], gold smith (*Suvarnakara*),[7] big merchants (*setthi*),[8] leader of caravanas (*Sarthavaha*),[9] servant or priest,[10] cloakmakers (*pravarika*)" and so on. Similarly the material discovered from Kusana horizons over a widely dispersed area in the shape of pottery, terracotta objects and figurines, metal, stone, ivory and bone objects, plaques and sculptural pieces, beads, etc., confirms the prevalence of potters, smiths, sculptors, weavers, tailors and similar other craft groups in the Kusana period.

Such crafts could flourish well in urban centres only. In fact. whereas agriculture, cattle-rearing and other small crafts, connected with land, forest and animals with limited scope and localized markets, were the chief features of rural economy, urban economy was dominated by the large number of professionals and craftsmen who earned more and produced for a wider consumption and circulation. In rural set-up artisans were not as skilled as in towns. In village artisans and craftsmen worked as part-time workers when they were free from agricultural pursuits. But urban craftsmen were more skilled, manufactured articles for wider consumption, because they worked as full-timers. This created a specialized class of artisans and craftsmen like weavers, lapidarists, smiths, jewellers, etc. in towns.

Urban crafts and occupations may broadly be put under the following heads :

(1) service class; (2) independent professionals; (3) amusement class (4) persons connected with the working of clay; (5) workers in textile industry; (6) carpenters; (7) smiths; (8) lapidarists; (9) workers in glass; (10) bone and ivory workers; (11) makers of perfumes; (12) liquor and oil manufacturers; (13) tanners; and (14) other miscellaneous occupations and crafts.

The Service Class :

This class consisted of state officers, armymen and a large number of attendants attached to the royal court and elite, which find mention in the contemporary literature, notably in the *Angavijja*.[12] It appears from these works that a large number of urban population depended on services offered by the state as well as rich persons. However, the Kusana epigraphs do not convey much information about royal officers. They record only officers like *Ksatrapa*, *mahaksatrapa*[13] *dandanayaka* and *mahadandanayaka*.[14] Of these, Ksatrapa and *mahakasatrapa* were civil officers whereas others acted as semi-military officers.[15]

Class of Independent Professionals :

In this category may be placed merchants, prostitutes, physicians, lawyers, barbers, washermen, tailors, astrologers, etc. They generally carried on their business individually and independently, though sometimes they were employed by the state and attached to rich persons also. Particular mention may be made of merchants, *ganikas*, physicians, lawyers, and scribes. Merchants constituted the back-bone of urban economy. Their trading activities and fabulous wealth from a recurrent theme in contemporary literature, particularly the *Jatakas* and the *Mrichchhakatika*. The word *setthi* (modern *seth*) finds place in a Kusana inscription also.[16] Similarly there are innumerable references to *ganikas*, their wealth, character, charming qualities, proficiency in song, music and dance, tact of alluring customers and the types of persons who visited them. Some of them carried their profession independently, others ran brothels, while still others were attached to royal courts and came to be known as courtezans. In the *Jatakas* Benaras is referred to as a famous seat of prostitutes.

From the *Saddharam Pundarika* we come to know that physicians were not only adept in curing diseases but also prepared medicinal herbs with equal proficiency.[17] The *Angavijja* mentions different types of physicians, e. g., Vejja, *Kayategicchhaka* (healders of the body), *Salakatta* (surgeon), *Salaki* (eye-surgeon), *bhutavijjika* (witch doctor), *Komaravichha* (physician for children) and *visithikạ* (poision doctor). Manu reserves the occupation of the physicians for the *Ambasthas*.[18] There are a few references to lawyers in the *Jatakas* and the *Kamasutra*.[20] Scribes were other important professionals inhabiting towns. The dis-

covery of a large number of Kusana inscriptions and seals suggests the existence of scribes. Literary references also suggest the existence of scribes. For example, *Yajnavalkaya* advises the king to protect his subjects from the *Kayasthas*.[21] The word *Kayastha* denotes two meanings according to Mitakshara on Yajnavalkaya, accountant as well as Scribe. Teachers and barbers, referred to in contemporary literature, may also be placed in this class.

Amusement Class :

Contemporary evidence suggests that many persons adopted public entertainment as a profession. Literary texts are full of reference to Musicians and musical instruments,[22] dance and drama performed by professional dancers and actors. They earned money by performing public or private shows and received encouragement from the urban population. Some of the Mathura and Gandhara sculptures depict scenes of musical instruments and dance.[23] The actors of Mathura going as far as Benaras to perform dramatic plays are noticed in the *Mahavastu*.[24] The high status accquired by the actors becomes clear from a Kusana epigraph which records the setting up of a stone slab in the place of the abode of *Dadhi Karana*, by the boys, chief among whom was Nandibala, the sons of the actors (*Sailalkan*) of Mathura, who are praised as Chandaka brothers.[25] Professionals like jesters, wrestlers, etc. may also be placed in this class. The *Kamasutra* even refers to *vita*, *Vidusaka Vaihasika* and *pithamarda*. These persons were known as *upanagarakas* and were advised to earn their bread with the help of *nagarakas* and *ganikas*.[26] Thus the urban growth produced a class of professionals who subsisted on such acts of entertainment as dance, drama and music.

Persons connected with the working of clay :

Both literature and archaeology suggest the flourishing condition of potter's crafts. The word *Kumbhakara* finds mention in the *Angavijja*.[27] A guild of potters is referred to in one of the inscriptions from western India.[28] The potters prepared pottery of diverse shape and use, human and animal figurines, toy carts, toys, bricks, tiles, heads and other miscellaneous house-hold objects Kusana pottery and terracotta figurines depicting typical Kusana features, costume and coiffure have reported from a number of .town sites in Pakistan (Sakistan Dheri Taxila), and India (Mathura, Sravasti, Kausambi, Rajghat, Vaisali, Kumrahar, Chirand, etc.). The discovery of pottery from these urban sites implies local manufacture in towns or in their vicinity, because unlike the

'NBPW', the 'red ware' of the Kusana period was not a deluxe ware which could have been an item of trade. Moreover, potters' dabbers and stamps discovered from some of these sites[29] (Taxila, Kurukshetra, Noh, Mason, Rajghat, Kausambi, Kumrahar, etc.) also suggest the local manufacture of pottery in towns.

Textile Industry :

It was one of the most important and flourishing industries of the period. The fine Indian muslim formed an item of foreign trade and was as much popular as the Chinese silk in the Roman world. The *Jatakas* refer to tailors, weavers, washermen, and *Kasi* cloth manufactured in Benaras.[30] Cotton thread spinners, dyers, dye manufacturers, and clothes of various kinds are noticed in the *Milindapanho* and *Mahavastu* also.[31] Archaeological evidence bearing on textile industry is sparse, but some epigraphs attest to the existence of weavers and dyers.[32] Moreover, the terracotta and sculptures of the Kusana period depicting elaborate costumes and coiffure also point to the development of this industry.

Carpentry :

Carpentry was another important craft. The extensive use of timber as a building material, household furnitures, chariots and boats, made the profession of carpenters prosperous. There are many references to carpenters and to wooden objects in *Lalitavistara Mahavastu* and other texts. The *Angavijja* refers to several kinds of boats, apparently made of timber. These were *nava pota*, *Kottimba*, *Salika*, *tappaka*, *plava*, *pindika*, *Kandevelu dati*,[33] etc. However, archaeological evidence for carpenters craft is lacking apparently on account of the perishable nature of material in which they worked, but some epigraphs do refer to carpenters. Thus an inscription of Kaniska's 12th regnal year records a dedication by a Lady who belonged to the carpenter (*Vaddhakin*) class.[34]

Metal Industry :

Mining and metallurgy thrived under the Kusanas. This included working in ordinary and precious metals like iron, copper, bronze, tin, lead and gold. Silver seems to have been a rare metal. The use to which metal was put was apparently for manufacturing household utensils, weapons, ornaments and coins. Literary sources suggest different craftsmen in each of these metals. For example, iron smith or *lohar-*

kara is mentioned in the *Angavijja*[35], copper and bronze smiths in the *Milindapanho*[36] and goldsmiths (*Kanakmih* and *suvarnakaro*) in the *Saundarananda.*[37]

Although archeological evidence for the working in metals is not very encouraging as most of the material remains have been destroyed by time and weather, a few inscriptions and objects discovered during excavations indicate the knowledge of metallurgy during the period. Thus *lohakara* and *manikara* find mention in the Mathura kankali Tila Jaina image inscription of the year 20 of Kaniska's reign [38] *Suvarnakara* is also mentioned in Kusana inscriptions.[39] Archaeological excavations have also brought to light many metal objects, copper and gold coins from Kausana sites. Iron slags, furnace and crucibles from some sites,[40] and a golden standing human figurine in the Kausana-Mathura style from Vaisali,[41] indicate the prosperous condition of the metal work during this period.

Lapidary :

Stone comes only next to pottery and terracotta in number and use objects like household utensils, architectural objects, ornaments, statues and beads were made of ordinary and semi-precious stones. Stone was used for engraving inscriptions also. Such objects have been discovered in course of excavations from Kusana levels which suggest the flourishing condition of stone industry.

Glass Industry :

Some references to glass and lead are found in contemporary literature. Thus the *Milindapanho* refers to '*Sisakara.*[42] The makers of lead sheets or *Sisapiccatakara* are mentioned in the *Mahavastu.*[43] The articles made of glass were beads, bangles and mirrors. Such object have been brought to light by archaeological excavations. Glass finger-rings, bangles, vassels, glass tiles of Ist—2nd centuries AD and a large number of beads were found at Texila.[44] The discovery of as many as 392 'flans' of grey-coloured glass, for making beads from a jewellers' shop at Sirkap,[45] suggests local working in glass. Glass bangles and beads are reported from other Kausana sites like Hastinapura, Kausambi, Rajghat, Kumrahar, Vaisali, Sonpur, Buxar Chirand also. Besides, a glass factory site, belonging to the Kausana times and notably the period of Kaniska was noticed at Kopia, near Maidaval in the Basti district of Uttar

Pradesh.[46] The fine colour of these glass objects and their low specific gravity suggest that Indians had good knowledge of the chemical side of glass technology.[48]

Bone and Ivory :

The working bone ivory also developed during the Kausana times. These were used for manufacturing domestic objects. luxurious goods and weapons. Some of the important bone and ivory objects were combs, hairpins, bangles, dices, handles of mirrors, decorative pieces, small boxes for cosmetics, arrow heads, short daggers, harpoons, styluses and similar objects, some of which have been reported from the Kusana levels of excavated sites in India. The best specimens of ivory work are represented by the finds at Begram and Taxila.[*]

Perfumery :

The *Jatakas* refer to the process of making perfume.[48] Incense, essence and excellent unguents are mentioned in the *Lalitavistara*[49] also. The *Milindapanho* mentions dealers of perfumes as inhabitants of towns. Both cosmetic makers (*prasadhaka*) and perfumers (*gandhika*) appear in the *Angavijja*.[51] Perfumes and cosmetics were very popular amongst the *nagarakas* who could afford to spend on such items. Some inscriptions from Mathura record the endowments of the *gandhikas*,[52] which attest to the prosperity of this class.

Liquor and oil manufacturers :

Liquor and oil industry also thrived during this period. From literary references it appears that liquors and oils had become the commodities of common consumption. Different types of drinks and oils, shops where they were sold and the persons employed in them are noticed. The vedic *Soma* continued to be used, but some new varieties were also discovered. The *Akaranga Sutra* and the *Angavijja* contain interesting lists of fruit juices, drinks and oils. The *Kamasutra* also speaks of the art of preparing *sharbats* and drinks. Kinds of liquor, oil and their dealers are mentioned in the law books too.[54] The drinking scenes noticed in the Gandhara art[55] also suggest the popularity of drinks which was a natural consequence of growth of urban life.

Leather Industry :

References to leather industry are also preserved in contemporary literature. The *Jatakas* refer to leather *jerkins*, big sacks, ropes, straps,

etc. A cobbler is referred to as making shoes.[56] Leather was used in the constructions of musical instruments also. Other references also suggest the similar use of leather.[57]

Miscellaneous occupations and crafts :

Apart from professions and crafts listed above, contemporary literature mentions some others also Some of these were garland marker, bow, comb and basket-makers, ferrymen and boatmen, Jewellers, betel leaf sellers drivers of carts and charioteers, *sarthavahas* vendors of prepared food, butchers fowlers, fishermen, corpse-burners, etc. It seems that persons connected with almost all the aspects of human life earned their livelihood in towns.

An important feature of urban economy as noticed from the law books of the period is that most of the artisans and craftsmen belonged to the lower strata of the *varna* ridden society.[58] Moreover, it appear from manu that some of the mixed castes pursued important crafts. Thus we are told that *avogava* practiced wood work. the *dhigvana* and the *karavara* worked in leather. the *pandusopaka* worked in canes. the *margava* or the *dasa* subsisted by working as boatmen. The *Venas* played on drums and the *sairandhra* was skilled in attending on his master. The *maitreyaka* rang bell at the appearance of dawn and praised great men. Most of these mixed castes were untouchables and they lived outside brahmanic settlements.[59] However, there is nothing to ascertain how far these scriptural regulations were in force. It is quite possible that the advent of foreigners like the Greeks, Sakas, Parthians and Kusana, displacement of existing populations, establishment of new settlements, and increased mobility, might have loosened the shackles of the *varna* system [60]

Another important feature of the period seems to be the considerable increase in the number of artisans and crafts during this period. Whereas the *Jatakas*, *Painnavana Sutra* and the *Digha Nikaya* mention only 18 and 24 kinds of guilds, the *Mahavastu* and the *Milindapamho* refer to as many as 36 and 74 types of artisans and crafts. With the increased number in arts and crafts specialization in crafts and localization of industries also become apparent. From literary and epigraphic evidence it appears that Taxila, Mathura and Benaras flourished as industrial centres in nothern India during this period, Generally artisans and craftsmen worked as individual entrepreneurs, but side by side joint

entrepreneurship also existed. Although guilds of artisans and craftsmen are seldom mentioned in Kusana inscriptions, epigraphic evidence from western India and the law books suggest by the existence of a large number of guilds which acted as a stimulus to the growth of crafts and industries during the Kusana period.

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IDENTIFICATION OF CHA-PO-HO-LO AND ITS MASTER A-LO-NA-SHUN (A. D. 647-48)

Yogennra Mishra

We come across the word Cha-po-ho-lo in the early history of India while we read the Chinese account of the invasion of India or central India (Madhyadesa) by Wang Hiuen-tse, the Chinese ambassador sent to the court of Harshavardhana Siladitya of Kanyakubja (Kanauj). As Harsha was dead by that time, the Chinese ambassador was confronted by A-lo-na-shun, king of Ti-na-fu-ti. A-lo-na-shun has been restored into Sanskrit as Arunasva and Ti-na-fu-ti as Tirabhukti. Cha-po-ho-lo was identified with Champaran (Champarnagar) or Chapra or even Davaka. In this paper we propose to identify Cha-po-ho-lo and its king A-lo-na-shun or Arunasva.

Sources

The account of the invasion by Wang Hiuen-tse has been given in some Chinese history books that were written between A.D. 812 and 1254. English translation of relevant portions has been given by Dr. Devahuti in her *Harsha : A Political Study* (Oxford, 1970). The last Chinese author in the series was Ma Tuan-lin who wrote his book in 1254 that was not published until 1319. English translation of the relevant portion is available in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1837, pp. 69-70 and *Indian Antiquary*, 1880, p. 20 Devahuti does not furnish Ma-Tuan-lins account in her work.

I. Identification of Cha-Po-Ho-Lo

A close study of the Chinese accounts of Wang-Hiuen-tse's Indian invasion gives the following details about Cha-po-ho-lo which is said to be the capital of Ti-na-fu-ti :—

1. Ti-na-fu-ti (Tirabhukti) was in central India (Madhyadesa). Hence Cha-po-ho-lo, which is also called Tu-po-ho-lo, was situated in Madhyadesa. (Madhyadesa of ancient Indian literature extends from Haryana to Bihar).

2. Cha-po-ho-lo, being the capital of Ti-na-fu-ti, was naturally situated in that territory. (The boundaries of Tirabhukti are already known to us. It was bounded by the Gandaka, the Ganges, the Kosi and the Himalayan foothills).

3. Cha-po-ho-lo was situated on the river Chien-to-wei which has been identified with the Gandavati or Gandakavati, one of the forms of the Gandaka.

4. The commentator in the *Tzu-Chih Tung Chien (Mirror of Universal History)* written in A.D. 1084 by Ssu-ma Kuang states that the River Chien-to-wei was 'first to the west and then to the north' of the Ganges (Devahuti, *op.cit.*, p. 228; also see p. 216, fn. 2).

5. The *Hsin Tang Shu (New History of the T'ang Dynasty)* written in A.D. 1061 says that the River Chien-to wei was north of the country of To-wei (*ibid.*, p. 228).

To this list we may add one from our own side :

6. If Cha-po-ho-lo was the capital of Tirabhukti for a considerable period, it must be full of antiquities today.

Out of the points given above nos 1-3 are general in character and do not take us much farther. But points 4 and 5 that have been fortunately furnished by Devahuti are very important :

A. If we look to the Gandaka river from Patna City or Fatwah, it will become clear how the Gandaka is 'first to the west and then to the north' of the Ganges. Many people may not be knowing that the Gandaka meets the Ganges at Hajipur (headquarters of the newly created Vaishali district) and starts flowing towards the east for a good number of miles independently of the Ganges and finally meets the Ganges several miles east of Mahnar. In this process an island (*diara*) is

created known as Raghopur Diara. Hence Cha-po-ho-lo should be situated somewhere to the north of Raghopur Diara in order that the statement of the Chinese commentator proves to be correct.

B. To-wei of the Chinese accounts cannot be Magadha for which the word Mo-kie-to is used. Hence it stands for Raghopur Diara and Raghopur Diara alone. No other region in Tirabhukti or North Bihar has this geographical situation. This again means that Cha-po-ho-lo is north of Raghopur Diara.

As many antiquities are found at villages like Madhurapur, Bagh Saiyad Khan, Chechar, Bazidpur etc. that are north of Raghopur Diara. I came to the conclusion that this area stood for Cha-po-ho-lo or Tu-po-ho-lo. capital of ancient Tirabhukti.

The matter does not stop with the identification of Cha-po-ho-lo with a group of villages in the present-day Vaishali district lying to the north of the Gandaka river between miles 7 and 13 to the east of Hajipur and falling in Bidupur thana. It was flourishing at a time when the official language of Indian inscriptions was Sanskrit. It must have had a name in Sanskrit. What was that name ?

With this end in view I looked into the accounts of Fa-hien and Hiuen-Tsang and the latter's biography written by his disciple and friend Hwui-li. By combining these pieces of evidence the picture emerges that at a distance of "20 miles or so" from the site of the second Buddhist Council (which is 3 miles to the south of Basrah or ancient Vaisali city) lies the Buddhist Sangharama of Svetapura and 6 miles southeast of this is situated a stupa containing the relics of the body of Ananda, the well-known disciple Gautama Buddha. It may be mentioned here that Hajipur lies at a distance of 20 miles from, Basarh or Vaisali. Thus the Svetapur Sangharama Ananda-Chaitya complex should be situated on miles 3 to 9 to the east of Hajipur or further east wherever adequate archaeological remains are available. Fortunately we find that on miles 7-13 we get adequate archaeological remains to justify the location of Cha-po-ho-lo here. No harm is caused to accuracy by moving to the east by 4 miles because both Hiuen-Tsang and his biographer are not exact or insistent on the distance ("Hiuen Tsang-" 16 or 18 miles; Hwuli "20 miles or so").

Let us approach the problem from a different angle. If we accept the verdict of Hiuen Tsang and his biographer strictly and are not

allowed any concession or relaxation, the Svetapura of the seventh-century Chinese monks extends from mile 3 to mile 9 on the Hajipur-Mahnar Road (east of Hajipur). The Chapoholo or Tupoholo of the medieval Chinese accounts in our opinion extends from mile 7 to mile 13 on the same road. Thus there is a clear overlapping of a distance of two miles. This means that Svetapura and Chapoholo (Tupoholo) are the same and that there has been some mistake somewhere in location. It is here that antiquities play an overriding role. As they are found abundantly between miles 7 and 13 on the Hajipur-Mahanar Road, we have to accept that it is this area that represents the Chapoholo or Tupoholo of the medieval Chinese accounts and the Svetapura (Shi-fei-to-po-lo) of Hiuen Tsang. Also, if we exert a little, we can clearly discern that the Sanskrit form of Chapoholo or Tupoholo is Svetapura, because.

(i) *Cha* stands for *S*; and *Tu* stands for *ta*.

(ii) Chinese syllables for *Veta* in Chapoholo and *Sve* in Tupoholo have been omitted as is usually done in the process of Sinizing Sanskrit words. (There are numerous examples of this).

(iii) *poholo* stands for *pura*. Thus the capital of Tirabhukti had a *puranta* ('ending in *pura*') name. This did not strike the earlier writers who suggested Champaran or Chapra (1836, 1837) or even Davaka (1900)

Let us now turn to the second part of this paper.

II. Identification of A-lo-na-Shun (Arunasva)

Who was A-lo-na-shun ?

His name has been restored into Sanskrit as Arunasva which seems to be correct. The form Arjuna, the Sanskrit form of A-lo-shun which is also found in some Chinese texts should not be accepted because the shortened form if Sanskritised cannot give the correct original word.

A close study of the Chinese accounts of Wang Hiuen-tse's Indian invasion gives the following details about A-lo-na-shun (Arunasva) who was the king of Tirabhukti at the time :—

1. He was a minister of Harshavardhana Siladitya.
2. He usurped the throne after Harsha's death.
3. He became the king of Tirabhukti after Harsha's death.
4. His lineage is unknown. The place or region from where he came is equally unknown except that he had probably some

connection with Kanyakubja inasmuch as he said to have been a minister of Harshavardhana during the latter's life-time.

Here we wish to offer a suggestion.

Arunasva is generally taken to be a combination of Aruna and Asva (अश्व). But it may be a combination of Aruna and Asva (आश्व) as well. In the second case it means Aruna, the son (*or* descendant) of Asva (आश्व). I take Asva here as a contraction of Asvapati, the progenitor of the Maukharis according to verse 3 of the Haraha (Barabanki District) stone Inscription[1] of Isanavarman of A.D. 554. Thus Asvapata (आश्वपत) and Asva are patronymics of Asvapati shortened into Asva (अश्व) for the sake of convenience.[2] Perhaps the complete name of Arunasva was Arunasvapata-varman (*cf.* the last letter n of A-lo-na-shun). Hence-I feel that Arunasva was probably a Maukhari prince, say grandson of Suryavarman and son of Bhaskaravarman, or the third son of Avantivarman and the younger brother of Graha and Sucha...or Suva .. In that case he attains legitimacy which perhaps helped him in taking posession over Tirabhukti whose governor he might have been[3] as a minister of Harsha. That the Maukharis had a good hold over Harsha is known to us from introductory, verse[4] of Banas *Kadambari.*

Hence we are of the opinion that Arunasva was a Maukhari prince, a Maukhari *rajabijin* (राजबीजिन्) who tried to rehabilitate himself in Tirabhukti but failed.

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2. Just as both the forms Bhimasena and Bhima, are used for the second son of Pandu.
3. That Arunasva was a governor of Tirabhukti during Harsha's time has been suggested by many scholars
4. This word is used by Kalhana in his *Rajatarangini* for a prince of the royal blood who has no throne now but his ancestors were kings (of any variety).

SAMPRADAYA IN THE PASUPATA TRADITION : A SACRED HISTORY[1]

J. Van Troy

The *Pasupatas*, the leading *samnyasis* of West India during the Gupta and post-Gupta periods, were deeply aware that they belonged to a living tradition, going back to *Lakulisa* through lineages of *acaryas*. The vital importance of these lineages is emphasized in the *Puranas*[2] and relevant inscriptions. The early Mathura inscription of 384 A. D.[3] refers to the close links of the 10 successors of *Kusika*. probably the disciple of *Lakulisa*. Dr. V. S. Pathak, who made an exhaustive study of the different lineages of the tradition,[4] points out that the late Cintra Prasasti mentions four *jatis* coming down from the four disciples of *Lakulisa* : *Kusika*, *Gargya Kaurusa* and *Maitreya*. On the *Maitreya jati* no further information is available : a couple of inscriptions mention *Kusika*.[5] *Kaurusa* may have been corrupted to *Karuka*, a lineage mentioned in several sources.[6] Other *Pasupata gotras* (lineages) are *Ananta*,[7] *Capala*[8] and *Pranama*.[9] A Lata line is also referred to.[10] The successive *acaryas* of different lineages seem to have taken specific names : those of the *Pranama* and *Ananta gotras* apparently look the prefix : *bhava*, those of the *Gargya* and *Capala gotras* attached the suffix :—*rasi*.[11] On the basis of the literary sources of the *Posupata* tradition : the *Pasupata Sutras* and their commentary by *Rasikara*,[12] and the *Ganakarika* and commentary by *Bhasarvajna*,[13] as well as epigraphical evidence, this paper attempts to analyse the concept of tradition in the *Pasupata* movement : *sampradaya*.[14]

The concept of tradition in the *Pasupata* movement has to be interpreted in the light of its *Samkhya* theology. All men are *pasu's* because they have a beginning, lack freedom and have an objectivating awareness; they are. moreover, tied up by 23 elements, which have no self-originated awareness : the senses, their objects and the cosmic elements.[15] Men, who are merely *pasu*, move in the setting of *loka*[16] through their birth and actions, due to the initiative of Shiva, they are interrelated in a society based on worldly *maryada*. This worldly society has an apparent consistency and goes through changes;

but these structures and internal changes do not affect the final destiny of man. This destiny, the personal and intimate union with Shiva, (*sayujyam*) is realised only within and through the *Pasupata* tradition.

Shiva, as transcendent Lord, is perfectly self-composed in His self-contemplation, but is also graciously interested in the *pasus*[17] He acts the cosmic play;[18] on His good pleasure depend the actions of the *pasus* and the resulting bondage of propriety[19] as well as the phasing out of these self- promoting and fettering actions, the attitude of *sadhaka* and finally union with Him.[20] His contemplative poise is paradoxically consistent with His desire to be gracious to chosen *pasu's*. He is an eager Lord.[21] He wants the *pasus* to be united to Him. This gratuitous eagerness to communicate Himself[22] is the origin of the *sampradaya*.

Shiva's graciousness historically originates in his descent at *Kaya-varohana*[23] He enters the dead body of a Brahmana, *Lakulisa*, who thus is the man, in whom Shiva becomes gracious to the *pasus*. *Lakulisa* makes Shiva objectively present by his ascetic nakedness and the ashes with which he covers his body.[24] This objective presence is complemented by an inward stirring in the heart of the would-be disciples, which enables them to discern the eminence of their teacher.[25] At Ujjain, *Kusika*, the model disciple, asks *Lakulisa* if it is possible to put an end to suffering. After testing the earnestness of the disciple, *Lakulisa* explains that Shiva's graciousness annihilates man's sufferings and teaches the basic doctrine and practices. This archetypal encounter of *Lakulisa*-Shiva and *Kusika* initiates the tradition. The *sampradaya* of successive *gururs* prolongs the initial graciousness of Shiva in *Lakulisa*.[26]

The theology tradition is forcefully explicited on the first page of the *Ganakarika* and *Bhasyam* of *Bhasarvajna*. To the question whether a man can attain the end of frustration and suffering by keeping all the *Pasupata* practices, the answer is a categorical, 'No'. Bodily and mental suffering can be stopped even by a man who is too weak to keep all the observances.[27] If observances then are not essential to end suffering, then what is ? The answer is emphatically : the tradition. Suffering is ended by keeping the tradition, by fostering the tradition, in the strength of the tradition.[28]

What is this tradition ? Tradition no doubt implies the handing down of a doctrine;[29] most of the epigraphical sources give an almost exclusive importance to the handing down of the *Lakulagama*.[30] But the commentaries on the two basic *Pasupata* texts equally emphatically state that a candidate *Pasupata* needs more than a doctrine, the personal guidance of the *acarya*. The strength of the tradition depends on this personal link. This personal relationship is subject to several conditions. One is that only properly qualified Brahmanas be graced by the *acarya*.[31] Only those who have been stirred by Shiva to take the attitude of *sadhaka* should be adopted as disciples. Another condition is that a selected disciple should follow the *guru* like a shadow in all his doings, and serve him in all his needs,[32] that he believes and obeys the *guru*, even when his teachings and orders are not found in the scriptures.[33] A true *guru* thus creates a supporting atmosphere : *ayatana* conducive to spiritual growth.[34] He destroys evil and gives merit by his *darasana* and conversation and guides to *mukti*.[35] If he is venerated by the disciple, the *guru* becomes Shiva Himself, Who in the *acarya* hands inner contemplation down to the disciple.[36] At this juncture *Bhasarvajna* makes the pointed distinction between a mere *sadhaka* and an *acarya* : a *sadhaka* applies himself wholeheartedly to the ascetical attitudes and practices without bothering about theoretical knowledge; an *acarya* has to carefully analyse the *sutras* and to know the nine sets of categories.[37] But if the aspirant *acarya* would be content to know the theory only, he would be a psudo-*acarya*.[38] A pseudo-*acarya* behaves in the wrong way; due to him the tradition is disrupted.[39] Once the tradition is thus definitely broken, it cannot be recreated for it came into the world through the gratuitous initiative of Shiva.[40]

The *Pasupata* tradition is then a tradition in the strict sense of the word : the uninterrrupted communication of the decisive, liberating spiritual experience, which originates in the graciousness of Shiva, and which, if lost, could not be recaptured by human efforts. Each vital link of the tradition, the right relationship of *acarya* and disciple, is then authenticated by an original point of reference. This original point of reference is not a time-less archetype, but the historical encounter of *Lakulisa* and *Kusika*, which initiated the communication of the experience of union with Shiva. The *Pasupata* movement is then a sacred tradition.

The faithful continuation of the original gesture of Shiva in *Lakulisa* is also a history : an irreversible series of events which originated at a point of time in the past. It is true that the *Pasupata* tradition is not concerned about the exact date of its origin, but the *P.A.B.*, the *Puranas* and the Cintra *Prasasti* attest that it mattered *that* the event took place in time.[41] Against the dark background of the *loka* : the setting of contingent, reversible, undecisive happenings whose only importance is that of worldly propriety, the *Pasupata* tradition is an irreversible of sparkling saving acts through which the decisive union successing with Shiva is handed down from one *Pasupata* to another; it is a history of salvation, a sacred history.

Often history is little more than an interesting chronicle of happenings focused on the fads and foibles of kings and conquerors. Real history is the selection from among contingent happenings of decisive events, understood as such in the light of an absolute, which relativates other happenings. This absolute can be as for the Greeks : *Ate*-fate, and man's revolt and struggle against his destiny, or an idealised concept of nation. It can be the class-less society, projected into a future beyond history, as the state of socio-economic liberation from the dialectical contradictions, arising from the developing economic processes of production and distribution. It can also be a past experience of full spiritual liberation, which illumines a whole civilised way of life and continues in a spiritual tradition, like that of the *Pasupatas*.

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14. *Canakarika (G.K.)* and *Bhasya (G.K.B.)* of *Bhasarvajna.* ed. C. D. Dayal, G.O.S., XV, pp. X-57
15. *Sampradaya* is not used in the *P.A.B.* but is prominent on the first page of the *G. K. B.* P.A.B.V, p. 143 seems to allude to it when it describes Shiva's grace as *sampradan-eccha.*
16. *P.A.B.*, I, p. 5; *G.K.B.*, p. 10.
17. *P.A.B.*, p. 9.
18. *Karmakaminas-ca Mahesvaram apeksante na tu Bhagavan Isvarah karma purusam va peksate. Ato na karmapeksa Isvarah. P.A.B* , II, pp. 58-60.
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37. *Acaryam pujayed-yas-tu sarvastham hi nityasah. Pujitas-tena bhavati Sivah acaryamurtim-asthaya Sivo jnanm prayacchati, P.A.B.*, p. 28.
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JAINA PURANAS AS A SOURCE OF SOCIAL HISTORY

Ram Bhushan Singh

The present paper is mainly based on the study of the *Adipurana* of Jinasena and the *Uttarapurana* of Gunabhadra, both of which were composed in the 9th century. Both of these authors belonged to the *pancastupaanvaya*, an important monastic group of eastern India, but seems to have migrated to distant Karnataka in the hope of finding a new group of supporters. In this short paper, an attempt has been made to reconstruct the picture of Jaina social life in the early madieval age.

The study of Jaina *Puranas* is not only essential for the exposition of Jaina dogmas and Jaina philosophy but also yields useful information for the reconstruction of Jaina social history. There are scattered but significant references to the prevalent social order, institutions of marriage and family, the system of caste hierarchy and other social customs.

Jain *Puranas* specifically refer to the four-fold division of Jain Society. Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra are the four classes which figure prominently in Jain *Puranas*.[1] As the four-fold division of Jain society was mainly based on the brahmanical concept of Varna organisation, Jinasena in his *Adipurana* mentions the duties of different varnas. Each of the four varnas was assigned similar functions which characterized the brahmanical social order.[2] Jinasena states further[3]

that if they did not perform their respective duties, there would be every possibility of intermingling of social classes. Thus, in order to save the society from intermingling, Rsabhadeva, the first Jaina Tirthankar, empowers the king to punish the wrongdoers or whoever violates the established rules of varna organisation[4] He is also said to have laid emphasis on the danda (coercion) which was deemed essential for maintenance of the existing social orders. He justifies it on the ground that the fear of danda does not exist in society, it will be certainly in a state of Matsya-nyaya.[5]

As regards the theory of the origin of these four classes, Jaina *Puranas* inform us[6] that Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra originated respectively from the arms, thighs and feet of Rsabhadeva. The Brahmanas who occupied the first position in Hindu society, originated from the mouth of Bharat, the elder son of Rsabhadeva. Study, teaching and performance of worships rituals are some of the important duties of this class for which they will receive donations from the lay-devotees.[7]

For a systematic regulation and protection of varna organisation, Rsabhadeva enunciated definite rules for a valid marriage. Caste-endogamy has been the chief characteristic of marriages prevalent among the Jains. The *Adipurana* clearly states that every member of the four-fold varna organisation should contract marriage within his own caste.[8] Jaina *Puranas* also furnish evidence of inter-caste marriages which were mainly confined to the members of two upper classes.[9] It was the privilege of a Brahmana and Kshatriya to marry a Vaisya and Sudra lady but this was not permissible for the members of the last two orders. Although Jaina Puranas do not distinguish between approved and unapproved forms of marriage, they contain some references to the prevalence of the *Gandharva* or love marriage[10] and marriage by Svayamvara.[11] They also inform us about the prevalence of both monogamy and polygamy in Jaina society. The practice of polygamy was generally prevalent among the members of the upper varnas.[12]

The institution of an ideal joint family figures mostly in Jaina *Puranas*. It included father, mother, wife, children, sisters, brothers, etc. Relations within the family were generally cordial, but there are instances of dissensions among the members for the attainment of proprietary rights. Although Jaina *Puranas* lay down rules regarding equal partition of ancestral property among sons and daughters,[13]

there are certain cases of violation of the established rules. The *Adipurana* refers to the prolonged family strife between the two sons of Rsabhadeva for ancestral property; when Bharat, the elder son of Rsabhadeva refused to recognize the individual status of his younger brother, Bahubali, a fierce struggle started between the two.[14]

The study of these two Jaina *Puranas* also reveals the fact that the Jainas became strong supporters of caste-system during the early medieval age. Considerations of caste played an important role in the performances of marriage[15] and in the determination of the social status of an individual. Like the Hindu theoriests, Jainasena in his *Adipurana* recognizes Sudra as the fourth social order whose duty was to serve the other three classes.[16] He also divides this class of Sudra into touchables and untouchables.[17] Consideration of caste again influenced the performance of the sacred thread ceremony. Artisans, dancers and probably sudras were not allowed to wear the sacred thread on account of their low birth.[18]

The above description reveals definitely the impact of Hindu culture on Jaina society during early medieval times. The composition of the *Adipurana* and the *Uttarapuranas* reflects the assimilation of brahmanical ideas and intitutions in the Jaina society. The texts illustrate that the Jains were not hesitant to adopt brahmanical traditions, and they even tried to establish the Jaina origin of these traditions. All this marked a sharp break with the original teachings of Jainism, but such a break was also imperative in view of the mounting opposition of the brahmana leaders against anti-brahmanical sects, the Jaina being the most powerful of them. The growing desire of the Jaina leaders to make their system popular and thus strengthen the social basis of the religion probably explains their survival in the South. As a result of the changes which the Jaina society underwent during the early medieval period and also later, the Jainas of South particularly those of Karnataka lost their social and sectarian identity.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF SAKTI CULT IN ORISSA DURING ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL PERIODS

Biswarup Das

Sakti cult is a subject of absorbing interest. In India it goes back to the pre-Vedic times. The objects discovered on the valley of the Indus show that Sakti was worshipped both in iconographic and symbolic forms.[1] In Orissa the origin of this cult, however, can be traced to the pre-Gupta age since the two-armed Mahisamardini image known as Viraja is the earliest form of such images in India.[2] There is a reference to the goddess Viraja in the *Mahabharata*,[3] and as such the place of Viraja, at present known as Jajapur, is one of the oldest Sakti Pithas of the Hindus. Viraja is also mentioned in the *Kubjika Tantra*,[4] which is considered to be a fairly early work. Nepalese Tantrik traditions contain a prophecy in which the Ruddha assures Sariputra that he would in future be born as Padmaprabha and that he would attain enlightenment at Viraja.[5] Thus Viraja was a famous place of pilgrimage of Hindu Tantriks as well as Buddhist Tantriks. Difference between two sects was next to nothing, with the one important exception that the former resorted to human sacrifices whereas the letter did not.

In this connection a discussion on Oddiyana will not be far-fetched, since it was a prominent place of Sakti cult in ancient and medieval times. The *Hevajra Tantra*[6] mentions Oddiyana as a reputed centre of Saktism. The *Sadhanamala*[7] and the *Rudrayamala*[8] also refer to Oddiyana as one of the four famous seats of Saktism in India. The *Brhannila Tantra*[9] states Oddiyana as the abode of Bhairavi, the consort of Jagannatha-Bhairava. Hiuen Isann seems to have noticed the prevalence of Sakti worship in Oddiyana when he says that "the people of Oddiyana made the acquisition of magical formulae their own."[10] We may state here that magic and charms formed some of the elements of Sakti cult. According to Tibetan sources[11] a number of Tantrik scholars seem to have associated themselves with this territory. They were Sarah, Kambala Padmavajra, Lalitavajra, Gambhirajra, Luipa, Pito etc. Besides, Indrabhuti and Laksmikara, great exponents of Tantrik Buddhism, hailed from this place.[12] Thus Oddiyana was the fountain head of all Tantrik knowledge.

The *Kailka Purana*,[13] an authentic work on Tantrikism, mentions Odra (i.e. Orissa) as one of the Sakti Pithas along with Kamarupa, Purnagiri and Jalandhara As such, Oddiyana can be equated with Odra.[14] This is attested to by the existence of innumerable Tantrik temples on the coastal belt of Orissa.

D. C. Sircar[15] has aptly opined that Jajapur, (which for several centuries remained the capital of Orissa in ancient and medieval times) was a great centre of Tantrik worship and was the place of Vatra *gotra* Brahmanas, who appear to have been Sakta-tantriks and spiritual preceptors of two glorious dynasties (Bhauma-karas and Somavamsis) of Orissa. They were adept in performing such miracles as bringing back dead people to life. According to a tradition, after the ten-horse sacrifice by the Somavamsi king Yayati Kesari at Jajapur the Vaitarani turned into a river of wine (sura).[16] The tradition proves that Jajapur was a seat of Sakti cult.

In this connection we may recall the legend of Daksa Yajna[17] to account for the origin of Saktism in Orissa. Daksa Prajapati was celebrating a great sacrifice for which neither Sati, his daughter, nor Siva, his son-in-law, was invited. Sati, however, went to her father. As a result of humiliation there, she died of broken heart. Siva became inconsolable

at the death of his wife. He wandered over the earth in mad dance with Sati's dead body on his head. The gods made a plan to free Siva from his infatuation and to deprive him of his wife's dead body. Thereupon Brahma, Vishu and Sani entered the dead body and disposed of it bit by bit. The places where pieces of Sati's dead body fell are said to have become holy seats of mother goddess, in all of which she represented to be constantly living in same form together with Bhairava, a form of Siva. It was Oddiyana where the two things of Sati fell. Therefore, Orissa became a great centre of Sakti cult.

The capital city Viraja, i.e. Jajapur, became a reputed centre of Sakti worship in the medieval period. A number of matrka images belonging to the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. have been discovered at Jajapur and its environs. Of the matrkas, Chamunda appears to be in special favour here, and her images are very often met with scattered here and there. One such image was installed in a temple at Jajapur by a Bhauma queen named Vassadevi.[18] The Sapta Matrka images at this place are also assigned to the eighth century A.D.[19] Eight-armed Chamunda images are noticed at Bhimagiri in the Dhenkanal district. They are worshipped at present by the name Ramachandi and can be assigned to the eighth century A.D.

Ekamra, i.e. Bhubaneswar, became another seat of Sakti worship in the medieval period. The two notable Sakti shrines constructed in this period are Vaitale and Mohini temples. Chamunda is the principal deity in both these temples. We can imagine the terrible form of the goddess in the Vaitala even though she is always covered with a piece of cloth, as she has a corpse beneath her feet and head of a snake above her head. Her counterpart in the Mohini temple closely resembles the dreadful form of the goddess depicted in the *Svarnaari Mahodaya.*[20] Its belly is sunken and emaciated, its breasts are lean and pendulous, its smile is ghastly and its body is garlanded with skulls. The Mahisamardini image of the Vaitala temple is in the words of D.C. Sircar, "One of the finest representations of the goddess belonging to the post-Gupta period."[21] The temples of Kapalini Uttarayani, and Gouri situated in Bhubaneswar and assigned to the eighth century A.D.[22] are also notable Sakti Pithas. Chamunda is the principal deity in each of these temples. In the Kapalini temple, besides the presiding deity, we notice seven matrkas and four yoginis The Parsuramesvara temple at Bhubaneswar assigned to the seventh century A.D.[23] also contains Sapta Matrka

mages. The sixty-four Yogini temple at Hirapur, in the vicinity of 3hubaneswar has been assigned to the eighth century A.D.[24] Among the igures of Yoginis some belong to the Sapta Matrka group.

There is an interesting image of Chamunda worshipped as Jagulai n Chaurasi. She sits in *ardhaparyanka* pose on a corpse and holds *lambaru*, sword, skull, dagger in her four left hands as well as *Khatvanga*, rident, rosary and human head in her right hands. She exhibits *abhaya* and *varada mudras* in her left and right hands respectively. The Chamunda images in Orissa range from four-armed to ten-armed. This bears testimony to the wide popularity of this goddess in medieval Orissa.

Varahi was another popular goddess in Orissa in the eighth century A.D. Generally images of Varahi are to be found among the Sapta Matrka groups. But we notice a peculiar image of the said goddess at Chaurasi as the presiding deity of a temple. She sits in *lalitasana* on her nount buffalo and wears ornament of various designs.

The Yogini *pithas* became centres of tantrik Brahmanism and counteracted the popularity of Tantrik Budhism in the eighth century A. D. Hirapur near Bhubaneswar in the Puri District as well as Rani-pur-Jhariwal near Titlagarh in the Bolangir District contain Yogini pithas. The sixty-four (chausat) Yogini temples at these two places assigned to the eighth and ninth centuries A. D.[25] were great centres of Saktism. In this connection it is interesting to note that shrines of sixty-four Yoginis are very few in India. The Yoginis were attendants on Durga and, in a sense, were considered to be various forms of the god-dess herself. As such, there probably existed close connection between the Yogini cult and the Sakti cult. Thus the Sakti cult, which originated n the coastal regions of Orissa gradually spread to the adjoining hilly racts of Orissa.

The different forms of Mahisamardini were worshipped in Orissa through the ages. We have discussed earlier the two-armed Mahisamar-dini, worshipped as Viraja at Jajapur. A very beautiful image of four-armed Mahisamardini is being worshipped in a village in Govindpur. She holds *chakra* and conch in her upper two hands while her two lower hands are engaged in piercing the trident into the heart of the demon. An image of six-armed Mahisamardini is noticed at Astarang where she is worshipped as *gramadevati*. She holds sword, arrow, bow

shield in four of her hands. She pierces the trident in the heart of the demon and presses the mouth of the demon in two of her other hands. The Mahismardini images discussed above are very rare in comparison with other forms of the said goddess. They can be assigned to the period in between the Gupta rule and Bhauma rule in Orissa.

Eight-armed Mahisamardini images came into existence in Orissa in the eighth century A.D. These images were worshipped according to Tantrik rites, due to the prevalence of Tantrism in Orissa during the said period. We find an image of eight-armed Mahisamardini at Haripur in Mayurbhanja District. Her trident pierces through the shoulder of the demon. She closely resembles her counterpart at Aihole though the feeling of anger is more prominent in the former than in the latter. Other such deities are found at Kanakpur and Devidol in the Cuttack district. They are at present known as Sarala and Kutamchandi respectively. Both the images are similar in so far as they hold sword, bow, trident, discus and bell in six of their hands. Both of them differ from each other in so far as the former holds book and lyre whereas the latter holds shield and *kharpara* in two of their hands. There is Varahi image on the entrance of the Kutamchandi temple, holding a pot (of wine) and resembling closely her counterpart in the Varahi temple at Chaurasi, holding a fish in one hand and a pot (of wine) in the other. The Varahi temple is assigned to the eighth century A. D.[26] Hence we can also assign the Kutamchandi temple to same period.

Eight-armed Mahisamardini image are also noticed at Angalpur near Kakatpur and Amarkuda near Niali. We notice a very interesting eight-armed Mahisamardini image near the Brahmesvara temple (under a banyan tree) at Bhubaneswar. The goddess is engaged in a fierce sea-battle, with the demon issuing out of the decapitated trunk of a buffalo. She holds discus, shield, snake and arrow in four of her hands whereas her other four hands are badly damaged Scene of such naval war between the goddess and the demon is extremely rare. The image can be assigned to the ninth century A.D.

The whole of the Prachi Valley abounds in ten armed Mahisamardini images. They are installed in the temples of this region either as presiding deities or as side deities. This proves the popularity of this goddess in the said region. The most beautiful representation of this goddess is noticed at Ambapara near Chaurasi. She holds in her five right hands

sword, arrow, trident piercing through the head of the demon, discus and *Sakti* striking to the back of the demon. She holds in her five left hands bow, dagger, shield, pasa and snake. There is a small inscription just below the pedestal, indicating that the image was carved out by the sculptor Yubaraka. On palaeographical grounds this image can be assigned to the tenth century A.D. We may mention in this connection that the ten hands represent four hands of Brahma, four hands of Visnu and two hands of Siva.[27] In other words, she combines in herself the powers of the aforesaid deities.

All these temples are spectacular examples of the prevalence of the Sakti cult in Orissa in medieval times. These temples must have exerted tremendous influence on social life. It is quite plausible that sacrifices of human beings were resorted to. The awful esoteric rites that were once performed, are evident from the presence of some images in their dreadful forms in these temples. We notice the figure of Bhairava, the terrific form of Siva, carved in the inner wall of the Vaitala temple. It wears a garland of skulls, sits in a fighting posture, and holds a large dagger in the right hand and *kharpara* in the left. It has sunken eyes open mouth, protruding tongue and hollowed belly,

Besides these sculptural representations of various Sakta divinities we have at our disposal innumerable literary and inscriptional references about these devinities. The *Kalika Purana*[28] declares god Jagannatha and goddess Katyayani as the presiding deities of Orissa.

Katyayani is also stated in the *Prachi Mahatamya*[29] as a fearful goddess of Orissa, who takes delight in meat and wine. The popularity of the goddess in Orissa is borne out by the fact that Tribhuvana Mahadevi, a Bhauma queen, compares herself with Katyayani at the time of her accession to the throne in her own character.[30] We are tempted to believe that the goddess was no other than Viraja, the presiding deity of the Bhauma capital. D.C. Sircar on the basis of the *Bhakti Bhagavata Mahakavya* by Kavi Dindima Jivadevacharya is inclined to believe that the Bhaumas were devoted to the goddess Viraja.[31] Besides, a number of Tantrik works, both Brahmanic and Buddhist, that were composed in the medieval period, have come to light and have been preserved in the manuscript gallery of the Orissa State Museum. These throw a flood of light on the Shakti cult in Orissa during the said period.

A number of rulers of Orissa also worshipped Sakti in her various manifestations. The Sulkis were devotees of Stambhesvari, their family deity.[32] Some of the Bhanja kings were also staunch worshippers of this goddess.[33] Another female deity called Lilesvavadra Durga also appears in the charter of a Bhanja ruler named Satrubhanjadeva.[34] The Jatesinga and Dunguri plates[35] of the same king further indicate that the goddess was the *ista devi* of Yayati. According to the Brahmesvara inscriptions,[36] Yayati II's second name was Chandihara. Since Chandi (Sakti) precedes Hara (Siva) in his name we presume that he was more Sakta than Saiva. The *Madala Panji*[37] states that Yayati Kasari built a temple for the goddess Vimala at Puri. The Sakta Tantrikas conceive her as Bhairavi and Jagannatha as Bhairava. The Somavamasis of Orissa were followers of Saivism. We may state here that Sakti is Siva's creative energy and is spoken of as his feminine aspect. The manifestation of the Universe is effected through the power (Sakti) of Siva. And power is not different from the possessor thereof. As such, the Samavamsis of Orissa also paid great reverence to Sakta divinities.

Some of the Ganga kings were also followers of Sakti. The Pattali grant of Rajendravarman records the grant of a village in favour of the goddess Kanchipotti Bhattarika in order to provide for her offering.[38] The Ganga king Anatavarma Chodagangadeva is mentioned in a charter to have donated lands for the worship of goddess Bhagavati.[39] It is interesting to note in this connection that Bhagavati is a popular name of Sakti and that the name of Bhattarika is applied to Mahisamardini, particularly to her Dasabhuja form.

The above discussion leads us to conclude that in ancient and medieval times Saktism flourished in Orissa and exercised remarkable influence on its social life.

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THE SOCIO-POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF KULASEKHARA ALVAR'S OF *BHAKTI*

Veluthat Kesavan

Kulasekhara Alvar was one of the twelve Vaisnava saints from South India. He was the author of *Perumal Tirumoli* in Tamil, and a

Sanskrit devotional poem, *Mukundamala*, is attributed to him. According to Vaisnava tradition and his own statements, he was a ruler of Kerala. Although the identity and date of this person have been a subject of scholarly dispute, there is virtual unanimity among historians that he was a member of the Cera dynasty which ruled Kerala from Mahodayapuram. Prof Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai identified him with the eponymous founder of what he called the "Kulasekhara Empire" or the "Second Cera Empire".[1] Dr. M.G S. Narayanan is in favour of identifying the Alvar with Sthanu Ravi Kulasekhara (A.D.844-883), who, according to him, was the second ruler of the later Cera kingdom of Mahodayapuram.[2] He has also identified the royal saint with the royal dramatist, Kulesekharavarman. A recent scholar has adduced further evidence in support of Narayanan's identification[3] I subscribe to this view and attempt in this paper to examine the character of his religious ideology against the background of the contemporary social and political conditions of Kerala

It was under the later Cera kingdom of Mahodayapuram (A D.c. 800-1124) that Kerala got its identity as a political unit. This is not to suggest that the Cera kingdom of the earlier ages had no political identity. Indeed the Ceras were among the three crowned kings of Tamilakam during the age of the Sangam. But the territory of the Ceras with Karur in Trichinopoly district as their capital included only the central portions of present day Kerala and stretched to the east across the Palghat gap to include parts of the Salem, Trichinopoly and Coimbatore districts of present day Tamilnadu[4] The Ay-Vel territory in the south and the Muva territory in the north did not form part of that kingdom. Under the later Cera kingdom, the political boundaries of Kerala were redefined. Kerala was under that kingdom more or less what it is now. A number of forces must have been responsible for this; and it is significant that a separate identity and the consciousness of such an identity were produced in this age.

In one sense, the later Cera kingdom of Mahodayapuram was a successor to the earlier Cera kingdom of Karur, celebrated in the literature of the Sangam. Epigraphic evidences show that the Ceras were sacked successively by the Calukyas and Pandyas in the seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian era.[5] The Ceras may have been forced to abandon their traditional capital and to take refuge in their stronghold on the west-coast, building the new capital city in the vicinity of the

port town Muciri or Muziris. Tradition preserved both in the *Periyapuranam* and the *Keralolpatki* may be taken to support this.[6] However, by the ninth century, an independent Cera kingdom was established with Mahodayapuram as their new capital. It is also significant that this revival of the Ceras was contemporaneous with the revival of their counterparts in the rest of ancient Tamilakam and they found themselves active in the politics of Tamilakam.

A notable difference in the character of these later monarchies from their predecessors in the Sangam age was the "classical" model which they accepted. By this time ideas and institutions of political organisation, typical of the north Indian 'classical' monarchies, had percolated to this part of the country. Accordingly the monarchical institution was modelled on the lines prescribed by Kautalya, Manu, Yajnavalkya and other law givers.[7] The members of these dynasties claimed kshatriya status using the caste suffix *Varman* and even tracing descent from the solar or lunar races. They also adopted Sanskritic coronation names. In the *Laghubhaskariya vivarana*, an astronomical treatise composed by Sankara Narayana, the court astronomer of Sathanu Ravi, the king is described as pervading the whole universe with the eight constituent elements.[8] This may have a direct reference to the statement in the *Manusmriti* that the king is constituted of elements of the lords of eight directions, *viz.*, Indra, Vayu, Yama, Surya, Agni, Varuna, Candra, and Kubera.[9]

This would suggest that the typical 'Hindu' model of kingship, which evolved under the Guptas in North India was adopted in this region also. Moreover, we find almost the same pattern of organisational set up in the royal courts in South India in this period as in the Gupta court in North India and the Calukya-Rashtrakuta courts in the Deccan. Such titles as Raja Rajadhiraja and Kokonmaikontanko, adopted by Cera monarchs of Mahodayapuram, are indicative of this [10]

At the same time, an examination of the power structure of monarchy in Kerala shows that real power was wielded by the brahmanical Council called Nalu Tali. The Nalu Tali represented the four major brahman settlements around the capital city, namely, Mulikkalam, Airanikkalam, Paravur, and Irungatikkutal.[11] These settlemements, in their turn, represented all the brahman settlements in Kerala.[12] In fact, it

has been suggested that among the major factors that caused the revival of the Cera kingdom on the west coast was the new orientation of society, with the brahman settlers as the superior elements.[13] The 'Dark Ages' following the close of the Sangam age in Kerala was characterised by the establishment of the important brahman settlements, and by the beginning of the ninth century, when historical facts emerge with greater certainty, we find that even the southernmost and possibly the latest of brahman settlements in Kerala were so well established and prosperous as to have had *upaqramas* or subsidiary settlements.[14] This was a novel element in society and, in its own way, it dictated the pattern of social evolution in Kerala by virtue of the power and privileges it enjoyed.

A very significant fact about the inscriptions of the later Cera period is that they are mostly records of temple-committees, pertaining transactions of land. The sudden emergence of such documents in the ninth century would suggest an unprecedented change in the use of land, especially under the newly created brahman settlements. A detailed study of those documents reveals that the temple-centred brahman settlements were huge agrarian corporations[15] owning large extents of lands and thereby controlling large sections of population. The local population was thus attracted to the brahmanical complex and they were accommodated into the brahmanical social order.

The infinite variations in the feudal social structure were translated into the paradigm of *varna* and *jati* and the rationale for such a graded hierarchy was read into the code of *varnasramadharma* Given the social structure, they required a monarch for the sake of form, and "created" one who enjoyed the ritual sovereignty. But actual power behind the throne was retained by the feudal corporations in the temple-centred brahman settlements.

This development was contemporaneous with a major development in the character of Hinduism. The religion of the Vedas and Upanishads, with its emphasis on sacrificial rites, had gradually given way to devotion towards humanised deities of Puranic and Agamic traditions. This marked a deviation, and the compromise formula of the *Bhagavat Gita* was the bible of the new religious ideology.[16] The new ideology, with emphasis on *Jnana* for the upper castes, *karma* for everybody according to his *varnasrama* and *bhakti* for all sections of society was

best suited for the emerging feudal pattern.[17] The deity-devotee relationship represented by puranic and Agamic literature is typical of the lord-serf relationship in a feudal society and the extension of meaning which the term *bhakta* acquired would amply show this.[18] Devotion towards a humanised deity consecrated in a particular temple became the hallmark of Hinduism and the temple emerged as the religious institution *par excellance.*

In this part of the country, this qualitative change in the character of Hinduism had a positive influence. The tribal loyalties and cults of the native population were accommodated into Hindu religious principles and practices by a process of acculturation and assimilation. By the establishment of the temple centred brahman settlements as the landed magnates, the temple became the nucleus of religious activity as well in this region. The temple-building spree in Kerala, which gained momentum from A.D ninth century, endorses this. Thus the temple in Kerala was both an institutional base of the brahmanical order of society and the centre of brahmanical Hindu religion. This development could be better appreciated against the background of the influence of heterodox sects like Jainism and Buddhism under the new Hindu kingdom in Kerala. This is clear from the fact that Kulesekharavarman, the dramatist, was a great patron of Sanskrit theatre. It is significant that the Sanskrit theatre in Kerala used to stage anti-Buddhist and anti-Jain plays *Mattavilasa* and *Bhagavadajjukiya.*[19] The Jaina shrines and the tribal cult-spots seem to have been either liquidated or transformed into Hindu brahmanical temples.[20]

The period also witnessed another important development in the emergence of chartered trade settlements. Kerala used to have trade contacts with the western world from the early centuries of the Christian era or even before. Jewish and Syrian Christian settlements, which were essentially urban and trade-oriented, came up during this period. An analysis of the documents pertaining to these settlements clearly shows their character: they were themselves feudal corporations.[21] It is clear from the documents that they controlled land granted to them by the kings; they made payments by means of service tenaments and they carried on the administration of their 'lief' by themselves.[22] In other words, it was not only in the rural areas that society was oriented on

feudal lines, but the urban centres also were characterised by feudal relations.

Against this background, an assessment of the reign of Kulesekhara may be made. That he was the second ruler of the dynasty would mean that he had the task of consolidating the kingdom which had just come into existence. His policies of alliance with the Colas who were just emerging from obscurity by leading forces against the Pallavas,[23] and wooing the newly established Christian traders by granting a charter[24] would show that he was an intelligent statesman. Tradition avers that he was responsible for the reform of theatre in Kerala. He is certainly known as the author of two important plays staged in the temples of Kerala even to this day.[25] It is also clear from the *Laghubhaskariya vivarana* that the ruler was interested in intellectual pursuits like astronomy and had an observatory built in his capital city.[26]

The Cera kingdom of Makotai or Mahodayapuram was established in this part of the country in the wake of serious changes in economy and society. By the very fact that a unified kingdom was established here, the political sphere underwent radical changes. The division of the kingdom into different nadus meant feudalisation of polity also. These changing features of social and political life required same cohesive force that could bring together the divergent elements of society, Physical force apart, it could only have been an ideology which would contain the social formation with the graded system of feudal heirarchy. Kulesekhara's policy of *bhakti* had the effect of legitimising this social formation and exhorting his subjects indirectly to abstain from anti-feudal revolts.

The ideology of *bhakti* was best suited for the emerging feudal pattern of society. The parallel between the expressions in Tamil bhakti literature and the jargon used by feudal society is striking.[27] This may have succeeded in exalting the institution of feudal monarchy in south India. The type of deity-devotee relationship represented in the *bhakti* literature is similar to the type of lord-serf relationship in feudal society. Whether this was the result of a conscious attempt or not, the peculiar social formation which gave rise to this ideology both in north India under the Guptas and in south India under the Pallavas and Pandyas was such that the social characteristics could be explained and legitim-

ised in the new light. And bhakti as a social movement had succeeded on the one hand in sanctifying the feudal privileges of the upper class by exalting the lord-serf relationship and, on the other, in making the lowlier sections accept uncomplainingly the reality of their suffering and misery as ordained. The concern with the other world made them forget about this world and its realities. Thus in *bhakti* Kulesekhara identified a policy in pursuance of which he could come to terms with different sections of society. On the one hand, he could woo the brahmanical elite and, on the other, he was able to provide the lowlier people with an ideology which was palatable and attractive to them. In following this, he utilised his poetic talents in this direction

Kulesekhara Alvar's works, both *Perumal Tirumoli* and *Mukunda-mala*, bear testimony to this. From these works, it is clear that he was no naive doctrinnaire. In *Mukundamala* he describes himself to be Raja Kulesekhara.[28] In the *Perumal Tirumoli* he boasts himself to be the guardian of Kolli, lord of kudal, king of koli.[29] In another place, he claims to be the king who reigns over the kings under the white umbrella even like the moon who reigns the sky.[30] Even with this arrogance, the proclamation in the *Perumal Tirumoli* that attachment to body and bodily pleasure is an impediment to the realisation of god may have had its effects. "Those who seek transient pleasures are mad to me; to them I am mad.[31] This could be taken, not as an evidence of his self-remunciation, but as an exhortation addressed to common men to abstain from ambition for better things and an indirect method of averting rebellion. The same idea is conveyed in a different passage in the same work. "I do not desire for limitless wealth nor kingship of the earth. I wish I were born a fish in the tank of Venkatam".[32] A strikingly similar passage is found in the *Mukundamala*.[33]

Sthanu Ravi Kulesekhara proved himself an intelligent statesman in taking the ideology of *bhakti* which had already demonstrated its efficacy as a social policy in his neighbourhood. This is not, however, to state that he was a hypocrite; he may have been a devout Vaisnava. None-theless when he identified his own personal convictions with a success-ful social movement, he developed into a worthy monarch who consoli-dated the later Cera kingdom of Mahodayapuram and estabilshed it on secure foundations.

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FORCED LABOUR IN THE GUPTA PERIOD

Vijay Kumar Thakur

Labour in any class-society can be generally classified in terms of slave labour, forced labour and free labour. While the first and the last institutions are outside the perview of this paper, the second, i. e. forced labour, needs a working definition before we proceed further. International Labour Organization Convention No. 29 (1930) defines it as "all work or services which are exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily". W. Kloosterboer almost adopting a similar approach adds that the motive for the imposition of this labour must be to gain profit or have profit gained [1] Thus forced labour could be taken as a form of service exacted forcibly without being paid for adequately in return.[2]

By the time of the Guptas forced labour, known as *visti*, had come to be firmly established. In the Chammak Copper-plate Inscription of Pravarasena II land was donated entirely free from all obligations of forced labour.[3] The Siwani copper plate inscription of Pravarasena also provides exemption from forced labour.[4] Similar allusions to the donation of land free from any conditions entailing forced labour are found in the Ganesagadh Plate of Dhruvasena I,[5] the Pardi Pillar

Inscription of Dharasena,[6] the Surat Plates of Vyaghrasena[7] and the Riddhapur Plate of Prabhavatigupta.[8] According to Dr. Maity, the exemption from *visti* in these inscriptions, probably merely implies that the peasants obligation to do forced labour for the king was now transferred to the brahmana donee,[9] a point which has been contested by G.K. Rai in a recent article.[10] He cites in his favour one of the grants of Prthvichandra Bhogasakti (8th century A. D.) recording an endowment of eight villages to a Visnu temple along with the exemption from forced labour. The grant reads:

"*Mutakas (handfuls)* of corns and *setikas* of ghee are to be levied from *(every house in)* the principal village of each of the *vishayas* of Goparashtra, Amaraji and Mairika, and in like manner from other villages too. (Taxes to be collected in cash are) 100 one hundred Krishnaraja rupees from the *vishaya* of eastern Trikuta, 200 two hundred Krishnaraja rupees from the western Mahagirihara and 100 one hundred from the eastern one; and 50 fifty Krishnaraja rupees from the *Vishaya* of Palludhamba. (In consideration of the above) these eight villages have been exempted from all kinds of taxes, forced labour and vexatious interference."[11]

On the basis of this charter Rai refutes Maity's hypothesis that the right to forced labour was transferred to the brahmana donee.[12] But one wonders how an eighth century grant can be cited to draw conclusions for 6th century A. D Secondly, the grant under discussion clearly mentions that forced labour, etc was not to be exacted in consideration of the impositions mentioned therein This could also imply that the income derived from forced labour was probably covered up by those impositions and, therefore, inscriptions of similar type which are not so explicit probably hint at the transfer of this right from the King to the donee. This conclusion can be supported by the Roypur Plate of Sudevaraja wherein it has been specifically mentioned that the inhabitants of the donated village should be obedient to the commands of the brahmana donees Nagavatsasvamin and Bandhuvatsasvamin.[13] Apparently these two donees could demand forced labour whenever they needed it.

Some of the records specifically mention the grants of lands along with the right to exact forced labour. The Palitana Plates of Dharasena II are explicit on this point.[14] Similarly, the Navalakhi Plate of

Siladitya I of A. D. 605 states that the land was granted with the right to forced labour as occasion for it occured.[15] A few other inscriptions of the period also hint at the existence of this practice in the Gupta period, though indirectly. Thus, the Khoh Plate of Maharaja Jayanatha asks the brahmanas, cultivators and artisans of Dhavasandika to render various tributes and taxes to the donees as well as to obey their commands.[16] The spurious Gaya Plate of Samudragupta also contains somewhat similar instructions.[17] This would indicate that during the Gupta period the right to forced labour, formerly a prerogative of the king, was now being extended to religious donees and this practice prevailed over a large area.

This situation is also rather corroborated by some contemporary literary texts. The *Mahavamsa* which is assigned to about 5th century A.D.,[18] refers to a King who declined to make use of unpaid labour,[19] implying thereby the prevalence of this practice. A passage of the *Kamasutra*[20] is more explicit on this point and gives an idea of the nature of the work included under *visti*.[21] R. S. Sharma thinks that "the inclusion of working in the fields of headman in the list of labour services catalogued here marks the beginning of an important feudal practice, ."[22] The passage under discussion refers to occasions when sexual intercourse was permitted with women employeed for *visti*[23] such as filling up the granaries of the village headman, takings into or out of his house, clearing or decorating his residence, working in his fields, spinning yarn of cotton, wool, flax or hemp for his clothes. G. K. Rai on the basis of the expression *tesu tesu cha* used in the passage and the 13th century *Jayamangala* commentary of the *Kamasutra* by Indrapala, comes to the conclusion that *vistikarma* was different from other works enumerated in the passage.[24] As far as the expression *tesu tesu cha* is concerned it indicates the difference in various kinds of works enumerated in the passage. Similarly, a 13th century commentary should not be taken to explain a phenomenon which had occurred some eight hundred years earlier, especially so when Rai himself admits that by the 12th century A.D. this practice may have decreased or disappeared in cities, market towns and the surrounding regions.[25] This would mean that the practice of *visti* was getting obsolete when the commentary under discussion was written and, therefore, it should not be treated as authoritative, at least, not for the Gupta period. Hence, there is nothing wrong to adduce from this passage the use of forced labour for

agricultural purposes. This is also corroborated, though indirectly, by the *Brhatsamhita* a work of the 6th century A,D.[26] In this text *vistikarana* has been deemed in auspicious time for the start of such operations as ploughing, sowing, etc.[27] This clearly indicates that forced labour was being utilised for agricultural operations, a point which Rai disputes.[28]

This brings us to the scope of forced labour. In this context, Visnusena's charter, granted to a group of merchants (*vanig-grama*) in western India in A. D. 592, becomes quite significant.[29] A passage of this charter states that the blacksmiths, carpenters, barbers potters, etc., are to be subjected to forced labour by the merchants acting as elders (*Varika*). This will mean that during this period artisans also had to undergo forced labour. Rai, however, rejects this argument and says that these artisans had to render forced labour in lieu of taxes,[30] a point earlier made by Kosambi[31] He, however, ignores the fact that contemporary texts clearly lay down that artisans should be taxed. The *Santi Parvan*[32] as well as a Pallava inscription of A. D. 446 from Southern India[33] are quite clear on this point. Moreover, Rai himself admits that the charter of Visnusena refers to some sort of taxation upon certain class of artisans.[34] All this probably indicates that by the Gupta period the artisans had emerged as a tax-paying class and the forced labour that was being imposed upon them was in addition to the regular taxes they were paying. The position is further clarified by the same Charter when it declares that the workers engaged in pressing sugar and those at indigo vats are exempted from forced labour, apparently for the king,[35] because their establishments are taxed.[36] Finally, Rai himself admits in the same article that by the 6th century A. D. artisans too were subjected to forced labour.[37]

Thus in the Gupta period the scope of forced labour was widened when it was imposed on artisans also. Similarly, as *Kamasutra* indicates, it also came to be utilised for agricultural operations.[38] A comparatively recent writer on feudalism has, however, used two contradictory statements regarding the scope of forced labour. At one place he says. "its scope was probably limited"[39] while in the same article at another place he observes, "scope of forced labour seems to have been very wide".[40] These contradictory statements by the author are rather confusing and need further elaboration. There is, however, no doubt

that it was fairly common and came to include a wide variety of works as is obvious from the repeated use of the term *sarvavisti* in this period.[41] There was no hard and fast rule regarding the occasions when *visti* was to be demanded. The *Mudraraksass*, however, shows that it could be enlisted by the King at the time of coronation.[42] But most of the epigraphs mention that forced labour could be demanded as and when needed. This gave the donees almost a blank cheque in this matter and left enough scope for the abuse of this power.

The elements of oppression and coercion must have become stronger in the Gupta period when the King's right to demand forced labour was being transferred to the beneficiaries with almost undefined scope. The *Kamasutra* clearly mentions that peasant women were compelled to perform *visti*.[43] The *Amarakasa* lists *visti* under *narakavarga* and regards it as a source of intense pain,[44] which testifies to its oppressive nature in this period. R. N. Saletore, however, holds an altogether different view. While discussing forced labour he cites a passage from the Udayagiri Cave Inscriptions of Chandragupta II,[45] and states, "these labourers were purchased with money, for it refers to 'purchase money'. Such being the money value of forced labour it was considered a source of public revenue".[46] From this it would follow that forced labour was very mild in the Gupta period because the labourers were some times paid for their services. But if the passage cited by Saletore is read carefully, this supposition would prove to be untenable. Here the 'purchase money' has been metaphorically used to denote the power of the King, who has enough means either to conquer the earth or to purchase it Thus, during the Gupta period not only the scope of forced labour was widened but it also became oppressive, a situation which is quite dormant in a feudal society.

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A STUDY OF TOWNS IN KARNATAKA ON THE BASIS OF EPIGRAPHIC SOURCES : c.A.D. 600-1200

Om Prakash Prasad

The present paper is an attempt to examine the chronological and regional distribution of towns in Karnataka between the 6th century A.D. and the 12th century A.D. and to distinguish the phases of development and locate the points of qualitative differentiation of towns noticed during each phase. Attempt has also been made to account for such qualitative distinction with reference to the changing social and economic setting. Apart from the abundant literary evidence, indigenous and foreign, epigraphic materials too, constitute our main sources of information for the study of towns in early medieval Karnataka.

Several inscriptions of the 7th century reveal that there were some seventeen towns[1] in Karnataka during this period. Of these, eight were religious centres, four administrative, and about three were commercial centres including port towns. According to these inscriptions, there was a town somewhere in Chikkamagalur district and another in Shimoga. About five towns were situated in Bijapur North Kanara and Dharwar districts. Another five towns viz. Sanudatti, Dhutipur, Agoriyapura and Palasika (Halasi) were situated in Belgaum district.

As the inscriptions further reveal, there was an increase in the number of towns in the 8th century. More than twenty-one towns are mentioned in different inscriptions.[2] In comparison to the early period a greater number of administrative and capital towns are mentioned in

the epigraphic sources. There were about ten administrative and five religious towns. Asandi[3] was both an administrative and religious town. Goa[4] was a commercial and administrative centre at this time. Two towns were situated in Chikkamagalur district. Four administrative towns, as the records show, flourished in the Kolar district. There was an administrative town in Shimoga dirtrict, one commercial in North Kanara district, two administrative towns in Mysore and one in Bangalore districts and two religious towns in Bijapur district. Puligere (Lakshameshwar)[5] was a religious town which was situated in Dharwar district. Goa had been famous as an administrative and port town in the 8th century A.D.

In the 9th century more than twenty two towns are mentioned in the epigraphic records[6] of which twelve were administrative and four religious. About five towns are mentioned as administrative and religious centres. Mulgunda,[7] in Belgaum district, was a religious and commercial town. In the 9th century Goa continued to be an administrative and port town. In addition to the port towns of Chaul and Goa the inscriptions refer to two more commercial centres which appear to have developed as merchantile towns in the period mentioned above. Another significant feature of urbanization in the history of Karnataka is that a number of towns which had only religious importance in the earlier period also acquired administrative importance in the 9th century. Of the twenty-five towns noticed in the 9th century about four were situated in Dharwar district of which two were administrative centres. The third was a religious and administrative centre. There was yet one town situated in Chikkamagalur district which was both a centre of administration and pilgrimage. The inscriptions further reveal four towns in Kolar district. There was an administrative and religious town in Shimoga district. According to epigraphic records there was six towns in Belgaum district of which three were religious centres, the fourth administrative, the fifth both religious and administrative. One town was situated in North Kanara district. During this century too Goa was a famous administrative and religious centre. In the 9th century some of the religious towns developed as capital and administrative towns such as Puligere, while some gained commercial importance such as Mulgund.

In the 10th century there was a sudden increase in the number of towns, although most of the new towns were administrative headquarters

of kings and feudal chiefs. This might be attributed to the progressive fragmentation of political authority during the period under review. In all forty two towns are mentioned in the inscriptions.[8] Of these, twenty-four were administrative centres as well as feudal headquarters. Again, of these twenty-four, sixteen were new towns. The remaining eight were religious centres in the earlier period but gained administrative significance in this century. Of the six commercial towns, fous were in existence in earlier times. The fifth and sixth were new towns situated in Dharwar district. Of these, four towns were religious and administrative centres

From the records it would appear that the commercial towns flourished mainly in the northwestern part of Karnataka, some along the Konkan Coast and others in the commercial districts of Bijapur Dharwar, Belgaum and Shimoga. This trend is more prominently noticeable during the 11th and 12th centuries which witnessed great activity on the commercial front. Production of agricultural and agro-industrial goods and their being in close proximity to internal and coastal trade routes might in some measure explain this phenomenon.

One town was situated in Bijapur district and four in Mysore district of which three were capitals of feudal chiefs and the fourth one was religious and administrative centre. Two administrative towns were situated in Bangalore. Three administrative centres flourished in the Chitradurg district. In Chikkamagalur district there were three towns of which two were religious as well as administrative and the third was an administrative centre. Twelve administrative towns were situated in Shimoga district. Three commercial, two administrative and one religious towns were situated in Dharwar district. The port towns continued to flourish as in the earlier period. One religious and two administrative centres flourished in Hassan district. One administrative town was in Belgaum district. From the above it could appear that more than half of the towns lay in the north-western districts of Karnataka such as Shimoga, Dharwar, Bijapur and Belgaum.

More than seventy-eight towns[9] are noticed in the inscriptions of the 11th century. About fifty towns were either administrative centres of various Kings and feudal lords of which thirty were new towns. One new religious town was situated in Dharwar district. Nine towns were administrative and commercial centres at this time of which four

were new towns. Two towns are mentioned both as religious and commercial centres. According to these inscriptions religious, administrative and commercial activities were carried on in five towns. Eleven commercial towns are also described in the inscriptions of the above period of which seven were new ones.

In this period five towns were situated in Bijapur, twelve in chitradurga, one in Raichur, two in Tumkur, three in Bellary, twenty-two in Shimoga, four in Kolar, nine in Chikkamagalur, four in North Kanara, one in Hassan, two in Belgaum and thirteen in Dharwar districts.

More than one hundred and twenty towns[10] are referred to in the 12th century inscriptions. Seventy towns were administrative, of which thirty-nine seem to be newly built towns. Eight religious and twenty-six commercial including some new towns were situated in different districts. About thirteen towns are said to have been administrative and mercantile centres during this period. Three towns were administrative as well as religious centres. Some towns such as Banavasi, Kolhapur, Arakere etc. were religious, administrative and commercial centres.

During this century a town was situated in Bangalore district, four in Tumkur, eight in Kolar, forty-three in Shimoga, ten in Chitradurga, seventeen in Chikkamagalur, one in Hassan, four in North Kanara, one in South Kanara, two in Bellary, three in Belgaum, six in Bijapur and twenty in Dharwar districts.

A close study of the towns as described in the early medieval inscriptions from Karnataka would indicate that the number of towns increased from one century to another and this process continued for about six hundred years Besides the gradual increase in the number of towns, we also notice qualitative differences between the towns of the 7th to 10th centuries and those which flourished during the 10th-13th centuries A.D. Many religious centres changed into capital, administrative and commercial towns in due course. But we come across very few towns in later times that were exclusively religious centres. During the 10th-13th centuries a town generally gained its importance as a religious, administrative and commercial centre.

In early medieval times commercial and administrative features can be generally noticed in a town which generally appeared as a religious centre. This by no means suggests that an exclusively religious town was devoid of commercial and administrative activities. This type

of towns, however, became famous exclusively as religious centres due to their predominantly religious activities. Similarly commercial and administrative centres too were not altogether devoid of religious shrines, temples, etc., although their fame rested solely on their economic activities.

A study of the early medieval towns in Karnataka on the basis of epigraphic records would further reveal that more than half of the total number of towns were situated in the north-western region of Karnataka. We can better appreciate the reason for the multiplicity of towns in the north-western region of Karnataka if we first consider the nature of the towns of earlier period i.e. C.A.D. 600-1000. Many towns developed on such sites as were of religious importance in the beginning. Even for the growth of religious centres economic factors played a leading role. Thus every town at the initial stage of its growth was generally conveniently situated by the side of a busy land-route or on the bank of a river. A place having religious shrines had better chances of developing into a town if it provided communication facilities to the pilgrims. Actually towns grew up in such places where conditions for trade and industry were favourable. Thus many things such as navigable rivers, better soil, temples, king's residence, trade, transport and communication, were essential prerequisites to the growth of towns in various areas.

Rivers played an important role in the development of towns in the north-western region of Karnataka. Many rivers such as Bhima, Nira, Krishna, Malaprabha, Ghatprabha, Tungabhadra, Varad, Kaveri, flow through Karnataka. The two important rivers, Krishna and Tungbhadra, flowing from west to east through the part of Karnataka, fall into the Bay of Bengal. The doab of these two rivers had been the most attractive part where the Kadamba, early Chalukya, Rastrakuta, latter Chalukyas, Kalachurya, the Yadavas of Deogiri, the Hoyasala, Vijayanagara and other dynasties ruled from 4th to 16th centuries A.D. These rivers stimulated the growth of trade in the different towns and cities of Karnataka and helped in establishing trade relations with the foreign countries such as Persia, Greece, Rome, and Egypt. It was mainly due to the flourishing trade and commerce in early medieval Karnataka that this region also had a central chamber of commerce at Aihole in Bijapur district.[11] This chamber of commerce came to control all the trade organizations flourishing in various towns of the region during the period 11th to 13th centuries.

The construction of roads also contributed to the growth of towns in north-western part of Karnataka. Internal trade was generally based on roads. Roads connected the various parts of the empire. Some of these roads were tracks or cart-tracks barely usable in the rainy season. But a good number of them were of a considerable width and are referred to as *heddari*,[12] *hiriyaheddari*[13] and *hebhatte*.[14] Some of the roads were four rods.[15] 10 cubits[16] in width. We have a reference to an important road of Halasige 12000 in Belgaum district (*Halasige hannirchcha-sirada hebbate*).[17]

We further come across a number of towns in Karnataka during the period under review. The town of Terdal (*Teridaladalu* in Sanghi district)[18] was a famous Jaina centre having a shrine of Neminath which received gifts from the *Viravananjas* in A. D. 1182. It was situated on the south bank of Krishna. There were twelve *garundas* for the protection of the place and it was called Teridal twenty. All this possibly suggests that various numbers were attached to geographical names.[19] The record mentioning the town of Teridala further says that this place was adorned with colourful and fragrant rice-fields and enriched with gardens, lakes and reservoirs. This place had fortified hills and rocky islands and it had a deep most surrounding the temples of Buddha, Mahadeva, Arka (the sun), Sankara and Jina. There was a trunk road running from Teridal to Dharwar.[20] We have an evidence of a road which ran from Halsi to Teridal.[21] A record of 1177[22] mentions that there was a road going from Kukkanur to Talakallu (*Kukkanurim Tulakallimge hoda batte*). The city had many residential houses belonging to all classes of people. There were regiments of well-trained soldiers. There also lived many learned and cultured men occupying high positions. The civic administration under the *gavundas* promoted the study of philosophy and the six observances of Jainism. The town was supported by the produce of the fields in adjoining areas. There lived a number of skilled workers who produced various types of ornaments and textiles. The ornaments were made of gold precious stones. There were many money-changers who encouraged the flow of trade between the different parts of the country.[23]

Another example may be cited of Lokkigundi (Dharwar district). According to inscriptions,[24] Lokkigundi was a religious place in its first stage in A. D. 1098. Many Jain pilgrims visited this place from different

parts of the country. It was a capital town of the Chalukyas and also the Hoyasalas. By the time of the Hoyasalas it had become an important commercial centre. According to epigraphic records many luxury articles such as sandalwood, camphor, various types of garments, rubies pearls, were sold in its market. This place was probably situated on the important trade route leading to Puligere and Bankapura. Coins were minted here which circulated over an extensive area. Thus some types of coins such as *Lokkigadyana*[25] and *Lokipon* figure in the epigraphs of the 12th century found at Alur in Mundargi Petha and Dharwar districts. *Lokkipriyasrahi-gadyana* and *Lokkihiya-visa* are mentioned in a record from Nidoni in the Bijapur district.[27] A copper plate grant from Halsgi[28] refers to *Lokkinishka*. All this points to the fact that *Lokkigundi* had trade relations with various parts of Karnataka. Thus this place was a pilgrim centre, capital. military stronghold and also a commercial centre.

Generally craft and commercial activities had been the main feature of the towns. Because the town could not, within their own limits, raise sufficient food for all the inhabitants, they produced other commodities that cultivators and agriculturists would be willing to accept in exchange for their surplus produce. All the goods were transported by roads, rivers, and sea. Roads, both trunk and auxiliary, connected various parts of the country during this period.[29] There was one such road on the east of Maha-Agrahara Ittage. Another road from Sirivura to Ittage was also found in 12th century.[30] The Barakanur ghat road[31] is often taken to be the western boundary of the Hoyasala Kingdom. It is noteworthy that there existed a trunk road[32] from Tanjore, (Cola capital) to Kalyana (the Chalukya capital). A Sirur inscription of 1049[33] refers to the royal road of Bagadage as a boundary of the donated land (*Bangadagey rajapathottarah*). There was a road from Kakkanur to Talakallu in Dharwar district. Another road was to the north of Bankapura in Dharward district. The next famous road was from Kundur to Kennele. A road ran from Musiyageri to Sirigupp. Several other important places such as Kolur, Harunagi, etc. were connected by roads.[34] Goods were carried from one place to another on the above roads, by cart or on the backs of pack-animals.

Sea route was also one of the most important factors which made the north-western part of Karnataka a very important region from the

point of view of trade and urbanization. Many ports of such as Thana, Goa, Marwar etc. facilitated the progress of trans oceanic trade. Ships from many foreign countries, as has been mentioned above, used to come to the port of Goa which was a flourishing centre of trade. Goods were further exported and imported through the land routes of Dharwar and some other districts in the north-western region of Karnataka.

Under the stewardship of various ruling houses there flourished trade and industry in that region on a large scale in the different towns of Karnataka. Naturally a large number of people were employed by these dynasties. From a very early period a number of famous dynasties, such as the Kadambas, Chalukyas (early and latter), Rastrakuta, Kalachurya, Yadava, Hoyasala, Vijayanagar and their fendetories made their centres of political activity in the north-western part of the state. We have also evidence to show that a good number of merchants and artisans were encouraged by the different dynasties to settle down in their Kingdoms The merchants used to sell all types of golds including luxury articles under the supervision of government officers appointed for this purpose.

The first phase of urban development coincides with the period of the Satavahana rule in the Deccan covering a period of about four hundred years from the 3rd century B.C. to 3rd century A. D. The post-Satavahana period (400-900) in Karnataka, however, marked the decline and desertion of urban centres in different parts of the region. The causes of this decline are not very clear. The situation began to improve from the 10th century onwards. Epigraphic sources of the period 10th to 13th centuries pinpoint the revival of urban centres, long-distance trade and use of metallic money on a considerable scale.

AK : Archaeology of Karnataka.
ASM : Archaeological Survey of Mysore.
BKI : Bombay Karnataka Inscriptions.
EC : Epigraphia Carnatica.
EI : Epigraphia Indica.
IA : Indian Antiquary.
JBBRAS: Journal of Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.
KI : Karnataka Inscriptions.
MAR : Mysore Archaeological Reports.
PKRBP : Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Provinces.
SII : South Indian Inscriptions.

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11. *KI*, vol. IV, p. 122.

12. *Ibid*, vol. II, no. 15.
13. *EI*, vol. III, no. 6.
14. *KI*, vol. IV, no. 18.
15. *EC*. vol. II, no. 143; One rod was equal to four Aratnis or ninety six *Angulas*.
16. *SII*, vol. III, no. 15; One cubit was equal to 20".
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22. *IA*, vol. XIV, p. 24.
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24. *EI*, vol. XV, no. 24, p. 361; vol. XIX, no 37, p. 221.
25. '*gadyana*' was a gold coin and perhaps the highest in the value of in Karnataka. (*EI*, vol. XIII, p. 58.)
26. *SII*, vol. IX (i), no. 164.
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THE GEOGRAPHICAL DATA OF THE ASTANGASANGRAHA

Jyotir Mitra

The present paper deals with the data of geography available in the *Astangasangraha* of Vagbhata the elder. Ayurvedic historians are of the opinion that Vagbhata the elder flourished in 6th century. A.D. after Drdhabale, the supplementary of the Caraka Samhita, in Sind. This book contains glimpses of the Gupta period The text generally presents the status, conditions and situations relating to Medical Science practised in that period.

Country and its traditional divisions

Ancient India had five traditional divisions. The *Astangasangraha* mentions eastern (pracya), western (aparanta) and northern (udicya) zones by name but does not refer to the south (daksinapatha) and central (madhya) divisions. The janapadas are explicitly enumerated by Vagbhata. The classified janapadas are already mentioned in Buddhist and puranic works. In the Seventh Century, pracya comprised Bengal and Assam. Prof. D.C. Sircar is of the view that the land of pracya people comprised Bihar and Bengal together with the eastern parts of the U.P. and eastern fringes of Orissa (SGAMT, p. 172). Panini knew the pracya janapadas (IV.I. 178) which according to Kasika, comprised Pancala, Videha, Angaande Banga. Vagbhata refers only to Videha (U. 40.19). He gives the opinion of its king regarding the seven auras of poison. The rivers flowing in or originating from this land produce piles (Sut. Vi. 19). The term aparanta is used to denote the western division of India. It included kathiawad of Gujrat (Saurastra) (U. 22.24. 30.50). Surat district of Gujrat or the land of Tapti river (Tapi) (U. 49. 198) and modern Rajasthan (Maru = Sut. 7.232). The aparanta was upto Kathiawad from Bombay, in the west to Mahisakamandala and Avanti and north to Daksinapatha. Vagbhata does not give the names of two seaports, *i.e.*, Bharukaccha and Supraraka, which were well reputed for their importance. The rivers flowing in or originating from aparanta are said to produce piles (Sut. VI. 19). The inhabitants of Maru relish, milk, curd and curry (Sut. 7. 232). Gold pyrite or Swarnamaksika is found in the valley of Tapti river that is why the minerals bear this name due to origin (U. 49. 198). The northern part (udicya) comprised Sind (Sindhu = U. 50. 132). Bahlika (Sut. 7. 234). Kamboja (U. 39. 5), Bahalava (Sut. 7. 234), China (Sut. VII. 234; U. 49. 198), Sulika (Sut. VII. 234), Yavana (Sut. VII. 67). The name of southern division (daksinapatha) does not occur at all in the *Astangasangraha*, but it comprised the janapadas like Asmaka (Sut. 7-232), Malaya (Sut. VI. 18). Konkana (Sut. VII. 233), Sabara (U. 22.84), and Kirata which are narrated by name. Dakshinapatha is said to lie to which the south of the Vindhya range of Narmada river. The name of Madhyadesa, like the Daksinapatha, does not appear in the text; but it comprised three states, Avanti (Sut. VI.19), Magadha (Ci.IX. 34) and Videha (U. 40 29) which are explicitly described.

China

The name of China came historically into vogue after Chin dynasty (221-207 B/C.). The term China is referred to in two contexts, one (Sut. VII. 234) with the northern countries whose people have the habit of eating meat, wheat, drinking of wine and roasted meat, and other in the context of the land where Gold Pyrite (Survanamaksika) is found (U. 49. 198).

Sulika

Sulika has been identified with Sinkiang province of modern China, and modern Kashgar. Its people have the same habit of eating and drinking as the Chinese (Sut. VII. 234).

Yavana

The habits of eating and drinking of the people of Yavana resemble those of Chinese and Sulika (Sut. VII. 234).

The word Yavana was used in Medieval Indian literature as a synonym of Mleccha and indicated any foreigner. But as late as the early centuries of the Christian era it meant, to an Indian, only the Greeks. The word derived from the term YAUNA belonging to the old Persians, used for the first time in the records of Darius I (522.486 B.C.), one of the Achaemenian emperors of Persia, was borrowed by the Indians without any modification. The earliest use of Sanskritised form Yavana can be traced in *Astadhyayi* (II. I. 72. IV. I. 175) of Panini and that of the Prakrita form Yone in the inscription of Ashok :

In second century B.C., the Yavanas had settled in Afghanistan and north to Punjab and they had established independent states in Kapisa, Puskaravati (Peshawar), Taxilla and Sialkot (Sakala).

Saka

The literary and epigraphic texts of ancient India often mention the Sakas (Scythians) and Pahlava (Parthians) together with the Yavanas (Greeks) among the foreign rulers. The *Astangasangraha* (Sut. VII.234) also describes them together. In one context, the habits of the Shakas similar to those of Chinese and Yavanas (ibid); the other reference comes under the eulogy of onion (Palandu) (U. 49. 136).

Panini also refers to them (IV.I. 175). According to Greek geographers, the Shakas lived to the east of Pamir, the country between Bokhara and Samarkand The Scythians, being a tribe of Central Asian nomads, founded their settlements in different regions from central Asia to north of Caspian and Black sea. As regards the Shaka settlements in eastern Iran, some scholars believe that after the dispersal of the Shaka tribes from the Oxus vally by the Yueh.ch (Rsika), their main movement, checked by the Greek kingdom of Kabul, went westward in the direction of Heart and thence southwards to Seistan. After being defeated by the Parthian king Mithradates (133-88 B.C.). There is no doubt that the Shaka occupation of the western part of northern India was mainly the work of the Shakas of eastern Iran. Some scholars hold that Shiraj of Iran is the neucleus of the Shakas. Their earliest reference goes back to Achaemenian Dynasty, belonging to 6th cent. B.C., and the latest touches Ist cent. B.C.

Bahlika

The habit of the people of Bahlika has been depicted like the aforesaid countries (Sut. VII. 234). Since, Bahlika is mentioned along with Bahlava or Pahlava (Parthia), China, Sulika, Yavana and Saka, its north westward direction or location becomes clear.

Geographers are confused about the identification of Bahlika, There are two schools among them, One opines, on the basis of epics, that it was located between the rivers Beas and Satluj of Punjab, and the other places it outside India. Prof. Majumdar, discussing all the views, concludes that it can be identified with Bactria (district round Balak in northern Afghanistan beyond the Hindukush).

Bahlava

It is once mentioned in the *Astangasangraha* (Sut. VII. 234) along with the above countries whose inhabitants are said to be habituated to meat, wheat, wine and roasted meat. Caraka and other ancient works read it as Pahlava instead of Bahlava. It has been identified with Parthia or old Persia (Khurasan and adjoining region to the south east of the Caspian sea).

Boskana

It is identified with Afghanistan or the valley of Kabul and its main product Hingu was well reputed (Sut. XII. 67).

Kirata

It has been identified with modern Nagaland situated near Assam and its Suvarnamaksika has been praised (U. 49.198). The well-known plant Kratatikta also comes from this place.

Kamboja

Its name is indirectly met in the work (U. 39.5) and its white Gunja bears the name after it. The eastern part of Afghanistan has been identified with Kamboja.

Janapadas and cities

The term janapads, signifying small independent states, does not appear at all in the *Astangasangraha* though it occurs in Caraka and Susruta.

Avanti

Modern Malwa region of Madhya Pradesh is the actual Avanti whose capital once was Mahismati and otherwise Ujjayini. The people of Avanti are said to be habituated to the use of wheat (godhumo avantibhumisu = Sut. VII. 233).

Asmaka

It is the place between the Godavari and Tapti rivers and reminds us of modern Paithan. Its people are said to be habituated to use of *oil, and acidic articles (Sut. VII. 232). Since it is juxtaposed with* Sindhu, its location seems in north-west on the basis of *Kurma Purana* and *Brihat Samhita* (Ch. 14). I also share this view.

Sindhu

It is modern Sind of Pakistan. Its inhabitants are known to be fond of fish (Sut. VII. 232).

Aparanta

It is a western coast spread from Gujrat to Maharastra and rivers flowing in this land are said to be responsible, for producing piles. (Sut. VI. 19).

Maru

It is modern Rajasthan and its inhabitants are shown to be fond of curd, milk and curry (Sut. VII. 232).

Konkana

In *Saktisangamatantra*, it is western sea coast (samudraprantadeso hi Konkanah parikirtitah). It comprised the districts of Thana and Surat. Peya (gruel) was very much popular among the people of Konkana (Sut. VII. 233).

Sabara

It is indirectly used in connection with reputation of rhyzome (kanda). It was situated north to Andhra and south to Kalinga.

Malaya

The southern parts of the western Ghats, north of the river Kavery, Annamalai hill including the Cardemom hill extending from Coimbatore gap to Cape Comorin are generally called Malaya. Its inhabitants are said to be found of rhyzome root (Sut. VII. 233). Trees grown in it are remarked to be allayers of burning sensation (C.IX. 8).

Videha

Videha can be apparently identified with Tirhut division of Bihar. (U. 40. 29).

Magadha

It is indirectly referred to here. (Ci. IX. 34).

Pura or Nagara

The names of Puskara (near Ajmer), Naimis (modern Nimsar of Sitapur district in U.P.), Gaya, prabhasa (modern Somanath of Gujrat), Pravara tirtha (most probable Prayag of U.P) and Pindaraka (Bheta Dwarka one of the small islands situated near Okha in Gujrat) occur as well-known *tirthas* of that period.

Mountains and Rivers

Himavat

It is the well-known Himalaya from where many rivers take their origin e.g. five rivers of Punjab, Ganga, Yamuna, Rapti, Sarayu, Gandaka, already mentioned in the Sangraha. The water of the rivers originating from this mountain is considered as wholesome (pathya) but their water may produce the diseases like worm, elephantiasis, heart diseases, throat trouble, head diseases which possess the static water (sthira) (Sut. VI. 18).

Suvarna Saila

It is a synonym of the Kailash range of the Himalayas. It is at the back of Karrakoram and the well-known Manasa lake can be seen from here. It is mentioned as one of the sources of Gold Pyrite (Suvarna maksika = U. 49. 198).

Vindhya

It is a mountain having several ranges located in Central India and from it originate the rivers Narmada, Tapti, Sona etc. Its water is responsible for producing skin diseases, anaemia and head diseases (Sut. VI. 20).

Pariyatra

It is the western parts of the Vindhya range extending from the south of the Chambal to the gulf of Cambay. It comprises Aravali, other hills of Rajasthan including Satpura range of Vindhya. Chambel, Betwa, Vidisa, Mah and Ksipra originate from it.

Sahya

The northern part of the western Ghat, north of the river Kaveri, extending upward from Coimbatore is known as Sahyadri. Tapti Godavari, Bhima, Krishna, Tungabhadra and Kaveri rise from it. The water of its rivers produces skin diseases, anemia and head diseases (Sut. VI. 19.).

Mahendra

The whole range of hills extending from Orissa to the district of Madhra was known by the name of Mahendra Parvata. It include the eastern Ghats and the range extending from the northern circles of Gondwana, part of which near Ganjam is still called Mahendra Malai. The name is principally applied to the range of hills separating Ganjam from the Valley of the Mahanadi.

The water of the rivers, originating from it, produces elephantiasis and ascitis (Sut. VI. 19). Sabari, Indravati, Brahmani Vamsadhara etc. take their origin from it.

SEA

Mahodadhi

It is the name of the Indian Ocean (U. V/20).

Pascima Udadhi

It is the Arabian sea. The rivers going to this sea are Narmada, Tapti and sind. Its water is considered wholesome and pure (Sut. VI=16).

Generally the water of sea is regarded as provoker of Tridoshas.

SOME SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE GRHYASUTRAS

R. N. Nandi

I. The Historical Background

The *Grhyasutras* constitute a valuable source for reconstructing the social history of India during the post-Vedic period. Of the ten *grhya* texts available so far, four rank as the major ones on the basis of content and planning, followed by seven other works of a minor character. To this list, we may append the two *smrti* texts of Visnu and Manu,[1] which contain considerable *grhya* material. The earliest of the *sutras*, which were brought out around the fifth-fourth centuries B.C., would seem to coincide with the beginnings of organised civic life in different parts of India. On the basis of urban masonry structures also, the fourth-third centuries B.C. would appear to have marked a qualitative change in the process of urban development during historical times. With Visnu and Manu as junior contemporaries of later *grhya* authors, the lower date limit of the *sutras* can be assigned to the second-third centuries of the Christian era when the symptoms of a widespread social disorder and economic insecurity were slowly becoming discernible. Archaeological evidence on the decay and desertion of towns would again come in handy as a useful corroborative evidence,[2] particularly in view of the special relevance of *grhya* rituals to a prospective urban clientele.

A classified list of different *grhya* topics would bear out that the whole emphasis of the *grhyasutras* is on the performance of a series of domestic rituals centering round a permanent family dwelling-house,

and covering the entire range of a man's activities from marriage to death.[3] The first group of *grhya* rituals relates to all acts from marriage (*vivaha*) to studentship (*upanayana*), marriage being the starting point of householdership Since marriage also presupposes the foundation of household life, the next group of rituals is concerned with the construction of a house and maintenance of the household by means of cattle-rearing and agriculture.[4] The last group of *grhya* rituals refers to death and worship of the dead, death being characteristic of the completion of a man's life journey. An additional category of *grhya* rites relates to *kamya* rituals, the performance of which, though optional, was supposed to ensure material prosperity of the man and his family. It follows then that stability and resourcefulness of household life were causally basic to the composition of *grhya* texts. The permanent households were already a feature of the later Vedic society, but the compilation and elaboration of the *sutras* was taken up only when householdership offered a prospective clientele to the surplus-sharing priesthood.[5]

The developmental character of the *grhya* rituals seems to represent a crisis for the surplus-sharing priestly class, and also attempts to get over it. The older sacrificial cult which gave support to a host of priests for long periods of time was now beyond the competence of householder clients—the *sresthi* and *grhapati* of the Pali Buddhist literature[6]—who could nevertheless be encouraged to perform the numerous domestic rituals, which were far less complicated and less costly too. The authors of the *grhya sutras* do not make any secret of such purpose when they repeatedly state that householdership is the best phase of a man's life since it gives support to men who live off the charity of rich householders.[7]

The texts, which consistently recommend the appointment of permanent domestic priests, give expression to a priestly way of sharing econmic surplus possessed by prosperous householders. Vasistha is emphatic in stating that the realm where a brahmana is appointed as dome tic priest prospers.[8] It was, however, neoessary to guard against the appointment of unorthodox men to such a position, and hence Gautama is careful in laying down the qualifications of a domestic priest.[9] While all authors of the *grhya* works are unanimous in stating that the king or the householder must always act according to the advice of the domestic priest,[10] Apastamba goes a step further in making such advice obligatory upon the king in matters relating to judicial action.[11] The *Arthasastra* also

states that in selecting his ministers the king must be guided by the advice of the *purohita*.[12] All this can be meaningfully related to an organised attempt made by the priesthood to influence and control executive action.

II. The Urban Context

Although the *grhya* rituals were prescribed for householders in general, the evidence of certain crucial *grhya* passages would suggest that the texts were more relevant to organised civic life and prosperous urban clients. The passages relate to the foundation of towns and entertainment of brahmana guests in them. In Apastamba,[13] nearly a full chapter is devoted to the subject. The passages implore the king to build a town, establish his palace in the heart of the town and to construct a hall in front of the palace which may serve as a place of entertainment for the brahmanas. The assembly-hall, erected in the southern part of the town,[14] was required to provide regular food-gifts to the brahmanas, particularly the Vedic-educated brahmanas streaming into the town.

That the assembly-hall was nothing less than a priestly dormitory in which every necessary of brahmana guests including food, drink and rooms with couches and bedsteads for sleeping purposes, was to be supplied free of cost by the state. Some passages, which appear later in the same section, refer to arrangements for this pastime of brahmanas lodged in the assembly-hall. The passages give the impression of a state guest-house with all the pleasures and amentities of a highly sophisticated urban life where none else but brahmana visitors could be put up. The *sutra* ruling that the royal host must not live better than his brahmana guests[15] becomes meaningful in this context.

The *grhya* rules recommending the construction of brahmana dormitories in important towns seem to have prevailed upon the ruling families. The Nasik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapana (A.D. 119-24), which coincides well with the lower date limit of the *grhya sutras* mentions the construction of rest-houses in important towns such as Bhrgukaccha (Broach), Surparaka (Sopara), Dasapura and Govardhana[16] and also at important rivercrossings. The brahmana quarters were also furnished with all amenities of civic life, as desired by *grhya* authors. The Nanaghat Cave Inscription of queen Naganika provides

further evidences of Vedic fire-ritualists collecting in towns in large numbers and receiving shares of surplus accumulated in towns. The record mentions the donation of dairy-animals, pack-animals, cartloads of grain, ornaments of gold and silver, pots made of silver, copper currency, etc.[17]

The relevance of the *grhya* rituals to urban clients would be further evident from numerous allusions to various catering services and to persons living off such services. Gautama[18] mentions sale of dyed clothes, prepared food, substances used for flavouring prepared food, flowers, medicines, slaves, water, milk and its products, grass, dressed meat, food-animals, and poison. Vasistha[19] enumerates a large number of urban trades forbidden to a brahmana. The more important of these are the sale of precious ornamental stones, silk-clothes, hemped clothes, dyed clothes, prepared food, substances flavouring prepared food, dairy-products, flowers, perfumes, weapons dressed meat, metals and hardware. Some of the items such as hemped clothes, silk-clothes, decorative flower-work, perfumes are typical of urban luxuries. Similarly, the sale and purchase of prepared food and ready-to-serve dairy-goods refer to the presence of a large floating population congregating in the towns in connection with various commercial and administrative work. The sale of dressed-meat and mention of water-suppliers, washermen and other categories of social labourers are also interesting.

The *Jatakas*,[20] which, on the basis of the social data contained in them, coincide with the period of the *Grhyasutras* furnish valuable corroboration regarding the urban milieu of *grhya* rituals. A competitive urban market often leading to large-scale commercial dishonesty is suggested by the *sutra* references to traders using false weights and measures. The mention of professional usurers who helped finance larger investments besides traders, employees of guild and carft-workers gives further evidence of commercial activities centering round the towns. Of the various salaried governmental jobs. particular notice is taken of the timekeepers, door-keepers, poisoners and soldiers, all of which relate to essential urban duties of law and order. Besides, various self-employers, who could thrive on the purse of urban merry-makers, figure in the *sutras*; they include dancers, singers, instrumentalists in addition to prostitiutes to whom the *sutras* refer in a different context.[21]

III. Ritual as the Mode of Subsistence

Since surplus-sharing was the chief purpose of the composition of *grhya* texts, sustained efforts were of necessity made to both consolidate and enlarge the scope of the more remunerative rituals. Also, since the surplus to be shared by priestly groups was not unlimited, such attempts inevitably led to priestly in-fights and social exclusiveness on the basis of ability or inability to appropriate the surplus. The whole development can be studied by reference to the most important *grhya* ritual, *sraddha* , as described in the four principal *grhya sutras* of Vasistha, Baudhayana, Gautama and Apastamba in addition to the much later *Visnusmrti*.[22]

Taking the principal *grhya* texts together it would appear that with the passage of time efforts were being made both to increase the frequency of *sraddha* as also to make them more and more rewarding for the priests. Presents to be made to the priests in the form of sacrificial fee (*daksina*) became costlier and specified. In Vasistha there is no separate chapter on *sraddha*. Chapter XI, which discusses various topics like initiation and reception of guests, has 70 *sutras* in all of which only 30 can be related to the ritual of *sraddha*. A little more detail is available in Baudhayana, although the total number of *sutras* does not exceed 24, arranged in two separate chapters. Gautama devotes one-chapter of 30 *sutras* to the exposition of the ritual. But Apastamba does it in five chapters comprising 114 *sutras*.[23] Of the minor *Grhyasutras*, Gobhila has three chapters with 70 *sutras*, Hiranyakesi four chapters with 20 extensive *sutras*, Asvalayana three chapters with 61 *sutras*, and Sankhayana four chapters with 214 *sutras*. Visnu, the youngest author of the *grhyasutras*, develops the subject in endless detail ranging over as many as 15 chapters with a remarkable total of 396 *sutras*. With Visnu, practically every day of every month was declared to be auspicious for the performance of a *sraddha* with particularly tempting rewards promised in every case.[24] The text illustrates the attempt to multiply the number of clients in the same family.[25] Simultaneously, efforts were also being made to simplify the ritual with fees kept multiplying. Consequently, performance of a *sraddha*, which is said to destroy all sins of the performer,[26] was made almost interchangeable with some substantive gift to a brahmana.

The priestly anxiety to collect a larger share of the surplus should also be evident from the growing literature on gift. In the *grhya* texts of Vasistha, Baudhayana, Gautama and Apastamba, gifts constitute a part of important rituals. No separate chapters were devoted to the subject. But Visnu, who has four long chapters on the subject,[27] shows that the practice of ceremonial gift was fast developing into an independent ritual.

Although, however, the text marks the fullest development of subsistence-oriented domestic rituals, it does not conceal the fact that these rituals were no longer enough to sustain the ever-expanding priesthood. This may have been partly due to the general economic decline, which affected the prosperity of urban householders. Attempts were, therefore, made to associate some of the more important domestic rituals with places of pilgrimage and religious centres, where the priestly ministrants were collecting in very large numbers. The purpose of such revision was evidently to attract prospective donors to these places and make them pay for the comforts of priestly groups assembled there, some permanently and some temporarily. Once again the trend is noticeable in the *Visnusmrti*[38] probably because of the reason that the text refers to a period of economic insecurity which characterised the transition from the exchange economy of the Maurya-Kusana period to the subsistence economy of post-Kusana India.

The inflating lists of *apapatras* or persons unfit to be fed at a funeral feast further pinpoint the efforts of the orthodox Vedic-educated priests to protect their fees offered at important *grhya* rituals. Comparing the lists in chronological order it would at once appear that the right to the fees and gifts made at a *sraddha* was sought to be developed as a guarded privilege of those brahmanas who were dependent for their livelihood on the recurring and most profitable of the domestic rituals, to the total exclusion of those brahmanas who earned their livelihood by taking to various unbrahmanical vocations, and of those semi-literate plebeians who acted as priests of non-twice-born people in the countryside. The broad term 'brahmana' now comprised three prominent sub-groups, the Vedic-educated puritans, the non-intellectual plebeians and the urban based salaried and self employed brahmanas. As the priestly function and the attendant fees were of little consequence to the prosperous salaried and self-employed brahmanas in towns and cities, the priestly in-fight became confined to

the orthodox fire-ritualists and the unorthodox folk priests. Since the *grhyasutras* were compiled by men belonging to the former group the texts proved handy for the condemnation of the latter section of priests.

The economic motivation of such denunciation can be easily emphasised if only the *apapatra* lists in the earlier texts of Baudhayana and Vasistha are compared with those appearing in the later Apastamba and Gautama. Baudhayana, for example, does not more than state that offerings do not reach the fathers if they are made by a priest wearing red clothes.[29] Vasistha, who is a little more elaborate, states that brahmanas neglecting their prescribed duties and brahmanas inflicted with some incurable disease or deformity, should not be invited at a funeral feast.[30] But the list is suddenly inflated in Apastamba and Gautama[31] to include a large number of brahmanas who earned their livelihood as salaried employees of the king or the guild or by following various urban trades and catering services. The list is further expanded by Visnu to include the physicians, worshippers of idols, village priests, priests offering sacrifice for multitudes of people, astrologers, naked ascetics and professional teachers of the Vedic literature.[32] The *Manusmrti* list is still longer.[33]

The lists show that as the older fire-rituals became unrewarding a large section of the traditional priesthood opted for various prohibited salaried and self-employed careers. Others, who did not go for any of these professions, tried to expand the clientele by a little liberalization of the priestly office in order to officiate at the rituals and ceremonies of the non-twice-born castes. The law-givers were quick to react, and no time was lost to include the brahmanas officiating for sudras and women, besides the atheists among the vile *apapatras*.[34] The brahmanas, who taught or sacrificed for the non-twice-born castes, were lured to do so by the fees offered by their credulous and illiterate clients for whom the prized association with a literate brahmana was a matter of great social publicity and status-redemption. For the priestly incumbents also, who had little formal education in Vedic subjects or proper training in the cumbrous sacrificial ritual, it was doubly advantageous to undertake such popular sacerdotal service. It was these unorthodox members of the traditional priesthood who were later associated with the formalization of popular salvation methods figuring prominently in the puranic

literature, some approvingly and others disapprovingly, depending on the sectarian affiliations of the authors concerned.

In the light of the foregoing the elaborate *grhya* rules concerning proper occupational conduct and violations thereof make interesting reading.[35] The rules of lawful occupations and proper livelihood peculiar to each of the four brahmanical classes appear in the form of prohibitive strictures deterring the potential transgressors from violating the occupational rules traditionally prescribed for them, particularly the brahmanas, even in times of genuine distress. The prohibitive character of the rules would only confirm that a large number of educated brahmanas did take to unlawful occupations. Also, most of the professions refer to urban-based salaried jobs, trades and catering services in keeping with the urban setting of the *grhyasutra* literature.

By contrast with older *grhya* rules, the sense of permissiveness expressed by both Manu and Visnu in respect of brahmanas taking to the occupation of lower castes becomes instructive. Visnu, for example, waives the *grhya* ruling preventing brahmanas from taking to non-brahmana occupations; it was of little consequence if the property so earned was described, by convention, as bad property,[36] and that too by fellow priests competing for the clientele. Manu even recommends occupations to be followed by brahmanas in distress.[37] The deepening of the subsistence-crisis is further evident from the rulings authorising a brahmana in distress to commit theft or forcibly remove the property of other castes, especially the Vasiyas and Sudras, and yet go unpunished.[38]

The difference in attitude might refer to the increasing inability of the orthodox fire-priests to live off the insufficient priestly fees and gifts offered by the householders from time to time. The later lawgivers, particularly Manu, seem to have accepted the reality and framed fresh rules to justify the new occupational behaviour of different castes.

REFERENCES

1. Of his twelve chapters, Manu devotes six (II-VII) exclusively to a discussion of *grhya* themes besides a large number of *sutras* in chapters X and XII. Similarly, the list of contents in *Visnusmrti* has twenty-eight topics of which ,more than twelve relate exclusively to *grhya* themes.

This is borne out by reports on the excavation of important town sites; see *Ancient India*, no. 4 for Taxila, Brahmagiri and Chandravalli and no. 5 for Sisupalgarh.

2. See R. S. Sharma, "The Decay of Gangetic Towns", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (Muzaffarpur, 1972), pp. 94-105, and also *Ancient India*, nos. 2, 4, 5.
3. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXX, pt. II, pp. xx-xxviii.
4. *Ibid.*
5. The *Atharva Veda* for example devotes long passages[1] (AV. IX. 3; III. 12) to the construction of residential houses, which, in spite of the enumeration of seven categories of bricks (*istaka*)[2] (*Taittiriya Samhita*, IV, 4. 5; V. 3. 7; IV. 4. 3; V. 7. 8; V. 6. 1; IV. 2. 9; V. 2. 3; cited in S. C. Sarkar, *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India*, London, 1928, p. 36) and the mention of burnt-bricks or *pakva*[3] (*Satapatha Brahmana*, VI. 1. 2. 22 and VII. 2. 1. 7, cited in Sarkar, op. cit., p. 35), were no more than ordinary timber constructions, the use of bricks being limited to the construction of fire-altars. Some passages in the *Atharva Veda*[4] (*SBE*, p. 193 f, 595 f) and the *Taittiriya Samhita*[5] (IV. 4. 10) would even suggest that these houses were not meant for long periods of occupation, and that whole structures along with the brick-built fire-altars were dismantled for purposes of re-building elsewhere. The evidence is in sharp contrast with a long passage occurring in the *Sankhayana Grhyasutra*[1] (III.3) which urges the house to stand firm, not to tremble, bestow peace and wealth on its inmates and to be long lasting. Similar passages also figure in the *Hiranyakesi Grhyasutra*,[2] (ed J. Kirste, Vienna 1889), I. 8. 27. 2-3 *idaiva dhruvam niminomi salam kseme tisthati dhrtamuksamana* etc. and *idaiva dhruva pratitistha sale asvavati gomati sunrtavati* etc.; also I. 8. 29. 2. Growing stability of household life is also indicated by masonry activity in the construction of residential houses and other buildings from the fourth–third centuries B. C.[3] (compare *Ancient India*, no. 4 for Taxila, Brahmagiri and Chandravalli; no. 5 for Sisupalgarh).
6. The problem can be seen in the light of large-scale patronage of monastic fraternity by the *sresthi* and *grhapati* householders and pro-Buddhist ruling families. The Pali literature of the period and *Jataka* stories furnish valuable evidence on this point, see N. Wagle, *Society at the Time of the Buddha*, Bombay, 1966; A. N. Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India* (600 B. C.—A. D. 200), in 2 vols, Calcutta, 1945; Richard Fick, *Social Organization in North-East Indian in Buddha's Time*, Calcutta, 1920.
7. Gautama, III, 3; Apastamba, II, 9, 23, 9; Vasistha, VIII, *Visnusmrti*, LIX, 27-29; *Manusmrti*, VI, 89-90.
8. Vasistha, XIX, 3-6; also Baudhayana, I, 10, 18, 7-8.
9. Gautama, XI, 12-17.
10. Baudhayana, I, 10, 18, 7-8 asks the king to chose a domestic priest who shall be foremost in all transactions; let the king act according to his instructions.
11. Apastamba, II, 5, 10, 14-16.

12. *Arthasastra*, I. 10, cited in R. Thapar, *Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas* (1973), p. 96. The passage holds good for the period (400 B. C.—A. D. 200) despite the proposed revised chronology of the work, according to which the earliest part of the work is datable in the middle of the second century A.D., T. Trautman, *Kautalya and the Arthasastra*, 1970.
13. Apastamba II, 10, 25, 2-14.
14. *Sutras*, 5-10.
15. *Apastamba*, II. 10, 25, 10-12, 15.
16. *Catuh salavasatha pratisraya—pradena* and *nadinamubhayatah tire sabha prapa karena Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Calcutta 1965, no. 59.
17. *Select Inscriptions, op. cit.*, no 82.
18. Gautama, VII, 8-15.
19. Vasistha, II, 24-28.
20. The *Jataka* evidence has lent valuable support in reconstructing the social history of the post-vedic period, see A. N. Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, op. cit; and Richard Fick, *Social Organization in North-East India in Buddha's Time*, op. cit.
21. Apastamba, II, 10. 25. 14; Gautama, XV, 16-18.
22. On the basis of linguistic evidence P. V. Kane is inclined to believe that the texts of Gautama and Apastamba predated those of Vasistha and Baudhayana, P. V. Kane, *History of the Dharmasastras*, vol. I. But considering the developmental character of the works it would appear that Vasistha and Baudhayana wrote fairly earlier than both Gautama and Apastamba.
23. cf. Vasistha, XI.
    Baudhayana, II. 14-15.
    Gautama, XV.
    Apastamba, II. 16-20.
24. *Visnusmrti*, chs. LXXIII-LXXXVI.
25. *Ibid*, ch. LXXV.
26. *Ibid*, ch. LXXXVIII.
27. *Visnusmrti*, chs. XC-XCIII cover 94 *sutras*.
28. *Ibid*, ch. LXXXV, 1-67.
29. Baudhayana, II. 15. 5. 10-11.
30. Vasistha, XI. 17-20.
31. Gautama, XV; Apastamba, II. 17. 4-23.
32. *Visnusmrti*. LXXXII, 1-30. The prosperity of some of the categories which is so well attested by the inscriptions of the succeeding period, might explain to a great extent the anxiety of orthodox priests to protect their slender fees.
33. *Manusmrti*, III. 150-67; some of the interesting categories are maritime traders, architects, oil-men, professional usurers, destroyers of water-courses, trainers of elephants, horses and camels and shepherds.
34. *Gautama*, XV, 16-18.
35. In Baudhayana the subject figures in ten *sutras* which form part of the chapter entitled "Purifications" (I, 5, 10, 21-30); but Vasistha devotes full one chapter of 51 *sutras* (I, 1-51). Later Apastamba provided in his text two separate

chapters with a total of 35 *sutras* (I, 7, 20-21) while Gautama has one chapter with 67 *sutras* (chp. X).

36. *Visnusmrti*, LVII.
37. *Manusmrti*, X, 102; *Ibid*, X, 103. A nominal expiation comprising the mutter-ing of sacred texts and burnt offering was enough to remove the sin incurred by teaching and sacrificing for the non-twice-born customers, X. III.
38. *Ibid*, XI. 11-23. The plea taken is that the brahmana commits such crimes to fulfil a meritorious task, i. e., performance of sacrifices.

CONFLICT, DISTRIBUTION AND DIFFERENTIATION IN Rg VEDIC SOCIETY

R. S. Sharma

It is not possible to think of one type of social formation represented by the *Rg Veda*. Only books II-VII, which are called Family Books, are considered to be the earliest portions of this oldest specimen of Indo-European literature. Even in these Books Vedic and non-Vedic traditions are mixed up. This can, for example, be said of Book III, which is supposed to have been composed by Visvamitra, who acted as priest to a tribe which advanced to fight on the Vipas and Sutudru-rivers from the east.[1] The very name Visvamitra means friend of the tribes, evidently Vedic, who was accommodated in Vedic kinship society through the institution of friendship. Post-Rg Vedic traditions of about 600 B.C. found in the *Aitareya Brahmana* attribute to his fifty condemned sons the origin of several non-Vedic or non-Aryan tribes.[2] Books I and X, which account for a good bulk of the *Rg Veda*, are admittedly late both from the point of view of style and the nature of material culture they reveal. Most references to field agriculture are confined to these *Mandalas*. It might be useful to attempt a separate study of the two chapters, but in any case the evidence furnished by them, unless repetitive and corroborative, should be used for the phase shading off into the post-Rg Vedic period from around 1000 B.C.

The fact that the *Rg Veda* presents the story of perpetual tribal conflicts is well known. But the overtone of racial conflicts between the

Aryans and the aborigines given to these conflicts by the authors of the *Vedic Index* and many other Indian and foreign scholars is unwarranted. In spite of diligent digging for the last thirty years it has not been possible to adduce proofs of mass-scale confrontation between the Rg Vedic people and the original inhabitants of north-western India. In fact the spread of Indo-Aryan languages on both sides of the Hindukush is fatal to the theory which imagines the Aryans imposing themselves as a small landholding minority or aristocracy over the overwhelming majority of the aborigines who were dispossessed of their lands.

If we carefully examine the passages relating to tribal conflicts we find further grounds to hold that they are not ancient counterparts of the long conflict between white settlers and the original inhabitants in Asia, Africa, America and Australia. Various Rg Vedic tribes, generally led by Indra are represented as fighting the Dasas or Dasyus, although occasionally they also encountered the *banis*. There are far more references to the slaughter of the Dasyus than that of the Dasas. The term *dasyu-hatya* occurs frequently,[3] which leaves no doubt that the Dasyus were the bitterest enemies of the Rg Vedic people and they fought the longest. The Dasyus, who led a different mode of life in Rg Vedic times are considered to be identical with the aborigines of India. One of the grounds for this view is that in later traditions the Dasyu came to be identified with robbers and predatory backward tribals living in the forests. But this cannot be a valid argument for ascribing to them the same ethnic character in the age of the *Rg Veda*, especially in view of the Iranian evidence. *Dasyu* corresponds to *dahyu* in Iranian language, and means land.[4] It is therefore a convincing conclusion that all references to perpetual conflicts between the Rg Vedic tribes and the Dasyus refer to those between the two main branches of the Indo-Iranian people.[5]

It has been reasonably postulated that the Indo-Aryans came to India in successive waves, and evidently the Dahyus were one of the earliest waves to cross the Hindukush. Their pattern of living may have changed in this country on account of their contact with the people of the non-Aryan cultures, which accounts for the condemnation of their way of life by the Rg Vedic 'Aryans'. Similarly they may have resisted the new immigrants who apparently came in large numbers. A similar hypothesis can explain the conflict between the *dasa vis* and the *arya vis* which was not so bitter and frequent.[5a] The Dasas correspond to the

Dahaes, a tribal people in Iran, and literally the term *das* means man.[6] Possibly in the their migration to India the *dasas* had just preceded the mighty and massive wave of the Rg Vedic people and were not so completely acculturated, inasmuch as they maintained some links with the original horde. Consequently they appear not as prominent targets of Rg Vedic attacks as the Dasyus do.

It is needless to cite examples of many inter-tribal and intra-tribal conflicts in Rg Vedic society. The case of the Battle of Ten Kings or *dasarojna* fought on the Ravi, mentioned in Book VII, is well known. In it each of the allies and their adversaries appear as a mixed group consisting of Vedic and non-Vedic peoples.[7] In addition to this we hear of several other wars between Vedic tribes led by their princes whose morale was boosted by the prayers of priests.

War in the predominantly tribal society of the *Rg Veda* was a logical and natural economic function. As it has been said, man hunting was the logical extension of animal hunting. The legacy continued even in post-Vedic times because in the Dharmasastras war is recognised as one of the legitimate modes of livelihood, and justifies the existence of the ksatriya varna. The Rg Vedic tribes, being primarily herdsmen who lived on beef and dairy products, fought one another and outsiders for the sake of cattle. This is clear from several words such as *gavisti*, *gavesana*, *gosu* and *gavya*, which all mean war.[8] Other animals such as horses, goats and sheep were also prized, particularly horses which may have been mainly in the possession of princes, tribal chiefs and elders The spoils may also have consisted of the personal effects of the defeated parties, e.g. the dresses, weapons, etc. Land and crops did not form the bone of contention. Women, who are rightly called the producers of producers in a tribal context, were of course an important object for which wars were fought. When we posit the coming of the Indo-Aryans in successive waves, it is reasonable to think that women died in course of long and difficult treks, and wives were needed badly for replenishing the stock. It is for this reason that we always hear of women slaves, captured from the subjugated Dasa people; men slaves are in the *Rg Veda*. The legacy of women being an important issue in wars continued later in a changed form when some kings fought wars for the hands of beautiful princesses.

War was, therefore, the main source which supplied to the tribal chief or prince cattle, other animals and women in the shape of spoils. We find a member of the *gana*, a large fighting tribal unit, announcing in the meeting of the *gana* that he had surrendered everything and concealed nothing in proof of which he showed all the ten fingers of his hands.[9] But excepting the spoils of war and occasional tributes in the form of animals, and may be metal, collected from defeated tribes, there was hardly anything else available to the tribal chief which he could distribute. The Rg Vedic people were primarily not food-producing but pastoral, as is revealed by the kernel of the text. The all-pervasive influence of cattle can be inferred not only from some terms used for war but also from those used for tribal chief *(janasya gopa)*, measure of time *(samgavam, godhuli)* and distance *(gavyuti, gocarman)*, kinship units (gotra) and compensation for manslaughter. The Vedic people were so obsessed with cow that when they came across the buffalo in India, they called it *gauri*[10] and *govala*,[10a] extensions of the term *go*. In the cattle rearing society, out of their love for the warlike and other qualities of the raja, his kinsmen, members of his *jana* or *vis*, occasionally gave him a portion of their cattle or of dairy products as *bali* or voluntary offering. But in an essentially tribal, pastoral society there was little scope for eollecting any tax from the tribesmen or outsiders.

Taxes on a regular basis are conceivable only in a full-fledged agricultural society, but agriculture was not important in the social formation represented by the Family Books of the *Rg Veda* There are twenty-one references to agriculture and ploughing operations in the *Rg Veda* but only a few occur in BK IV,[11] where again relevant passages are considered to be of late authorship.[12] The remainder of such references, which comprise the greater bulk, occur in Books I and X. The only cereal produced by the Rg Vedic people was *yava* or barley, which ripens in sixty days, and could serve as food for men and fodder for cattle and horses. The two staple crops of the country, wheat and rice, were not known to them. Naturally there is no mention of the gift of foodgrains in the *Rg Veda*, and its payment in the form of tax to the prince was out of question. Hence what was available for distribution by the tribal prince consisted of spoils of victory such as cattle and women supplemented by some occasional tributes in cattle, other animals, dairy products by the subjugated tribes, and the same given by the cattle rearing tribesmen as gifts and presents.

In some studies based on field work among primitive tribes carried out during the last twenty-five years a significant fact has been noticed.[13] In tribal production units, varying in form and size according to the labour processes such as hunting, cattle rearing, cultivating, etc., whatever is collected or produced by the tribesmen is submitted to the tribal thief or elder who is head of the unit. This is called transfer of eatables from the periphery to the centre. In such a unit the tribal chief distributes the produce equally among his tribesmen. This is called redistribution.[14] On ceremonial occasions well-provided chiefs practise feeding, entertaining and making gifts to their tribesmen on a large scale, which gifts are intended for acquiring prestige and influence by means of ostentatious distribution. This is called potlach.[15] We may examine whether the practices of potlach and redistribution obtained at any stage in Rg Vedic society.

The *Rg Veda* does not refer to conspicuous display of communal consumption organised on ceremonial occasions by the tribal prince. However, the hymn called *danastuti* or praise of gifts, which is considered to be of late origin,[16] speaks of enormous and patently exaggerated numbers of cattle, women slaves and horses given to the priests who are never tired of singing the praises of their patrons. In later Vedic texts representatives of all sections of the community including Vedic and non-Vedic, men and women, are associated with several public sacrifices, especially the coronation ceremony, organised by the king, whose authority was still on the way to becoming territorial from tribal. Apparently these people were fed on the occasion. But if we look for later survivals of this practice, we have the case of the *asvamedha* performed by Dasaratha in the *Ramayana*.[17] To this sacrifice all brahmanas, ksatriyas, vaisyas, Sudras and others were invited and fed to their heart's content for several days; provisions for feasts had been collected well in advance. Apparently even when the tribal society of Vedic times had been divided into the varna-divided society in post-Vedic times, the practice of potlach continued. It continues even now as a costly ritual in a distorted form in the twelve-village or eightyfour village feasts organised by some richer people who invite their clansmen to impress them and others with their great capacity to spend.

Evidence regarding redistribution in the *Rg Veda* is a little difficult to come by. Elsewhere I have discussed the distributive functions of two

institutions, the *gana* and the *vidatha*.[18] A passage from the *Atharva Veda*, which exorts the people to exert together like the spokes of a wheel in deference to the wishes of their elders, speaks of their receiving equal shares in connection with the functions of the *gana* which was undoubtedly a tribal association.[19] We have no reasons to think that the situation was different in the age of *Rg Veda;* in fact such a practice among tribal communities may have been all the more prevalent. The fact that a member of the *gana* surrendered all that he had looted in war to the tribal commander is significant. Unless he was given back a portion of the spoils brought by him and presumably by other members, he would be left with no means to support him.

Whatever may have been the precise kinship-based character of the *vidatha* - it was either a wider tribal assembly or a limited extended family[20]—its redistributive functions are more than clear from two references found in the Family Books. At one place people are asked to gather in the *vidatha*, in which they distribute whatever is brought in by Savitar.[21] At another place Agni, who is identified with king Varuna is asked to distribute whatever is available in the *vidatha*.[21a] Evidently both Agni and Savitar are the divine counterparts of human tribal chiefs who practised redistribution at some point of time in the age of the *Rg Veda*. Spoils of war, or gifts and occasional tributes were redistributed. They apparently consisted of cattle, sheep, goats, horses, weapons, and women slaves. They may have been supplemented by game obtained by hunting and some products of cultivation given as *bali*.

The *Rg Veda* does not clearly show whether food was distributed among members of the kin-based groups of different sizes. But this can be inferred from an examination of survivals of tersms used for food shares and the domestic rites and customs obtaining among the speakers of the Indo-Aryan languages, especially in northern India even in modern times. The primitive practice that food procured by a clan was distributed among its members seems to have prevailed among the Inod-Europeans at some stage. It is difficult to pinpoint the time when the system of common meal obtained, but a careful study of the terms used for meal, food and share attests it. One of the earliest terms used for share is *amsa*, which in the dialects of eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar is used in the sense of meal or food to which an absentee member, invited to a ceremonial clan feast, is entitled. In the *Rg Veda* the term

amsa is used in the sense of share distributed by Agni in the *vidatha*.[22] The derivation of this term is not very clear. In the opinion of Monier-Williams it is probably' derived from the root *as*,[23] which means to eat and from which nouns such as *asana*, *prasana* are formed. *Amsa* can possibly be also connected with *amsa*, which means shoulder.[24] It seems that when animals were obtained as game, the shoulder was distributed as share. This hypothesis may be doubtful, but the connection of *amsa* which came to mean share with eating or food seems to be strong.

Another Vedic term for share is *bhaga*. It is derived from the root *bhaj*, to divide. We may note that the term *bhakta*, literally divided, is used in the *Rg Veda* in the sense of meal,[25] a sense which it retains in many Indo-Aryan languages.[26] When the use of the Aryan language spread over eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar the term came to acquire a modified connotation in the context of the food habits of this region. It became a synonym of boiled rice in the north-eastern zone. On account of this in the Pali texts *bhatta* means both meal as well as boiled rice,[27] and in modern languages whatever is given for maintenance is called *bhatta*.

A verbal formation from the root *bhaj*, to allot or to apportion, is used in the *Rg Veda* in connection with distribution made by Agni in the *vidatha*.[29] We may note that in post-Vedic times the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and other Pali texts mention a regular apportioner or distributor (*bhajaka*) of cloth, food, fruits, etc.[29] Collected by Buddhist monks and brought to a central pool, these were distributed among the members of the *samgha* under the supervision of the head monk. This was apparently a survival of the tribal practice, which served as a model for the organisation of the *samgha*[30] With the vital difference that the monks neither belonged to the same kin nor took part in actual production. The term *bhajana* was used in ancient texts in the sense of eating as well as dividing; the first appears with accent on a (*bhajana*),[31] and the second without it. Since cereals, food, etc., had to be distributed equally in terms of quantity, some kind of pot had to be used for the purpose. Therefore the pot came to be known as *bhajana*.[32] Although the term occurs in post-Vedic texts it may be of earlier origin. The earliest pots were made of earthen clay, for we hear of *mattika-bhajana* in Pali. Eventually the term *bhaiana* came to be replaced by *vasana* in the sense of pot.[33] Lexicographers also use

bhaj in the sense of threshing-floor, which was used for the purpose of dividing grain.[31] The practice may have obtained in Vedic times, apparently all Vedic terms which were used for different communal practices do not find place in Vedic texts.

It is significant that the share in food given to kinsmen and other invitees at the time of marriage is called *bhaji* in Panjabi. It is derived from *bhajya*[35] and is used in the sense of rice-gruel in Panini, iv. 1 42,[36] and the person sharing (presumably meals) with others is called *bhajayu* in the *Rg-Veda*.[37] *Bhaji* is not only an omnibus word used for various types of food in Panjabi, but also stands for distribution of food gifts received from the cognates among the agnates. As a form of social ritual-cum-practice, and at that a costly one, the practice of sharing ceremonial meals with kinsmen obtains even now. At the time of marriage and religious functions in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Rajasthan, etc. we notice the practice of sending a portion of food to all kinsmen. When a goat is sacrificed by one family portion of raw meat is given to each one of the families who are its near kinship. The practice is also followed in respect of the presents received from relatives from outside the village. In this particular case the object seems to be to exchange and cement mutual relations between two separate kinship groups by means of exchange of gifts. What is received from the cognates is distributed among the agnates. Sometimes if the gift received is not adequate, the receiver who feels more concerned about the prestige of his cognates as well as his own supplements the gift from his own pocket and then distributes it among his agnates. The distribution of food made in this manner is called *vayan, bayan* or *baina* in several Indo-Aryan dialects in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. It clearly shows that at one stage all the other kinsmen were entitled to a share in the food collected, produced, prepared or received by one kinsmen. Phonetically the term *bayan* is most probably derived from *bhajana*. Its Prakrit derivative *bhayana* is traceable,[38] and from *bhayana bayan* can be easily derived.

Another term used for distributing food as well as for food is derived from the root *parivisa*.[38a] The noun *parivesa* means serving of meal in the *Atharva Veda*,[38b] and a server of food is called *parivestr* in the same text.[39] The term *perivesaka*[40] or distributor of food appears in the Pali texts. In Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh members of the clan who do not attend ceremonial feasts held by their clansmen are

entitled to *Parosa*, which means distributed food. Clearly the term is a remnant of the old Vedic Sankrit and Pali term.

We can appreciate the significance of the use of the terms discussed above if we bear in mind the tribal analogy. The chief reason why the terms for meal/food had to be the same as those for share or distribution lay in the fact that whatever was obtained by the Vedic communities through collection, production or presentation at an early stage was distributed among its members. It appears that the custom of distributing meals among members of the clan or community was a legacy inherited from the Indo-European phase. The can be inferred from the use of the term *geras* in Greek.[41] It means share. In ancient Greece portions of meat were divided equally and distributed by lot. But the chine, which was the choicest portion, was reserved as a *geras* for the chief who presided at the common meal.[42] It is striking that a similar term, *grasa*, exists in Sanskrit. It means mouthful, and is derived from the root *gras*, to eat or swallow.[43] The Greek *geras* and the Sanskrit root *gras* possibly point to a time when the Indo-European tribes were in the food-gathering stage and when their members were given shares in the common meal.

In tribal societies those who collect or produce food are almost precisely the people who consume it. The production unit is the consumption unit, free from the intervention of intermediaries. Sometimes such societies are called lineage—passed or segmentary. Kinship being the main unifying bond, tribe is considered to be the largest unit of such a kind. It is split up into lineages, and lineages into segments.

That the Rg Vedic society was tribal is evident from the frequent occurrence of various terms which stand for kin-based units. These are *jana*, *vis*, *gana*, *grama*, *grha*, *kula*, *vrata*, *sardha*, etc. Taking the *Rg Veda* as a whole *jana* occurs 275 times, *vis* 171 times, and *grama* 13 times.[44] Zimmer suggested that the *jana* was divided into *vis*, the *vis* into *gramas*, and the *grama* into *kulas*.[45] Probably his first statement is right, but alternative hypotheses regarding the other two sub-divisions may be suggested. In our opinion the term *jana* associated with the five tribes such as the Yadus, Turvasus, Drhyus, etc.,[46] may be compared to the tribe and may be regarded as the largest unit based on kinship. When such a unit settled down in a territory it came to be known as *janapada*, the largest territorial unit in post-Vedic times. In Vedic times those who did not belong to the *jana* were called *janya*.[47]

Although some references suggest that *jana* was divided into *vis*,[49] in several other references the *vis* may correspond to the tribe. *Vis* also means settlements; *ves* means settler, and *vesman* house or abode.[49] We may also take note of certain smaller units based on kinship. In our opinion *gana*, which is mentioned 46 times in the *Rg Veda*, may have been such a unit,[50] it may be compared to lineage. Grama, or herd of people,[51] was certainly a unit smaller than the *gana*, and may be compared to segment. Once its members settled down at a place it came to be understood in the sense of village. The *grama* was divided into *grhas*. *Grha* was the lowest unit, and it indicates a large family containing members of four generations; sometimes, it is considered to be identical with the *vidatha*. *Kula* does not carry the sense of family. The term *kula* occurs once as a part of *kulapa* in the *Rg Veda*, which has several references to *grha*.

The size and shape of these kinship units were bound to underge changes on account of war, secession, migration and above all due to changes in labour processes with which they were associated at different points of time. But this difficult exercise has not been undertaken in this essay. Although *grha* was an established production unit in Rg Vedic times, it cannot be said to be a predominant unit in comparison with *jana* and *vis*.[51a] This was because the Rg Vedic people were a migratory people who moved from place to place with their flocks of cattle. The cattle economy made them less sedentary, for they had to be on constant move in search of pastures. The migratory habit of the Vedic tribes is indicated by the use of the term *vis* in the sense of entering or settling in the *Rg Veda*.[52] The same sense or that of settling near or re-entering and coming back is conveyed when several prefixes are added to the term *vis* (tribe) to form verbs. These are *a-vis*, *upa-vis*, *ni-vis punar-vis*, *pra-vis*, *bhuyas-vis*, etc.[53] Such verbs as *punar-vis* and *bhuyas-vis* may refer to the habits of cattle-herding tribes (*vis*) which migrate to fresh pastures with their cattle in lean seasons and come back to their original settlements when fodder becomes available there.

In any case migratory habit made settled life difficult, which was rendered further difficult because of the lesser advance of agriculture. Products of such labour processes as potmaking, woodworking, smithy and leather-working were certainly available. But there is nothing to

show that these were meant either for sale or for collection in the form of taxes. In all probability craftsmen were integral parts of the kin-based society, which accounts for the high status of the *rathakara* (chariot-maker) in later Vedic and even post-Vedic society,[54] for he was treated as a full-fledged member of the Aryan community and as such enjoyed the right to read the venas and wear the sacred thread. At any rate hardly any surplus was available for supporting such persons as were not engaged in food-gathering and food-producing.

It is held by the authors of the *Vedic Index* that the caste system was well on its way towards general acceptance in the age of *Rg Ved.*[55] But if the varna/caste system is understood in the sense of a social mechanism created by a mode of production in which the upper classes in the form of priests and noble-warriors act as managers of production and collectors of the surplus produce and the lower classes such as peasants, artisans and agricultural labourers, free and unfree, carry on the primary work of production. Such a picture cannot be deduced from the relevant references in the *Rg Veda*

Although the brahmana is mentioned 14 times in the Rg *Veda*, not all references occur in the Family Books,[55a] and not at all places is he regarded as a priest[56] This is not to deny the existence of an embryonic group of priests in the *Rg Veda*, and Vasistha and Visvamitra are typical examples of priestly functionaries. Similarly some priests were handsomely provided with cattle and women slaves by their patrons, but not with land or pasture grounds which were presumably held in common.

Again, the ksatriya is mentioned 9 times in the *Rg Veda,* but a majority of the occurrences are outside the Family Books.[57] However, we do come across warrior-chiefs leading their clans or tribes, and they are also called *rajan.* But they did not have any regular source of income in the form of taxes. In the absence of regular sources of taxes for maintaining army they had to depend on the tribal militia, and consequently what they received in the form of spoils had to be distributed among the tribesmen, presumably in equal shares. It is most likely that the chief was given a special share, as was the practice in Homeric Greece or is found in primitive societies, but this share depended on the consent and goodwill of his clansmen. It may have been given to him in recognition of his valour, and his qualities of head and heart. Even-

tually this gave rise in post-Vedic times to the principle that the king was entitled to taxes in lieu of the protection he gave to the people. The practice that the best horse or the best elephant was given to the king was also a remnant of tribal society in which the community gave the best to the tribal chief.

Although we have indications of redistribution in several assemblies and although even the term *dana* means distribution in several contexts,[58] there are reasons to believe that shares tended to be unequal. As a result of appropriating more than what was due to an ordinary clansman the tribal chiefs of various categories developed in prestige and importance. Since the big tribal chiefs called *raja* rewarded their companions handsomely they also became rich. We hear of rich people, who possessed chariots and cattle, attending the *vidatha*. Possibly they were close companions of the tribal chief, different from his ordinary clansmen who constituted the rank and file of the tribal army. The *Rg Veda* has a good number of terms for property which was won as stake in war. At least that is the meaning of the term *dhana* and *pana* used in that text.[59] Besides we encounter a few other terms such as *rayi*, *reknas*, *dravinas*, etc.[60]

But what did wealth consist of. The common use of the adjective *gomat* applied to rich people shows that it consisted mainly of cattle and not of land. In a predominantly pastoral society this was quite natural a phenomenon. Large conventional numbers of cattle made over to priests demostrate that the donors (tribal chiefs called *rajas*) and the donees (priests) possessed them in considerable numbers. This may have led to the leasing of these cattle to the families of ordinary clansmen on a sharing basis and may have created relations of dependence between herdsmen and catte-owners. But of this we have no direct evidence in the *Rg Veda*. The *grha* comprised not only the habitation but also cattle and sheep. In any case it is clear that the *grhapati* did not possess resources which were beyond the means of his family labour. The *Rg Veda* does not have any word for wages or wage-earners. Nor does it have any word for beggars. The institution of wage-earning arises at that stage in society when a family acquires by force or other means fields and pastures which it cannot exploit with its own labour resources. Similarly wage-earners and beggars appear when people are impoverished and dispossessed on account of class

differentiation, but such a situation is not to be found in the age of the *Rg Veda.*

On the other hand if we examine the *danastuti* given in a late mandla, it would appear that the *Rg Vedic* society was not egalitarian, for there is clear evidence of the lion's share of spoils going to the tribal chiefs and their priests. It is likely that they managed to corner these shares first on account of their special qualities and secondly on account of their posing as the representative of the tribal communities. But all the same the absence of surplus in a pastoral, tribal society did not create conditions for class differentiation. There could be differentiation of ranks, as can be inferred from the titles of tribal chiefs as *janasya gopa, visampati, ganasya raja, gananam, ganapati, gramani* and probably *grhapata.* There were *vipras* who were worthy of attending the *sabha (sapheya)*, but the phenomenon of upper classes living on the labour of tribesmen was just beginning to emerge; it did not prevail on any considerable scale. The tribesmen represented by the *vis* consisted of herders and fighters, who apparently provided resources for the support of the emerging sections of priests and warrior-nobles, as indicated by the later portions of the *Rg Veda.* The ritualistic and ideological ratification came at a much later stage in the *purusasukta* in the tenth *mandala,* in which the sudra is mentioned for the first time and the last time in the *Rg Veda.* Otherwise the importance of tribesmen represented by the *jana* and the *Vis* and that of pastoral life represented by cattle looms large over the Family Books of the *Rg Veda* as well as over some of its later portions.

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12. *s.v. sita*, *VI*, ii, 451, fn. 1.
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14 The term 'redistribution' was first used by Karl Polanyi, "The Economy as Instituted Process" in Karl Polanyi and others (ed.), *Trade and Market in the Early Empires*, Glencoe, III, 1957, p. 250. Quoted in Terray, op. cit., p. 137 and p. 185, fn. 17.
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16. Most *danastutis* occur in Books I, VIII and X, especially in good numbers in BK VIII, although some of them are also found in the Family Books.
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23. *s.v. amsa*, *SED*. The problem may be of interest to a linguist.
24. I owe this suggestion to Professor R.C. Pandeya.
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31. *s.v. bhajana*, *SED*.

32. *CDIAL*, no. 9436; Turner holds that *bhajana* occurs in the sense of eating or enjoying in the *Satapatha Br.* and in that of pot in the *Mbh.*

33. I owe this suggestion to Professor R. C. Pandeya.

34. The term survives in some Indo-Aryan dialects; see *CDIAL*, no. 9438.

35. Ibid. no. 9438.

36. *s.v. bhaji*, *SED*.

37. *s.v. bhajayu*, ibid.

38. *CDIAL* no. 9436.

3 a *s.v. parivisa*, *SED*.

38b Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. *s.v.* parivesaka, *PED*.

41. George Thomson, *Aeschylus and Athens*, London, 1973, pp. 38. 41, 49, 282.

42. Ibid. 39.

43. In its verbal form *gras* occurs in *RV*, V. 41.17; *s.v. gras*, *SED*.

44. For further discussion see *APIIAI*, pp. 264-67.

45. *VI*, i, 245; ii, 306, fn. 9; 307, fn. 11.

46. *VI*, i, 467.

47. *APIIAI*, p. 150.

48. *VI*. ii, 306.

49. *s.v. vis*, *ves* and *vesman*, *SED*.

50. *APIIAI*, pp. 109-11.

51. *VI*, i, 245.

51a The term *grha* (in its various forms) in the sense of house/family occurs 92 times in the *RV*, of which only 34 occurences are to be found in the Family Books. Thus in the earliest Rg Vedic society family was not a dominant unit, nor can this be said of grama. The vis seems to have been far more important than both.

52. *s.v. vis*, *SED*.

53. For all these terms see *SED*.

54. *APIIAI*. p. 139.

55. *VI*, ii, 250,

55a *VI*, ii, 80-81.

56. Ibid. 91, 248.

57. *VI*, ii, 248.

58. *VI*, i, 350-51.

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THE HINAYANA SECTS AT SARANATHA

Birendra Bahadur Singh

Ancient Buddhist traditions indicate that within a couple of centuries of the *Nirvana* of the Buddha, as many as eighteen sects appeared in the *Sasana*, thought it cannot be exactly determined when 'a sect within the *Sasana*' first appeared. The religion of the Lord was moulded by the *Theras* after his death. The first revolt against it is represented by the rise of the Mahasamghika School in the easterners, also known as Achariyavada. Once dissensions in the *Samgha* started, it began to multiply. Theravada was gradually divided into eleven sects and the Mahasamghika School into seven. "All the eighteen sects were fundamentally Hinayanists; a few sub-sects of the Achariyavada group later on introduced new doctrines which paved the way for Mahayanism."[1] The basic difference between Theravada and Mahasamghikas may well be analysed through the following lines :

"It would seem that the two schools were divergent in their tendencies—One monkish and conservative, adhering to the primitive conception of the Lord as *Sattha* and of the *Sasana* as discipline and practice; the other more liberal and popular, less strict in the practical part of the religion and favouring those concepts of the Lord and those forms of piety in which the popular and the monk minds could agree."[2]

Theravada had its centre at Kausambi and Ujjayini and adopted Pali as the language of its *Pitaka*. It was propagated in Ceylon by Asoka's son Mahendra or Mahinda. Among the sects that branched off from Theravada, the most important was Sarvastivada. Several other sects such as Mahisasaka, Sammitiya or Vatsiputriya, Kasyapiya, Sautrantika, Dharmottariya and Bhadrapaniya etc. differed from Theravada only on very minor points.[3]

The Mahasamghikas had their centre at Vaisali in the initial stage of their development and were scattered all over northern India. In due course they became located in the Andhra country with centres at Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda. On account of their popularity in the Andhra country the Mahasamghikas and their sub-sects were called Andhaka.[4] The sub-sects of this school, mentioned in a work of the

fifth century A.D., to which Thomas draws attention,[5] are Purvasailas, Aparasailas, Haimavatsas, Lokottaravadins and Prajnaptivadins. Of these the first and the second were in central India, the third in the northern Himalayan region, and the fourth in Madhya-desa, perhaps Magadha and its neighbouring region.[6] Besides these sects Chaityakas, Vaitulyaka, Rajagirik, Siddharthika and Vahusrutiya are also known as the sub-sects of the Mahasamghikas.[7]

Saranatha has the privilege of being the venue of the First Sermon of Lord Buddha. It was at this place that the Lord after attaining Buddhahood at Bodhgaya had turned the Wheel-of-the-Law (*Dharma-Chakra*) which rotated in all the directions from this centre.

The Theravadins at Saranatha :

Epigraphic evidence shows that Saranatha was at first a centre of the Theravada group (i.e., Sthaviravada), the earliest popular school. a pali inscription of four lines, containing the four great truths (*Chatvari Arya Satyani*) of the Buddhist doctrine which formed the subject of the Buddha's sermon at Saranatha, is carved on a fragment (1′-5½″) of the top of an umbrella.[8] The inscription is in characters of the late Kusana period. cir. 2nd or 3rd century A. D. It runs as follows :

> "*Chattar—imanibhikkhave ar*(i) *ya—Sachchani*
> *Katamani* (*Cha*) *ttari dukha* (*m*) *di* (*bhi*) *kkhave*
> *ar* (*i*) *ya—Sachcham.*
> *dukkha—Samuday* (*o*) *ariyasachcham dukkhanirodho*
> *ariya—Sachcham.*
> *dukkha—nirodha —gamini* (*cha*) *patipada ariya—*
> *Sachcham.*"

"Four are, ye monks, the Noble Axioms. And which are these four? The Noble Axiom about suffering, ye monks, the Noble Axiom about the cessation of suffering and the Noble Axiom about the way leading to the cessation of suffering."[9]

The discovery of this inscription from Saranatha has induced scholars to believe that "the Sthaviravadins also resided there at a very early date, perhaps before the Sarvastivadins attained prominence."[10] This Pali inscription from Saranatha is a clear indication of the fact that the Theravada school was in dominance at this centre till at least the late Kusana period, cir. 2nd and 3rd century A.D.

The Sarvastivadins at Saranatha :

The Theravadins were first divided into two sects—Mahisasaka and Vajjiputtaka(Vatsiputriya). From the former appeared the Sarvastivadins. According to Bu-ston they claimed as their founder Venerable Rahulbhadra, "renowned for his devotion to discipline."[11] Vasumitra in his '*Samaya-bhedoparachana chakra*' states that the Sarvastivadins branched off from the Sthaviras in the third century after the Buddha's demise.[12] This date is corroborated by Bhavya, Vinitadeva and I-tsing. Some scholars fix their origin in pre-Asokan time, about 150 years after Budha's demise and assume that during the reign of Asoka they did not find a congenial home at Pataliputra, *i.e.*, Magadha, and migrated to the north.[13]

They founded two centres, one in Kasmir under the leadership of Venerable Madhyantika and the other at Mathura under venerable Upagupta. This sect gained wide popularity all over northern India and wielded great influence from the time of Asoka to that of Kaniska, who was a staunch supporter of this sect. During the Kusana period it reached Central Asia and thence to China. Yuan Chwang and I-tsing carried *Pitakas* of this sect to China and so the Hinayana texts at present existing in China are mainly translations of the Sarvastivada *Pitaka*. There are epigraphic evidences, ranging from 2nd to 4th century A.D., which prove their existence in Mathura, Peshawar, Kasmir, Baluchistan and Sravasti.[14]

That Saranatha was also one of the centres of the Sarvastivadins is evidenced by some inscriptions discovered from this place. The first of them is the Buddhist Image inscription of Kaniska I which mentions the gift of an image. of the Bodhisattva and an umbrella, with a post.[15] The gift was made by Friar Bala, wishing to share his merits with his parents, his disciples, with another monk called Budhamitra as also with Ksatrapas-Vanaspara and Kharapallana. That Bala and Budhamitra were Sarvastivadins is established by two other inscriptions discovered at Sravasti, (a) Sahet-Mahet Stone Umbrella Staff,[16] and (b) Image inscription of Kaniska I which bears the same text,[17] Hence it can be safely inferred that at Saranatha also resided a few Sarvastivadins during the reign of Kaniska I.

The second inscription, reading "*acharyanam Sarvastivadinam parigrahe*" was discovered on the topmost step of the stone-stairs on

the south side of the Jagat Singh *stupa*.[18] This inscription is repeated on a "rail surrounding the old *Stupa* in the south chapel of the main shrine." Vogel assigns this inscription to the second century A.D.[19] The third inscription, assumed to be dedicated to the Sarvastivadins, is engraved on the Asokan pillar at Saranatha and mentions the name of Asvaghosa.[20] Dutt remarks that this inscription "was probably dedicated to the Sarvastivadins, which appelation was unfortunately obliterated."[21]

On the basis of these citations, we may safely conclude that the Sarvastivadins occupied a strong position at Saranatha upto 2nd century A.D. and thereafter the Sammitiyas became popular at this centre.

The sammitiyas at Saranatha :

Of the four sub-sects that branched off from the Vatsiputriyas, the most important was the Sammitiya school, the other three being Dharmottariya, Bhadrapaniya and Chhannagarika.[22] Pali and Sanskrit traditions place the origin of the Sammitiyas in the 3rd century B.C.[23] It became popular and wide-spread during the reign of Harsavardhana (606-647 A.D.). The king's sister Rajyasri joined it as a *bhiksuni*.[24] Epigraphic evidence attests to the existence of this school during the 2nd and the 4th centuries A.D. These records are : (1) the fifth stone-slab inscription of Mathura which records the installation of an image of a Bodhisattva and its dedication to the Sammitiya monks of Sirivihara by a monk whose teacher was Dharmaka,[25] and (2) the inscription engraved on the Asokan pillar at Saranatha, below the Asokan edict, referring to the Sammitiyas.[26]

The Sammitiyas ascribed the origin of their school to a famous monk of Avanti, namely Mahakachchayana. Obviously, they had a very close connection with Avanti as their centre and this also explains their alternative name Avantaka.

That the Sarvastivadins had given place to the Sammitiyas at Saranatha by the 3rd or 4th century A.D. is evident from an inscription recorded on the Asokan pillar here.[27] The inscription which consists of a single line (1′ 9″ long) is inscribed in characters of early Gupta period. The record runs as follows :

"*A (Cha) ryyanam Sa(mm) itiyanam parigrahe Vatsiputrikanam.*"

"Homage of the masters of the Sammitiya (?) sect (and) of the Vatsiputrika School."

The inscription very likely belongs to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. when the "Sammitiyas became more popular than the Sarvastivadins at Sarnath by propagating their views and recruiting a large number of monks and nuns".[28]

That Saranatha was dominated by the Sammitiyas during the 7th century A.D. is evidenced by the account of the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang. About *Po-lo-na-se* (Varanasi), he says, "There were above thirty Buddhist monasteries, with more than 3,000 brethren all adherents of the Sammitiya School."[29] Obviously the Sammitiya school was centred not only at the Deer-Park; it had its stronghold, along with Saivism, in the city of Varanasi also. As regards the Deer-Park, the traveller records, "To the north-east of the river Varuna, about 10 li or so, we come to the *Sangharama* of Lu-ye (Stag desert). Its precincts are divided into eight portions (sections) connected by a surrounding wall......There are fifteen hundred priests in this convent who study the little Vehicle according to the Sammitiya School."[30]

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SAPTA MATRKAS IN ORISSA

H. C. Das

The concept of Matrkas or Matrugana or Divine Mothers is only one of the manifestations of Sakti. It is, indeed, significant to note that the cult of Divine Mothers, with its origin in the distant past, made its appearance in Orissa in the early centuries of the Christan era, and attained unprecedented popularity in the early medieval period. The availability of Matrka figures individually or in groups in different parts of the State, showing different phases of iconographic development, indicates its wide distribution and prevalence through the centuries.

The institution of mothers is as mysterious as its origin. The Matrkas basically represent the embodied energy and prowess of the seven famous Gods, their male counterparts, such as Visnu, Kumara, Varaha, Indra, Brahma, Mahesvara and others. The number of the Mother Goddesses is generally counted as seven. We come across various lists of Mother Goddesses in different Puranas but in all the lists Kaumari, Vaisnavi, Varahi, and Aindri are almost common. The

Varaha Purana[1] enumerates eight mothers : Yogesvari, Mahesvari, Vaisnavi, Brahmi-svayambhu, Kaumari, Indraja, Yamadandahari, and Varahi. Mahalaksmi is added as the eighth mother the Brahmanda Purana.[2] The list in the Skanda Purana[3] gives nine names. According to Devi Purana[4] the mothers are nine and they are meant for the welfare of all the beings animate and inanimate and are kind like human mothers. The number of Divine Mothers appears to have been originally eight representing the counterparts of the eight forms of Siva. But later on when the number seven became popular among the Brahmins as an auspecious number, the original number was changed to seven.[5]

Various stories in regard to the origin of the Matrkas are recorded in the Puranas. According to the Markandeya Purana[6] the Matrkas were born from Brahma, Visnu, Siva, Kumar, Indra at the time of killing the demons such as Sambhu, Nisambhu and Chanda and Munda. Another story connected with the killing of the demon Andhakasura indicates that Siva while fighting against this mighty demon created Yogesvari out of the flame that issued from His mouth and similarly other Gods also created their saktis (Matrkas) to aid Him. Thus Siva could cause death to this demon with the assistance of these Matrkas. The Agni Purana[7] mentions in detail the iconographic features of the mothers. The mothers according to iconographic descriptions assume the form and cognisance of the gods from whom they are emanaged. In this connection T.A. Gopinath Rao remarks, "They are the female counterparts who are armed with the same weapons, wear the same ornaments and ride the same *vahanas* and carry the same banners as the corresponding male gods do".[8] Thus Brahmani is represented like Brahma, Mahesvari like Mahesvar, Varahi like Varaha, and Indrani like Indra.

It is interesting to note that although the Matrkas are connected with the fierce aspect of killing the demon, they are invariably shown simply standing or seated with their respective attributes. They may be two-handed or four-handed; when they are four-armed two of the hands are usually held in the *abhaya* and *varada mudra* accompanied by their respective *vahanas*. Sometimes they are associated with babies to emphasise the mother aspect of the goddesses.

It is interesting to note that sculptural representation of seven female figures is to be seen on the Navamuni cave of the Khandagiri Hill

near Bhubaneswar. This corresponds to the Sapta Matrka conception of Hindu pantheon and indicates the adoption of this cult in the Jaina pantheon. These female figures of the Sasanadevis are variously depicted, ten-armed, four-armed and two armed, the first five of which remind us of Brahmani, Vaisnavi, Indrani, Mahesvari and Kaumari, as is suggested by their emblems, while the sixth and the seventh stand probably for Padmavati and Ambika, the Jain counterparts of Manasa and Durga. All of them, except the first, sit in *lalitasana*, while the fourth, fifth and seventh carry a small child in their arms.[9]

The early group of the Sapta Matrkas is seen on the northern wall of the Parsuramesvar temple in association with Ganesh and Virabhadra. The figures are Chamunda, Varahi, Indrani, Vaisanavi, Kaumari, Mahesvari, Brahmani and Ganesh and Virabhadra.[10] Except Virabhadra, all the figures are four-armed. Chamunda in terrific form holds a lily bud and *vijapuraka* in the upper and lower right hands while the left hands hold a trident and a vase. Owl is associated as her *vahana*. The association of an owl, which is considered inauspicious, emphasises the malevolent character of the deity. The noteworthy features of this image are drooping breasts, shrunken belly, etc. Varahi is seen holding a lotus and a fish on the right hands and a *kuthara* and a vase in the left with a sitting human figure on the pedestal. Indrani is associated with a *vajra* in the left hand and a vase in the right. Her *vahana* elephant is seen on the pedestal. Vaisnavi holds *sankha*, *chakra* and a vase in her hands. Her *vahana* is missing. Kaumari has a *vijapuraka* in her right hand and a long spear in the left. Mahesvari holds in her right hands *akshyamala* and *Vijapuraka* and in the left a *gada* and a trident. Brahmani has an *akshyamala* and a *vijapuraka* in the right hands and a *ketaki* flower and a vase in the left. A duck and a tripoid are seen on the pedestal. The last figure in the series of matrkas is two-armed, holding a lotus bud in the right hand and a long trident in the left. The pedestal contains a bull and a vase with a loop handle. The figure can be identified with Virabhadra who is usually represented in association with the Matrkas.

The Saptamatrka figures in the temple of Vaital (8th century A.D.) at Bhubaneswar come next in order of chronology. Here the presiding deity, Chamunda, is depicted with sunken eyes, without flesh and reduced to skeleton, shrunken belly, having hairs shooting upwards,

wearing the skin of an elephant and holding a *pattisa* and a decapitated head in her hands, and a spear and sword in her right hands, seated on a corpse and adorned with a garland of skulls. We notice here for the first time that Chamunda is enshrined as the presiding deity. She is locally known as Kapali or Vetali which is derived from the word *Vetala* or spirit with the help of which the Tantriks and Kapalikas attained *siddhis.* We come across in the Tantrik texts that the Kapalikas used to sacrifice human beings to the goddess Chamunda or Kali. Lower portion of a stone pillar in front of the temple known as *Yupa* (sacrificial post) indicates that human and animal sacrifices were in practice in this Sakta-Tantrika temple. The matrkas are found in Yogasana pose on full-blown lotus with their different attributes.

The ceiling of the Jagamohan of Mukteswar temple at Bhubaneswar contains elegant figures of Saptamatrkas each occupying a petal of the eight-petalled lotus at the centre conceived in the shape of a canopy. The main difference of this group from earlier ones is that the Matrkas, except Chamunda, hold babies in their arms and Viresvara holds a sword in his right hand.

The Saptamatrka figures of Belkhandi, in the district of Kalahandi, now preserved in the Belkhandi Museum, represent the next stage of evolution. The images discovered in course of excavation conducted by Sri K. N. Mohapatra, are identified as Kaumari, Maheswari, Brahmani, Vaisnavi and Chamunda and the figure of Vireswar.[11] Sri Mohapatra ascribes these images alongwith the Chandi Temple to the illustrious Somavansi kings, who are also credited with the construction of Saptamatrka temples at Puri and Jajpur. The discovery of these set of matrkas is indicative of the prevalence of Sakti cult in that region.

Jajpur, popularly known as Viraja Kshetra. offers two sets of Saptamatrka images. The first group consists of three gigantic figures of Varahi (8'.10"), Chamunda (8'.10") and Indrani (8'.8") now seen in the compound of the Sub-Divisional Office of Jajpur. The tradition current at Jaipur indicates that these three figures originally stood on a platform with five other mothers—Brahmani, Mahesvari, Vaisnavi, Kaumari and Narasimhi—of the same stature.[12]

The other set of Matrkas is enshrined in a modern temple on Dasaswamedha ghata of Jajpur. On an average, the images are six feet

in height. The image of Ganesh, now worshipped as the presiding deity in a temple to the north of the shrine, resembles the Mother goddesses in style and the type of stone used. Thus it is obvious that Ganesh originally must have been associated with the Matrka group. On grounds of style and iconographic features these images may be ascribable to early medieval period.

Mother goddesses of the same variety are to be seen on the edge of the Markandya Tank at Puri. In workmanship they resemble Jajpur Matrkas. All the figures are four-handed and, except chamunda and Virabhadra, all are associated with babies. The upper two hands of these figures with usual attributes represent the malevolent character of the Sakti, while the lower right hands in *varada* pose and the lower left hand, engaged in holding the babies, indicate the benevolent aspect. The celestial smile in the facial expression of the images depicts motherly affection. The Madala Panji[13] (the palm leaf chronicle of the Jagannath temple) states that a king named Bhima Kesari, who has been identified with the Bhima Ratha of the Soma dynasty, installed these images as seven sisters. A set of Sapta Matrkas, recovered from the village Salanpur in Jagatsinghpur P. S. of Cuttack district, with babies on laps correspond stylistically to the Matrkas of Jajpur and Puri.[14]

Four Matrka figures, namely, Vaisnavi, Varahi, Indrani and Chamunda, in chlorite stone (7½′ x 2½′), now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, resemble in style and workmanship the Matrkas of Puri and Jajpur. All the figures are in *lalitasana* pose, with babies in their arms, except Chamunda. The image of Chamunda, a fine piece of Orissan plastic art, is shown with shrunken eyes, body reduced to a skeleton exhibiting the sinews and nerves in detail and having hairs shown upwards like flames tied with a snake, holding a skull cup at her breast and decapitated head in her hand seated on a corpse flanked by jackals.

Archaeological excavations at Khiching brought to light a set of five Matrka figures along with a number of beautiful images of Brahmanical and Buddhist pantheons which now find place in the Khiching Museum. The Matrkas are Mahesvari, Vaisnavi, Brahmani, and Chamunda. These images exhibit speciality in workmanship. Modelling and facial expressions are elegant.[15]

We have a set of Matrka images with Ganesh and Viresvara in the temple of Khajuresvar near Shergarh in the district of Balasore. Since the temple of Khajuresvara is assigned to the 12th/13th century A. D. these figures also belong to the same period.

Orissa has the distinction of having two hypaethral circular 64-yogini temples—one at Hirapur near Bhubaneswar and the other at Ranipur Jharial in the district of Bolangir. Sanskrit literature mentions *Yoginis* as the various manifestations of Durga engaged in fighting against the demons Sambhu and Nisambhu. The principal seven or eight *Yoginis* are regarded as Mother-Goddesses.[16] But their number was raised to sixty-four when they danced in a circle after the death of Raktabija. The number of *Yogini* images at both the centres was 64. Out of the total 64 Yoginis, 63 are existing at present at Hirapur and only 48 at Ranipur Jharial. All the images at Hirapur and most of them at Ranipur Jharial are in standing postures, and some of them are identified as Yamuna, Ganga Indrani, Agneyi, Brahmani, Gouri, Varahi, Vaisnavi, Kaumari, Kauveri, Mahamaya, Chamunda. The mounts of the images found on the pedestals are alligator, ass, bull, boar, buffalo, crow, cock, duck, deer, elephant, drum, fish, frog, full-blown lotus, Garuda, horse, lion, serpent, lotus creeper, scorpion, peacock, wheels etc. The ten-armed Mahamaya is worshipped at present as the presiding deity at Hirapur and Chamunda at Ranipur Jharial. Thus out of twelve identified images six (Varahi, Vaishnavi, Kaumari, Brahmani and Indrani) represent the famous mother-goddesses.

As regards the date of the circular temple at Ranipur Jharial, Cunningham writes, "Of its antiquity there can be no doubt as in style of work and execution, it approaches closest to the great inscribed temple, which I have already assigned to the eighth century of our era; I cannot assign it to a later date than the ninth century".[17] Sri K. N. Mohapatra[18] assigns the temple of 64-Yoginis at Hirapur to eighth or early ninth century of the Christian era, when Brahmanical Tantric religion became predominant in Orissa.

So far I have discussed the Mother-Goddesses in group. Now I deem it necessary to deal with the individual Matrkas which are worshipped in different part of Orissa. Chamunda in her terrific form is worshipped as Kichakesvari at Khiching, Charchika at Banki, Mohini

at Bhubaneswar, Jagulai at Chaurasi, Chandaghanta at Niali and as side deities in different places of Orissa.

Varahi, one of the Matrkas, flourished in its individuality. The pot-bellied, colossal image of Varahi (6'.1" x 2'.9") enshrined in the temple of Chaurasi in Prachi valley, holds in her right hand a *matsya* and in her left hand a *kapala* and is seated on a crouching buffalo. In the ex-State of Kanika there are some medieval Varahi shrines, and as many as five types of images of the Tantric goddesses are worshipped there. The Varahi Tantra states them as Svapnachanda, Maha, Krichchhra, and Matsya Varahi. The last variety corresponds to the image of Varahi at Chaurasi.[19]

We have also a reference to a separate Varahi temple at Bhubaneswar which was perhaps demolished at the time of construction of New Capital.[20] A life size image of Indrani is found in the southern facade of the Jagannath temple, Puri. The image holds *vajra* in her two hands and is seated on a pedestal with her *vahana*, elephant.

The cult of Mother-Goddesses discussed above indicates its long and popular career and wide distribution in Orissa, beginning from the early centuries to the medieval period. The *Kalika Purana*[21] speaks in unmistakable terms that Brahmanical Tantric religion first developed in Odra or Orissa, a statement that is amply corroborated by the existence of a large number of Sakta Tantric temples and *pithas* in Orissa.

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FEUDAL RIGHTS OVER COURTEZANS IN THE RAJPUT PERIOD

Jai Narayan Asopa

The Sadari and Nadol inscriptions, found in Desuri Tehsil of Pali district of Rajasthan, of Maharaja Jojaladeva Chauhan of 1147 V.S. and Bhinmal inscriptions of various dates of the same period refer to *pramadakula*. This term has been interpreted variously. D. R. Bhandarkar[1] while commenting upon the first two inscriptions and referring to the latter has taken it to mean courtezans. Recently Beni Gupta in her paper[2] on the first two inscriptions has interpreted it as *devadasis* (temple damsels).

D.R. Bhandarkar's comments on the first two inscriptions are as follows. "The contents of both the inscriptions are almost identical. They are dated on Wednesday, the second of the bright half of Vaisakha in the (Vikrama) year 1147 and refer themselves to the reign of Jojaladeva, who, in No I, is styled *Maharaja*, and, in No.II, *Maharajadhiraja*. They lay down the order of the king with regard to the management of festivals (यात्रा) in connection with all the gods, such as Lakshmanasvamin and others. The order is that when the festival of any particular god commences, the courtezans attached to the temples of the other gods must also put on their ornaments and best garments and attend with their *Sulapalas* to celebrate it by instrumental music, dancing, singing

and so forth. Jojaladeva goes even to the extent of conjuring his descendants and other princes to keep the festivals of all the gods going in this manner and warns them by adding that he, who, at the time of a festival attempts to abolish this practice be he an ascetic, an old person, or a learned man, should be prevented from doing so by the reigning ruler. And the king who will not manage the festivals (यात्रा) in this manner would become a donkey in the next (birth)".

Beni Gupta commenting upon the same says: "In these inscriptions the reference is clearly to *Devadasis* attached to various temples of the same towns or of the neighbourhood".

Now the question arises whether the courtezans were attached to the temples or they had *devadasis* attached to them or they were courtezans of the court. The whole interpretation is based upon the three wordsa *satka*, *pramadakula* and *sulapala*. For *satka* Bhandarkar says that words though foreign to classical Sanskrit literature, it is found in later inscriptions and in Jain literature and means belonging to. By *pramadakula* he understands courtezans and says that they belonged to different gods. For *sulapala* Monier Williams' dictionary gives the meaning "the keeper of a brother or frequenter of brothels", but Bhandarkar says that the sense intended here seems to be that of "associates of courtezans, who accompany them on musical instruments while singing or dancing".

Among many meanings of sula Sukhananda in his *Sabdarthachintamani* has given one as saleable (विक्रेतव्ये) and also its use as under:—

अट्टशूला जनपदा: शिव शूनाश्चतुष्पथा: ।
प्रमदा: केशशूलिन्यो भविष्यन्ति कलौयुगे ॥[3]

The English rendering would be that in the *Kaliyuga* there would be states selling the food,[4] the brahmanas selling the final beatitude,[5] and women getting their hair seized in amorous sports[6] for a price. Thus it is clear that when women (*pramadakula*) putting on ornaments (*akalpasamyukta*) and best garments (*suvastraih*) were asked to participate in the festivals of gods with their keepers (*sulapalas*) who were well versed in fine arts (*vidyavadbhih*), they could be none else but courtezans and not *devadasis* who had no keepers to put them on price (*sula*).

Now the question arises whether they belonged to the temples or the temples kept them. When keeper of the brothel (*sulapala*) is clearly

mentioned he is the keeper and not the temple. But before courtezans there is an adjective *satka* (interpreted as belonging to). Bhandarkar says that it is a word foreign to classical Sanskrit literature. True but it is corrupt form of *sakta* meaning attached to or *avalagna* in Sanskrit. The king asserted certain rights over the courtezans who lived in his territory and were thus attached to the king. This right was asserted by some Rajput states of Rajasthan as late as the twentieth century, and hence the above order.

Thus we come to the conclusion that in Rajasthan of the Rajput period the temples neither kept courtezans as understood by Bhandarkar nor *devadasis* as interpreted by Beni Gupta.

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SECTION II

MEDIEVAL INDIA

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

J. S. Grewal

Fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen :

No honour is ever too late. An academic honour may come too early, as in my case. I feel deeply grateful to the members of the Executive Committee for their invitation to deliver this address and to preside over the medieval section of the 38th session of the Indian History Congress. With a long list of illustrious predecessors, I thought of turning to them first for enlightenment, and I found that they tell a story of great significance for the study of medieval India. I propose to bring to your notice the main features of that story.

Many of the scholars to speak from this forum have emphasised the need of an objective and impartial approach. Dispassionate views, it is said, are the best views. Our Panipat, we are told, should be equally acceptable to the Maratha, the Afghan, the Mughal and the Rajput. This concern for objectivity is no ordinary concern; it springs from the fear that standards of objectivity are being undermined by religious, racial or regional sympathies. Indeed, if one sectional president attributes partisan approach to an 'ever rising tide of communal strife', another attributes communal bitterness to the historians' insistence on division and destruction in the past. No wonder we are advised by our scholars 'to shun the coloured glasses of communalism'.

The communal outlook witnessed by our scholars in our politics and in our approach to the past is traced not only to the separatist policies and measures of the British rulers of India but also to British historical writing on India. H.M. Elliot and John Dowson, for instance, are held responsible by one sectional president for the dissemination of 'false and distorted history' besides innumerable inexactitudes. Another scholar traces the 'grave social problem' of communal consciousness, and approach, to Elliot's tendentious depiction of Muslim conquest as something outside the main current of Indian history and his depiction of Muslim administration as essentially oppressive.

Elliot was not the first British historian to talk of Muhammadan India. James Mill and Mountstuart Elphinstone had divided the pre-British Indian history into Hindu and Muhammadan periods. Elliot chose to concentrate on the Muhammadan period. But the manner in which he chose to do so imposed much narrower limits on the study of the period in terms both of scope and evidence. Whereas Mill and Elphinstone had disussed the period in terms of Hindu and Muslim civilizations, Elliot managed to confine himself to past politics, choosing to depend entirely on Persian chronicles. Two implications follow from this choice : the scope is confined to Muslim politics and the history of the period as a whole becomes equated with Muslim history.

Equally important was Elliot's interpretation of the period. For Elphinstone the central theme around which the history of the period appeared to revolve was Hindu-Muslim *rapprochement*, coming to a climax in the age of Akbar whom, consequently, he regarded as the national ruler of India. Elliot, by contrast, treated all the Muslim rulers as foreigners, equating all the Hindus with the subject people. In this assumption he was apparently supported by his earlier predecessors. Edward Gibbon, in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, had emphasised the cultural unity of the Islamic peoples and William Jones had evoked a fascinating picture of Hindu civilization in ancient times. Islam in India had come to appear as a foreign civilization in the land of Hinduism. James Mill had strengthened this legacy in his formal comparison of Hindu and Muslim civilizations. Elliot merely took over the assumption of Hindu and Muslim civilizations as undifferentiated wholes. But, as a spokesman of the British imperialists who regarded the Muslim rulers as their predecessors in India, he denounced them as the foreign oppressors of a native Hindu population.

In retrospect, we can isolate three inter-related strands in Elliot's treatment of the period to be labeled later as medieval : Muslim rule is equated with the history of Muslims in India ; the history of the period as a whole is equated with Muslim history ; and Hindu and Muslim civilizations are assumed to be undifferentiated wholes. The first two equations were a contribution of Elliot and Dowson. The third assumption is a legacy of the entire range of British historical writing on India. This legacy has been the most difficult to discard.

The first equation, of Muslim with Muslim rule, has been discarded by several of our sectional presidents. We are invited by one to study the achievement of Muslim rulers in the 'arts of peace', concentrating on the effects of each reign on the progress of 'arts and letters'. To counter the 'baneful and pernicious' effect of Elliot and Dowson, another scholar emphasises the need of studying Persian literature and Muslim architecture, and the need of underlining 'the contributions of Muslims towards the material well-being and cultural advancement in India'. To mitigate the impression of 'darkness and brutality', we are invited by yet another scholar to consider the achievement of the Sultans in institutional and cultural spheres, the participation of Hindus in Muslim armies and administrations, the patronage extended to the Hindus in the spheres of art and sciences, and the religious and social role of the Muslim mystics. Obviously, the equation of Muslim with Muslim rule stands discarded here and the scope is extended to institutional, social and cultural history. But the history of the period as a whole is still equated with Muslim history; and ironically, the assumption of Muslim civilization as an undifferentiated whole is reinforced.

The second equation, that is of India with Muslim India, is discarded by many of our sectional presidents. Dissatisfied with too much pre-occupation with empires, or the Muslim kingdoms, they have advocated the study of other states, like Vijayanagar and the states established by the Marathas, the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Jats. No longer confined thus to Muslim politics, medieval politics become the sum total of Muslim and non-Muslim politics, existing side by side. We are invited to study also the Hindu society of the period. Thus, the scope of medieval studies is extended to the politics and society of the non-Muslims; the period is no longer equated with 'Muslim'. However, much of the advocacy of institutional, social and cultural history is closely allied to a vindication of Islam or Hinduism. Rejection of Elliot's equations does not necessarily lead to non-communal approach to the period. The malady lies deeper, in the assumption of undifferentiated communal wholes.

Logically, the notion of the static character of communal wholes is discarded first through a genuine urge to transcend the narrow limits of past politics and political conflict. According to one scholar, there can be no proper appreciation of political history without the background of

socio-economic life. The scope of history, according to another scholar, cannot be confined to the deeds of the rulers and political institutions; it must embrace the entire society. If one scholar invites us to work more scientifically in the fields of religion, literature, architecture, painting and music, another invites us to shift the emphasis from princes to the people. Islam is seen as responding to the challenge of a new environment and Hinduism as responding to the challenge of Islam. Mutual influences too become important themes for investigation. The notion of static societies is thrown overboard in the process.

As logically the next step, interaction between Muslim and Hindu civilizations is seen by some of our scholars as leading to the evolution of some common features first and then, to a common composite culture. The Turkish period is important to one scholar not merely because of the establishment of an empire but also because of 'the contact of two great cultures'. The co-existence and influence of Islam and Hinduism, according to another scholar, led to a cultural *rapprochement* in the fields of art and architecture, religion and literature. Thus, we come upon the idea, as one sectional president puts it, of two societies running parallel, but in some respects mingling and blending to form a harmonious whole. One scholar gives an elaborate exposition of a composite Indian culture through a mutual exchange of ideas and a general movement towards assimilation in the fields of science, philosophy, art, literature and religion. For yet another scholar, assimilation in some of these spheres led to a coalescence of two cultures due to strong ties of blood and culture, habits and manners, pursuits and interests, and the eternal oneness of geograply and history.

When all is said and done, however, the idea of a composite culture assumes but does not transcend the existence of two disparate wholes. It does not carry conviction with many of our historians. A scholar may subscribe to the idea and yet underline 'the painful fact that centuries of history and the association of the people of the two faiths could not weld India into one nation'. Indeed, not so much by our presidents as by other historians, the idea of mutual attraction is countered by the principle of repulsion with equal zeal and plausibility. The inadequacy of the composite culture has been emphasised by a scholar who appreciates the noble motive for its postulation by the

Allahabad nationalist school of historians : it fails to provide an 'all-sided view of our life or a correct understanding of our social dynamics'.

In any case, the strength of the assumption about undifferentiated in the past lies in communal identification in the present, which tends to impart the character of almost an objective reality to a creation of our own minds. One scholar denounces British historians for using communal categories and betraying a pro-British bias and lack of proper appreciation for Akbar as our national ruler. Here apparently is a historian who appreciates Hindu-Muslim unity and the idea of *rapprochment* leading to a common nationality. But this does not deter him from justifying Hindu nationalism. It is not unnatural for a people, in his opinion, to admire the great achievement of their ancient ancestors and 'to derive inspiration and strength from it'. After this revelation, his plea for medieval Indian history sounds hollow, in fact a necessary evil. We must not forget, he adds, that the history of medieval India 'is also our own history' ; it is the history of 'our adversity'. The period is important but only because all our 'socio-economic and communal problems' are rooted in this period. It is possible, thus, for communal thinking to survive even after the assumption of undifferentiated wholes has been qualified, or discarded.

Fortunately, we have not come to the end of our story. In several scholars who have spoken from this forum, transcendance of communal identification and the assumption of undifferentiated wholes is clearly discernible. 'There were many things which the Hindus, and similarly the Muslims, had in common with their co-religionists in the country', says one scholar rather candidly; he goes on to add, however, that 'common bonds between the members of the two communities belonging to the same region, or the same class, seem to be equally, if not more, powerful'. Indeed, the 'differences in thought and outlook between the Hindus and Muslims belonging to a particular class or region do not seem to be so marked as between the same community belonging to different regions or social background'. Here is a rationale for comprehending past reality on the basis of regional and class identitites, irrespective of religious or racial affiliations. We are invited to move in the direction of structural analyses and regional studies.

To turn to structural analyses first, one scholar, who rejects both communal approach and the idea of a common composite culture, advocates the adoption of an integrated and comprehensive view of medieval Indian society. He suggests that we should evaluate the role of states in terms of socio-economic formations and socio-economic change; we should understand popular movements and mass resistance in relation to the aggrandisement of the ruling classes. Another scholar invites us to concentrate on three major themes: agrarian relations, the ruling classes and urban economy. Discussing the significance of the introduction of the *charkha*, the Persian wheel paper, the magnetic compass, the iron strirrup and the horse shoe, he, wants us to consider the increase in craft and agricultural production and the intensification of commercial activity due to these technological changes. He suggests, further, that changes in class relations were bound to flow from these developments, leading to greater cash nexus, a highly unified bureaucracy, concentration of power in the hands of a relatively small army of picked horsemen, and a new organization of the ruling class on the basis of revenue assignments. By analysing socio-economic formations, says another scholar, we can better understand the nature and purpose of the state as well as its relationship to the society. For elucidating the nature of the state as well as agrarian relations, according to yet another scholar, we may turn to the ruling classes, their rights over the peasantry, the *jagirdari* system, the internal working of the administrative machinery; the nature and techniques and the extent of agricultural production, the effect of cash crops on village economy, and land tenures. Technology, industry and the pattern of trade may be studied with an eye to the possibility of a unified market in a centralized empire. Finally, cultural trends should be studied in the comprehensive context of socio-economic change and new social formations. We have at last an integrated view of politics, society, economy and technology, irrespective of the religious affiliation of the peoples concerned. We may disagree with the findings but there is no escape from the fact that an attempt is being made here to comprehend past reality in its multi-faceted forms and inter-relationships with the help of meaningful concepts used as tools of historical analysis. The assumption of undifferentiated wholes and the problem of communal identification are made totally irrelevant for the contours of past social reality.

However, structural analysis may concentrate on 'being' rather than 'becoming' and, consequently, miss change and movement, and fail to capture the historical significance of emotions and values. We are well advised by a scholar that we should try to understand the nature and structure of the medieval Indian society as a whole, with its movements and crises, its thoughts and emotions, giving due weight to political, economic, social, technological, geographical, ethanic, cultural and religious factors. In any case, the existence of communal, sectarian and caste indentifications in the past, by itself, does not oblige us to adopt them in the present.

If regional entities were a part of the past reality it is better to recognize them for what they were. When regional history is equated with Rajput, Jat, Maratha or Sikh history, the frame of reference remains racial or religious or communal. The study of regional kingdoms too has often been recommended with a similar frame of reference. Nevertheless. some scholars have recommended the regional approach for studies in depth. The medieval age, according to one scholar, was an age of disquiet and turmoil, leading to social upheavel through a chain of reactions, resulting in the emergence of new agrarian groups, new castes and social groupings, emotionally charged spiritual movements, and the emergence of regional languages and cultures. The study of the period on a regional basis calls for inter-disciplinary work dictating concentration on small areas for a detailed study of social and economic developments. What matters here is the comprehension of past reality, exhaustive and total, even though of a small segment, irrespective of religious, communal, racial or sectarian considerations.

New interests call for new evidence. Advocacy of new forms of evidence has gone hand in hand with expansion in the scope of medieval Indian history. The large number of languages in which source materials are found has been underlined by our sectional presidents: the classical languages, that is Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit; the European languages, that is Portuguese, Dutch and French, besides English; regional languages like Marathi, Bengali, Punjabi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu and others, besides Hindi. Search for private records and the records of religious establishments has been adequately stressed in addition to the source materials lying in a large number of archives and repositories in India and abroad. It appears in fact that all the 'tracks' left to us by our medieval past have been enumera-

ted. But there is always the possibility of discovering new forms of evidence with changes in conceptual tools and techniques of interpretation as well as the change in scope.

Even today the list is formidable enough : historical, biographical, poetical and prose literature in Persian and several regional languages; travel literature in Asian and European languages; legal treatises and works on polity in classical languages; administrative manuals, documents of various categories and legal documents in Persian; administrative records in regional languages; coins of the various dynasties; architectural remains and other antiquities like arms, amulets, seals, signets etc.; folklore and oral tradition; and archaeology proper. There is a growing awareness among many of our scholars that the intentional evidence of chronicles, memoires and biographies has to be analysed with due regard to the purposes, the methods and the conceptual framework of the authors. Also, there is an increasing realization that unintentional evidence is different from intentional evidence almost in kind and demands much larger use in practice. Obviously, the medieval historian has moved far away from Elliot's constricted conception of evidence and the outmoded method of 'scissor-and-paste'.

Turning to periodization, the term medieval was superimposed on the term Muhammadan in the late 19th century. Now that the original equation of 'medieval' with 'Muslim' stands completely discarded, we are faced with the problem of finding fresh criteria for a periodization of Indian history. Most of our sectional presidents have accepted the chronological limits suggested by the Congress from time to time. For the most part, we have come to think of the period from 1206 to 1764 as medieval dissatisfaction with both the dates has been expressed occasionally without any well-formulated criteria. But new criteria are implicit in rethinking. For instance, the period is sought to be characterized by 'feudalism'. This too is a legacy of British historical writing on India. But in its European formulation it stands discarded, and the problem of defining 'Indiau feudalism' still remains with us. Nevertheless, what is significant here for our purpose is that in re-defining feudalism we are trying to characterise medieval India in a new way, with socio-economic formations as our most important, if not the only, criterion. I take it as a sign of maturity in our historical thinking. A period in history is merely a hypothesis involving an interpretation of

the past. Better knowledge and better interpretation of Indian history may eventually enable us to replace the present tripartite division of Indian history by altogether a different periodization.

Interpretations of the past are invidiously tied up with problems of the present. Since history is a rational form of knowledge, a secular outlook on the past is the fundamental condition of its progress. If history is an autonomous form of rational knowledge concerned more with 'becoming' than 'being', trying to comprehend past reality as a 'natural' phenomenon, with the use of concepts ensuring 'methodological atheism', and on the basis of evidence interpreted by appropriate techniques, the historiography of medieval India is surely on the way to progress. But progress cannot be taken for granted. Emancipation of medieval studies from communal and sectarian considerations depends on the extent to which our society liberates itself from the intellectual and emotional constraints of the past. Indeed, an eye to the future may enable us not only to be dispassionate in our study of the past but also to understand it better. In a very real sense, the future of medieval studies depends on the future of our country.

(i) Political and Administrative

DID KRSNADEVARAYA MEET WITH DISCOMFITURE IN HIS EASTERN CAMPAIGN AGAINST PRATAPARUDRA GAJAPATI ?

C. V. Ramachandra Rao

All sources in Telugu and other languages relating to Vijayanagar attribute unhindered success to Krsnadevaraya in his eastern campaign against Prataparudra Gajapati. Allasani Peddana, the grand old man of Telugu literature during Krsnadevaraya's time, dedicated his *magnum opus*, the *Manucaritranto Krsnadevaraya.* Mukku Timmana, another eminent Telugu poet of the times, also dedicated his *chef d'ouvre*, the *Parijatapaharanamu* to the Raya. Both these poets, in these poetical works repeatedly refer to the conflict between Krsnadevaraya and Gajapati. and to the unhampered success of the former.[1] Krsnadevaraya, himself an accomplished Telugu poet, in his much admired Telugu work, *Amuktamalyada* refers to his victories over Gajapati.[2] Similarly, Bandaru Laksminarayana, the court-musician of Krsnadevaraya, whose father Vithalamatya was patronised by Prataparudra Gajapati, refers in his Sanskrit treatise on music. *Sangita Suryadaya*, to the success of the Raya against Gajapati.[3] But all these works originate from Vijayanagar and represent the victor's version, and perforce have to be laudatory; as such, propriety prohibits them from referring to any event or situation that might denigrate and diminish the glory of the Raya. Foreign writers on Vijayanagar, like Paes and Nuniz, also do not mention any reverse or rebuff that the Raya might have met with in his conflict with the Gajapati; we cannot expect these writers to hear of a stray reverse that the Raya might have met with.

But from the Orissan side, there is at least one reference which implies a reverse for Krsnadevaraya or his forces during his eastern campaign against Gajapati. Vasudeva-Sarvabhauma was one of the eminent scholars who adorned the illustrious court of Prataparudra Gajapati. He was the founder of the *Navya-Nyaya* school of philosophy

and the author of several eminent treatises on religion and philosophy. Lolla Laksmidhara was another versatile scholar who adorned the court of Prataparudra Gajapati and wrote several works to which the colophon of his commentary on Sankara's *Saundaryalahari* bears testimony.[4] For the delectation of Srikurma Vidyadhara, a philosophically inclined minister and general of Prataparudra Gajapati Vasudeva Sarvabhauma wrote a commentary on Lolla Laksmidhara's *Advaita-makaranda*.[5] Dineshchandra Bhattacharya, in his article "Vasudeva Sarvabhauma",[6] quotes a verse from Sarvabhauma's commentary on *Advaita-makaranda*, a line of which implies the discomfiture of Krsnadevaraya at the hands of Srikurma Vidyadhara. The verse, which says that Srikurma Vidyadhara extinguished the fire of Krsnaraya's pride, is as follows :

Karnatesvara Krsnarayanrpater-garvagni nirvapake
Yatranyastabharo'bhavad Gajapatih Sri Rudrabhumipatih
Tasya Brahmavicaracarumanasah Srikurma Vidyadharah
Syanando Makarandasuddhividhina sandro maya mandatah. (sic)

The testimony of an eminent philosopher like Vasudeva Sarvabhauma cannot be lightly brushed aside as something written to flatter his patron. The tenor of the first line of the verse clearly implies the defeat of Krsnadevaraya or his army, in battle, by Srikurma Vidyadhara. I have not been able to locate Srikurma Vidyadhara among the names of several officers who find mention in the Gajapati inscriptions. We also do not know the time or place or the circumstances or the exact nature of the implied victory of Srikurma Vidyadhara over the Raya. We can only speculate about the precarious and straitened circumstances in which Krsnadevaraya might have found himself, and which might have enabled Srikurma Vidyadhara to gain an advantage over the Raya or his forces on the battlefield.

Among the sources that emanate from the Vijayanagar side, only the *Rayavacakamu* in Telugu prose, and its poetical version *Krsnarya-vijayamu*, refer to such precarious and straitened circumstances in which the Raya found himself. The *Rayavacakamu* purports to be a report submitted to Mahamandalesvara Kasi Visvanathayya or Visvanatha Nayaka, the first Nayak king of Madura, by his *Sthanapati* or agent at the court of Vijayanagara. Visvanatha Nayaka became the Nayak of Madura either during the closing years of the reign of Krsnadevaraya

or during the reign of Acyutaraya. Kumara Dhurjati, the author of *Krsnaraya-Vijayamu*, was a court-poet of *Araviti Cina Venkatadri* (1630-1642).

The *Rayavacakamu* and *Krsnaraya-vijayamu* narrate that after the conquest of the forts of Kondavidu, Kondapalli, Bellamkonda, Vinukonda and Nagarjunakonda (and the forts of Telangana), which belonged to Gajapati, and the conquest of Ahmudnagar, Krsnadevaraya was advised by his prime-minister, Saluva Timmarasu, not to press his victories further into the interior of Gajapatti's territory. Since this interior consisted of the mountain defiles between Telangana and the eastern coast, Gajapatti's forces were likely to block any reinforcements and replenishments. But the Raya, confident of his invincibility, ignored Timmarasu's advice. He led his forces through the mountain defiles where Chitap Khan (alias Sitapati), the Raja of Warangal who was ruling Telangana on behalf of Gajapatti surprised and attacked the Vijayanagar army with 60,000 archers on horse-back and drove into a corner, though the Vijayanagar cavalry by a rear-attack could ultimately prevail over Chitap Khan's forces. After this difficult victory, the Raya proceeded to Pottunuru-Simhadri, i.e. Simhacalam, and pitched camp there with his army, at a distance of about 4 *kos* from the Gajapatti camp. Gajapatti got alarmed and summoned in council the sixteen *Mahapatras* for their advice and assistance. They assured Gajapatti that the Raya's advance was an act of bravado which had placed him in a vulnerable position and that he could be repulsed by an agressive attack the following day. Kamalanabhayya, the agent of Vijayanagar at Gajapatti's court, communicated the decision of Gajapati and the sixteen *Mahapatras* to Krsnadevaraya who now realised the precarious situation into which he had driven himself. He got unnerved, and panic spread throughout the Vijyanagar camp. Krsnadevaraya hurried to the tent of Timmarasu to seek a way out. Timmarasu admonished the Raya that the ill-fame (*'apa-kirti'*) that they already got in the mountain defiles in their fight against Chitap Khan should have made him (the Raya) think twice before penetrating some 300 miles ("30 *amada*") into Gajapati's territory. Then by the wily ruse of forged letters to the sixteen *Mahapatras*, along with costly presents, Timmarasu made Gajapati believe that the *Mahapatras* had entered into a plot with Vijyanagar to handover Gajapati to the enemy. Beguiled by the ruse, Gajapati fled some 70 or 80 miles north of his residential camp.[7]

It should have been during one such precarious situation, that Srikurma Vidyadhara might have secured a victory over the Raya or his forces. Krsnadevaraya is also credited with the conquest of Gajapati's territory up to Cuttack, the capital, which he is said to have burnt. It is possible that Srikurma Vidyadhara won not an insignificant victory over Krsnadevaraya during his campaign against Cuttack, thereby inducing Vasudeva Sarvabhauma to mention that Srikurma Vidyadhara extinguished the pride of Krsnadevaraya. But the truth or otherwise of the statement of Vasudeva Sarvabhauma, cannot be ascertained untill we delve deeper into literary and epigraphical sources from Orissa.

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ZAMINDAR UPRISINGS AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE ROHILLA POWER IN *SARKAR* MURADABAD

Muzaffar Alam

The widespread zamindar revolts in the earlier decades of the eighteenth century hastened the collapse of the Mughal imperial structure. The nature and extent of the zamindars' clash with the Mughals, the form, degree and the reasons of participation or non-participation of the various sections of the zamindars in the resistance and their

impact on the Mughal system are thus some of the problems that have to be carefully examined while analysing the details of zamindar uprisings in any region in our period. The present paper, on the evidence of the *akhbarat*, attempts to discuss these questions very briefly. Our study is confined to a very limited area, namely the *sarkar* of Muradabad of the Mughal *suba* of Delhi. The later part of the paper will show how a section of the armed forces of the refractory zamindars, namely the Afghans, rose to power largely, initially by integrating themselves into the imperial system.

The *zamindaris* in *sarkar* Muradabad were largely shared by various clans of Rajputs and Jats. In a number of *mahals* the Brahmans and certain other castes, the Shaikhs, and Saiyids also held dominant positions among the zamindars.[1] Since the time of Shahjahan the Afghans also began to settle in the region and gradually acquired important *zamindari* holdings, especially in the new settlements.[2] Not all of them rose against the Mughals. But the zamindars who took to armed resistance posed a serious threat to the imperial authority in the region. It was probably to maintain and restore the imperial control over the region that the *faujdari* of *sarkar* Muradabad in this period was entrusted to such important nobles as Nizam ul-Mulk, Muhammad Amin Khan and Qamar ud-Din Khan. In view of the magnitude of the problems as well as the vastness of the area, the *faujdar* was generally expected to have the calibre and stature of a *subadar*.[3] The enhancement of *sarkar* Muradabad to full-fledged *suba*, though for a very brief period, under Farrukh Siyar may also be seen against the background of the administrative difficulties caused by the zamindar revolts.[4]

The imperial campaigns, which often remained inconclusive; could hardly force the rebels to submit. On 8 November 1709, for instance, a zamindar of *tappa* Faridnagar in *pargana* Mughalpur refused to pay the revenue and rose in arm against the Mughal *amil*. Subsequently, Muhammad Amin Khan, the *faujdar*, led an expedition against the zamindar, and the campaign was carried out successfully. In August 1714, the same zamindar was reported to have again created disturbances in the *jagir mahals* of the pargana.[5] In another instance, Madar Singh, a leading Rajput refractory zamindar of the region, invaded and devastated the villages of different *jagir mahals* in the *sarkar* several

times between 1710 and 1715.[6] It seems that the uprisings were the result of the inherent conflict between the zamindars and the Mughal officials.

The revolts were launched by the big zamindars, rich enough to raise and maintain an army to meet the military strength of, at least, the deputy *faujdar.* With the exception of the zamindar of *tappa* Faridnagar, all the other refractory zamindars in our sources are mentioned as zamindars of different *parganas* of the *sarkar.* Even the zamindar of *tappa* Faridnagar possessed no less than twelve fortresses in the area.[7] Madar Singh's *zamindari* seems to have extended over a large tract. The strength of the rebel zamindars can be estimated from the fact that in some cases the non-peasant Afghan freebooters formed the bulk of the zamindars' armies. No less than four thousand Afghans fought with the armed retinue of Madar Singh. The Afghans also constituted a substantial section of the armed forces of the Rajput zamindar of Mainpur. The Muslim zamindar of *pargana* Sahwan employed a large number of Afghans who devastated the villages around the town of Muradabad.[8]

This is to be noted that in almost all cases, the villages, the (village) zamindars along with the local Mughal officials became victims of the zamindars' raids. In October 1711, for example, an Afghan zamindar of Hasanpur collected an army of over 2,000 people in the fortress and then revaged the villages in the suburbs of Badaon.[9] In another instance, a Rajput zamindar of *pargana* Rajpur is reported to have invaded the villages around Bareilly and Muradabad.[10] The zamindars of a village (Loni ?) in *pargana* Alora (Aonla ?) suffered heavily at the hands of the Afghan desperadoes under Madar Singh.[11]

How the village level zamindars reacted to the big zamindars' resistance against the imperial power is not known to us. A vague idea of the participation of the lower categories of the zamindars in the revolts can be had from some references in our sources to the *mufsids* (lit. mischief mongers) of the *pargana* or *tappa* as having fought with the rebels.[12] The term *mufsids* in the *akhbarat* in the context of the villages generally denoted the contumacious elements among zamindars and the peasants. But this is significant to note that some zamindars extended their support to the Mughals in the latter's bid to chastise the

rebels.[13] The implications of the conflict of interests between different categories of zamindars, however, should not be stretched too far. It would be unhistorical to say that the imperial system under the protective arms of the Mughals was to the greater benefit of the smaller zamindars. It would, however, appear that at least a section of the rural population was very rich and the gains from the raids into the villages were sometimes spectacular for the rebels. In 1714, Madar Singh paid over Rs. 52,000 to his Afghan soldiers out of the cash and valuables he had plundered from the villages in *pargana* Aohla.[14] One Mohan Singh, the zamindar of *pargana* Muazzam Nagar, could carry off three thousand animals and cattle-stock from eight or twenty (بیس) villages of Bareilly.[15] In 1715, the zamindar of *pargana* Rajpur plundered the *banjaras* of their valuables and merchandise worth about Rs. 400,000.[16]

In the wake of general disorder and instability that accompanied the slackening of imperial control over the local administration, some of the big zamindars seem to have made a bid to establish their hegemony over other zamindars in the region. This led them to raise and maintain large armed forces, sometimes larger than their existing resources could afford. In such cases payment to the soldiers had to be made from the booty. This is probably one reason why in some instances even the *pargana* level zamindars fought with the Mughals in latter's encounters against contumacious zamindars. When the rebels could not collect money and valuables from the *chaudharis* and *qanungos*, they would capture some of the zamindars along with the animals and ran off.[17]

The zamindars, thus, did not form a homogeneous social class. There were differences among various groups of the zamindars, to the extent that some of them often went over to the Mughal side as against the others.

One may ascribe this conflict to caste and clan differences, an ascription that might appear to be supported by instances of clash between zamindars of two different castes or clans.[18] While there may be some element of truth in such a generalization, a number of cases from our region militate against it. Madar Singh, a Rajput, fought against Debi Chand, the Rajput chief of Kumaon. Similarly the Rajput zamindar

of Rajpur made encroachments into the territory of the Kumaon chief. There was no love lost between Kalyan Chand, the Rajput zamindar of Kashipur, and Khemkaran, a notorious Rajput rebel of the region.[19]

The rise of Afghan power in this region can perhaps be better appreciated if examined against the background of these details The Afghans had settled very likely as part of the Mughal policy of corroding the caste-bastions of the recalcitrant zamindars in and around the *sarkar* of Muradabad. Their hordes were still migrating to, and settling in this region.[20] Independently as zamindars or as mercenaries of the rebel Rajput zamindars, they were growing into a serious menace to the Mughal power. Since the merchants, who had hitherto been the most acceptable *mustajirs*, did not possess sufficient military strength to meet the zamindars' growing challenge, the leaders of the Afghan adventurers began to replace them as revenue-farmers.[21] For, the Afghans, though not initially as rich as the merchants, had sufficient strength to overpower the insubordinate zamindars and thus ensure the realization of revenue.[22] Their incorporation, as revenue-farmers, in the existing system also served as an effective check on their ambitions which kept them at least for the moment within the confines of the imperial jurisdiction. Ali Muhammad Khan Rohilla was one of those Afghan leaders who rose to prominence in our period through the practice of *ijara*.[23]

Ali Muhammad Khan, who had inherited the private possessions, the *zamindari* and the *ijara* holdings of Daud Khan, came in contact with Azamtullah Khan, the deputy *faujdar* of Muradabad around 1730. He is reported to have served the deputy *faujdar* in a number of military campaigns against recalcitrant zamindars and thus enhanced his prestige and power. Soon he became the principal *ijaradar* of the region and built up a fairly big *zamindari* in Aonla, largely by conquering and dislodging the old zamindars.[24] Almost all the *jagirdars* in and around Muradabad farmed out their *jagirs* to him. Ali Muhammad Khan's ambition to become the sole *ijaradar* in the region is illustrated by his conflict with the other revenue farmers. He fell out, for example, with the *ijaradar* of some *parganas* in Bareilly and killed him in an encounter in which Ali Muhammad seems to have been supported by the deputy *faujdar*. Later, Ali Muhammad captured the *pargana* in the *ijara* of the victim.[25]

Ali Muhammad Khan realized that in the prevailing circumstances he was hardly accountable to anybody for his deeds or misdeeds so long as he was powerful enough to realize the revenue. He had to satisfy the dominant sections of the nobility only; with the rest of the Mughal *mansabdars*, he thought, he could deal on his own terms. Apart from the Wazir, his close associates and some big nobles, the other *jagirdars* of the *sarkar* hardly received from him the stipulated amount regularly. They never demanded any accounts from the Rohilla leader and had to be content with whatever he sent out of the collected revenue. Indeed the small *jagirdars* only helplessly and reluctantly followed the practice of the big nobles in farming out their *jagirs* to Ali Muhammad.[26]

Ali Muhammad tried to capitalize fully on the factional politics of the Court. His association with the *Wazir*, for instance, seems to have emboldened him to violate the rule in the *jagirs* of some of the big nobles as well. Holding the *faujdari* of, and *jagir* in, *sarkar* Muradabad, the *Wazir* had a personal stake in conniving at these irregularities in certain cases. He seems to have instigated the Afghan chief to misappropriate the revenue of the *jagirs* of his rivals at the Court. The clash between Ali Muhammad Khan and the *amil* of the *jagir* of Amir Khan in *pargana* Muazzam Nagar *alias* Manona in 1737 should be seen against this perspective.[27] It was on the *Wazir's* recommendation that, in 1738, Ali Muhammad Khan received a *mansab* of 5000/5000 with the title of the Nawab, and a reduction in the stipulated amount of *ijara*,[28] apparently of *khalisa mahals*.

A factor that enhanced the position of Ali Muhammad Khan was the diversion of the route of the Bengal treasury from the *shahrah* to the road passing through the territory of Awadh, Bareilly, Muradabad, and Garh Muktesar to Delhi.[29] The *shahrah* was the road from Bengal to Delhi which passed through the territory of Allahabad and Agra *subas*. It had long been disturbed. *Sarkar* Kora was affected by the revolts of Bhagwant Singh Udaru. Beyond Kora, towards Delhi, the Jats had been active.[30] Besides, the road was within striking reach of the turbulent Bundelas. Since the early 1730s, therefore, the route was diverted through the *suba* of Awadh and *sarkar* Muradabad. This was precisely the period when Ali Muhammad Khan came in close contact with the governor of Awadh and the *faujdar* of the *sarkar*.[31] Peace had

to be maintained in the region so that the treasury could pass through it undisturbed. It was in these circumstances that Ali Muhammad Khan could manage to flourish at the cost of the old, and apparently small, zamindars and small *jagirdars*.

It was simply the fear of retaliation that had deterred Ali Muhammad Khan from encroaching upon the *jagirs* of the big nobles. With the invasion of Nadir Shah and the consequent decline of the prestige of the Mughals he was emboldened to withhold the revenue of the *jagirs* of the *Wazir* as well. Harnand, the deputy *faujdar* of Muradabad, who had been deputed to chastise him was killed in the encounter.[32] Subsequently, Muin ul-Mulk *alias* Mir Munnu, who had initially come to punish him for this open outrage, was compelled to come to terms with him. On the intercession of his mother, Sholapuri Begam, Mir Mannu came to terms with the Afghan chief, married his daughter and secured for him an imperial *farman* for the deputy *faujdari* of Muradabad.[33] Later, Ali Muhammad invaded the territory of the Kumaon chief and annexed Kashipur, Rudrapur and two other *parganas* to his own territory.[34]

With the acquisition of deputy *faujdar*-ship, Ali Muhammad combined his fiscal rights with administrative and police jurisdiction over the region. The *ijara* thus assumed a new form. It was practically *nizamat* and *hukumat*, as characterized in the literary records of the eighteenth century, and marked an important stage in the formation of the autonomous Rohilla state in the region.

Within a few years the Afghans under Ali Muhammad Khan began to cause serious alarm to Safdar Jang, the governor of Awadh. There was no effective natural barrier between the *sarkar* of Muradabad and *suba* Awadh. The disaffected zamindars of *sarkar* Khairabad of Awadh when chased would run away to this region. Safdar Jang's attitude toward Ali Muhammad had therefore been cordial and patronizing.[35] The *Wazir's* alliance with the Afghan chief and subsequent developments at the Court, however, alarmed the governor of Awadh. Safdar Jang now held the office of *Mir Atish* as well and belonged to the anti-*Wazir* faction.[36] He did not therefore like the Afghan chief to become so close to the *Wazir*. But the Afghan chief had become too powerful to be over-awed by the army of a noble. Almost all the nobles, with the exception of the *Wazir* and his

associates, were convinced of the necessity of a campaign against Ali Muhammad under the personal command of the Emperor.[37] In February, 1745, the Emperor with a huge army of about 100,000 had to march against Ali Muhammad.[38]

The strength of the imperial army and the concern of the nobles show the extent of threat that the Afghan chief had begun to pose to the Mughal authority in the region. It is significant that at one stage in the middle of the campaign when the *Wazir* and Qaim Khan Bangash interceded for compromise on behalf of Ali Muhammad, the Afghan chief was asked to present himself before the Emperor with a *peshkash* of Rs. 100,00,000.[39] The term was not acceptable to Ali Muhammad, but nobody, nor even the *Wazir* and Qaim Khan, denied the Afghan chief's capacity to pay the amount. The wealth that Ali Muhammad had acquired was apparently at the expense of the other claimants of various categories to the revenue of the the region.

The zamindar uprisings in the region showed the conflict of interests between centralized power and elements of localism as well as the differences among various groups of the local elements. The rebels concentrated more on plunder and booty and on the prospects of establishing their political hegemony over the region than on organizing the grievances of the local elements and thus embarking on a unified resistance against the Mughals. On the contrary, the recalcitrant elements appear to have been prepared to subscribe to the Mughal authority, provided they were individually given greater concessions in the imperial system. The Mughals, therefore, could isolate the refractory zamindars from the rest of the local elements and bargain with the Afghans who formed the core of the armed forces of the rebels. It was probably due to the increasing paucity of *jagirs* that the Afghans were incorporated into the Mughal system as *ijaradars*. The Afghans, on the other hand, also seem to have realized that they on their own could rise high enough to be the *defacto* power in the region, if they could only get their loot and plunder legitimised from Delhi.

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1. Compare *Ain-i Akbari*, H. S. Jarrett's English translation, pp. 293-4 for *sarkar* Badaon and pp. 294-5 for *sarkar* Sambhal. *Sarkar* Muradabad with its headquarters at Muradabad, a town founded by an Afghan noble during Shahjahan's

reign and named after Prince Murad Bakhsh, was formed in the time of Shahjahan. It consisted of the entire area of the erstwhile *sarkars* of Badaon and Sambhal, both being reduced to two different *parganas* under the new *sarkar*. But Badaon retained its independent *faujdari*, while Bareilly, a *pargana* of Badaon, was enhanced into a *chakla*.

2. Cf. Iqbal Husain, 'Some Afghan Settlements in the Gangetic Doab, 1627-1707,' *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Varanasi, 1969; William Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, pp. 117-18; J. N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Orient Longman, 1971, I, pp. 27-28.
3. Murtaza Husain Bilgrami, for instance, mentions Muhammad Amin Khan, the *faujdar* of the *sarkar* in the reign of Bahadur Shah, as the *subadar* of Muradabad Sambhal. Cf. *Hadiqat ul-Aqalim*, Nawalkishore Lucknow, p. 127. See also Shahnawaz Khan, *Maasir ul-Umara*, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, III, pp. 709 and 765 for the importance of *sarkar* Muradabad.
4. Compare Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan, *Tazkirat us-Salatin Chaghta*, Aligarh MS., ff. 359b and 360a.
5. *Akhbarat* (Sitamau transcripts) Bahadur Shah, 3rd R. Y., in the volume entitled *Akhbarat-i Aurangzeb*, I, p 23; *Akhbarat* Farrukh Siyar (Henceforth FS), 3rd R. Y., II, p. 41. See also *Akhbarat* FS, 2nd R. Y., II, pp. 201 and 238, and 3rd R. Y., II, p, 98 for similar instances.
6. *Ibid*., FS, 3rd R. Y., pp. 78, 170 and 173, 4th R. Y., I, p. 152.
7. *Ibid*., Bahadur Shah, 3rd R.Y., in the volume entitled *Akhbarat-i Aurangzeb*, I, p. 23.
8. *Ibid*., FS, 3rd R.Y., II, p. 78; 4th R. Y., II, pp. 156 and 187.
9. *Ibid*., Bahadur Shah, 5th R.Y., p. 421.
10. *Ibid*., FS, 4th R. Y., I, p. 224.
11. *Ibid*., FS, 3rd R.Y., p. 78.
12. See, for example, *Ibid*, FS, 2nd R. Y., II, p. 201; 3rd R. Y., II, p. 41.
13. See, for example, *Ibid*., FS. 3rd R.Y., II, p. 98, 4th R. Y; I, pp. 15 and 224.
14. *Ibid*., FS, 3rd R.Y., II, p. 78.
15. *Ibid*., FS, 4th R. Y., I, p. 21.
16. *Ibid*., FS, 4th R. Y., I, p. 24.
17. *Ibid*., FS, 4th R. Y., I, p. 15.
18. In November 1715, for example, an Afghan zamindar of Bahadur Nagar, with a large number of his clansmen was reported to have set fire to the village of Dilerpur in *pargana* Shahjahanpur which was in the *zamindari* of one Haidar Beg, a Mughal. *Ibid*., FS, 4th R. Y. p. 156.
19. *Ibid*., FS, 4th R. Y., I, p. 224; Lala Awadhi Lal, *Mansur ul-Maktubat* (a collection of letters of Burhan ul-Mulk and Safdar Jang compiled in 1795) Jalsa-i Tahzib Library MS. Lucknow, p. 179; Qudratullah 'Shauq', *Jam-i Jahan Numa*, II, p. 33.
20. Z. U. Malik, *Reign of Muhammad Shah*, Bombay 1977, pp. 273-74; Iqbal Husain, op. cit.
21. For merchant revenue-farmers in the region see *Akhbarat*, FS, 4th R. Y., II, p. 278.

22. It was in similar circumstances that the Afghans under Dost Muhammad Khan emerged as the principal *ijaradars* in Malwa. *Suba* Malwa, besides being disturbed by internal zamindar risings, was exposed to constant Maratha encroachments. *Ibid.* FS, 4th R. Y., II. p. 278.
23. *Tazkira* Anand Ram 'Mukhlied, Sitamen *transcript of Bankipore MS.* pp. 324-25.
24. Compare William Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 118-20; J. N. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-32; C. L. Srivastava, *First Two Nawabs of Awadh*, Second edition, Agra, 1954. pp. 104-5.
25. Z. U. Malik, *op. cit.*, p. 277
26. Muhammad Salih 'Qudrat', *Tarikh-i Ali*, Bankipore MS. ff. 94b-95a. This seems to have been a general practice with the Afghan *ijaradars* in our period. They paid to the *mansabdars* not a single *dam* out of the collected revenue (*mahsul*) in Malwa. *Akhbarat*, FS, 4th R. Y., II, p. 278.
27. For details see *Hadiqat ul-Aqalim*, p. 139; *Jam-i Jahan Numa*, II, p. 29.
28. *Ibid*, p. 139; see also Anand Ram 'Mukhlis'. *Badai 'Waqai' Muhammad Shahi*, Rampur MS. (Loharu Collection) p. 193; Ghulam Husain 'Tababai, *Siyar ul-Mutaakhkhirin*, Nawalkishore Lucknow, III, p. 854. A. L. Srivastava has no basis for his opinion that "*Hadiqat (ul- Aqalim)* exaggerates that Ali Muhammad Khan was given a *mansab* of 5000 *zat* and 5000 *sawar*". Compare *First Two Nawabs of Awadh*. p. 104n.
29. Compare *Mansur ul-Maktubat*, pp. 8, 15, 26, 44, 60-61 and 98.
30. See *Siyar ul-Mutaakhhirin*, II, pp, 467-8; Shakir Khan, *Tazkira Shakir Khani*, Rotograph No. 20, Research Library, Deptt. of History, Aligarh. See also William Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 277 and A. L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-46 for Bhagwant Singh Udaru's revolt and the subsequent imperial expeditions. Compare *Akhbarat* FS, 2nd R.Y., II, pp. 61-62, 3rd R. Y., II, pp. 125. 140, 159 and 213 for disturbances beyond Kora in Shikohabad, Itawa and Jalesar.
31. *Mansur ul-Maktubat*, pp. 148-49 and 180.
32. *Hadiqat ul-Aqalim*. p. 139; *Tazkira Anand Ram Mukhlis*. p. 325; Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari, *Bahrul Mawwaj* Bankipore MS , f. 324b.
33. *Siyar ul-Mutaakhkhirin*, III, p. 855, *Badai Waqai*, p. 193, According to *Badai Waqai* the expedition was led by Intizam ul-Daulah. See also J. N. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
34. *Tazkira Shakir Khani*, f. 77b; see also A. L, Srivastava, op. cit., p. 105.
35. Cf. *Mansur ul-Maktubat*, pp. 148-49 and 180.
36. *Siyar ul- Mutaakhkhirini*, III, pp. 849, 852-53 and 857-58; Iradat Khan(?) *Tarikh-i Mubaraknama*, Aligarh MS., f. 163b. Saiyid Ghulam Ali Naqvi, *Imad us-Saadat*, Nawalkishore Lucknow, p. 32. J. N. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10. Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari's statement that Safdar Jang obtained the office of *Mir Atish* in lieu of his governorship of Awadh is obviously incorrect. Cf. *Tarikh-i Muzaffari*, Bankipore MS., f. 257b.
37. *Hadiqat ul-Aqalim*, p. 140.
38. *Safar Nama* of Anand Ram Mukhlis (ed. 8, Azhar Ali) Rampur, 1946. pp. 2-3 and 72. Safdar Jang made pretext of launching the campaign out of a petty event in which some of his servants were killed. Compare Z.U. Malik, *op. cit.*, p. 178n; A. L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
39. ***Safarnama of Anand Ram Mukhlis***, pp. 55-56.

ABBAS KHAN SARWANI AND HIS TARIKH-I-SHER SHAHI : SOME UNDERLYING CONCEPTS

S. C. Misra

'Abbas Khan Sarwani has by now assumed the status of an "Official" historian of Sher Shah. His version, with additions and amendations supplied by other chroniclers but in no way materially altered has been reflected in much of the modern and even in Mughal work on Sher Shah. Possibly, it will be not too much of an exaggeration to say that the popular image of Sher Shah is the creation of 'Abbas Khan...or, at least, one which has been refracted through him.

It is not the purpose of this paper to examine the validity of this image; that has been done elsewhere. What is attempted here is a brief elucidation of some of the conceptual structures on which 'Abbas Khan based his work. For this purpose, it is necessary to distinguish between what may be authentic reporting on the part of the chronicler and what may be his "contribution". Even the former is not free from a certain element of bias; 'Abbas Khan derived much of his information from Muzaffar Khan, nephew of Masnad-i-'Ali I'sa Khan; he was a Sarwani like 'Abbas Khan and his daughter was married to Abbas [1] As such, there is a notable bias in his work in favour of the Sarwanis. Also, it must not be overlooked that nostalgia for a lost cause is not the best of a framework for history writing. Moreover 'Abbas Khan was not too happy about his own financial standing, frustrated as he had been in his effort to secure patronage.[2] This personal vicissitude has also left its mark.

Much of the ideological structure with which 'Abbas Khan writes is contained in the lengthy discourses which he puts into the mouth of his characters. It is obvious that much of this first person singular stuff with which the *Tarikh* overflows is not authentic. It is the consequence of the anecdotal rendering in which the Afghan memory had rendered the fondly remembered past, a generation after its eclipse. A considerable body of supplementary accretion had by then been added to the bare fact. What 'Abbas Khan put down on paper was thus the rendering of a particular tradition, anecdotal, somewhat rambling and not always most accurate. And this, he rationalised, interpreted. The

lengthy homilies therefore are partly what he heard and cast into his own mould, rendered into his own words with appropriate couplets added.

For 'Abbas Khan Sarwani, the idea of an Afghan commonwealth is the basic premise which inheres in his conceptualization. The Afghan Sultan is the *pater familias* of the Afghan people and each one of the Afghans, even those who stay at "Home" has a share in the good fortune that has come their way. The prosperity of the Afghans is the justification of the Afghan state, its legitimation. The founder, Bahlul Lodi, invited the Afghans into India; his great successor Sher Shah sent incalculable sums to Roh and offered employment to every Afghan who cared to come to India.

The Afghan state thus was the pride of the Afghans. It was the obligation of the Afghans to obey their head, to serve him faithfully. Tribal affiliations were transcended in this obligation; Haibat Khan Niyazi was moved to perpetrate a fearful massacre of his own tribesmen in response to a rather minor directive from Sher Shah.[3]

The Sultan in 'Abbas's narrative is a synthesis of several roles. He is the patriarch of the Afghans, the symbol of their unity resurgence and hope; without him, the Afghans lose not only their heritage but also their self-respect.[4] He is also a charismatic leader, an astute and shrewed general, an experienced ruler of men.

'Abbas Khan at several points dilates upon the considerations which should guide a ruler. In line with the well-worn maxims which have been stated in several of the manuals of administration like the *Akhlaq-i-Nasiri*, *Akhlaq-i-Jalali*, *siyasat-Nama* and the like—'Abbas Khan places '*adal* or justice at the centre of his value structure, as the keystone of policy making. Justice builds up a kingdom; oppression ruins it. Good government is the basis of religion and faith; (the king) "should water the garden of justice with the water of government".[5]

The preliminary concept of justic as seen by 'Abbas Khan is negative; namely, the prevention of oppression on the people, *ri'aya*, by the lieutenants of the Sultan, his kinsmen or his nobles. A ruler should never allow his closest kinsmen, even his son, to indulge in tyranny and oppression and rebellion; if he allows the tyrant to go unchecked, his reputation falls and the cultivators abandon cultivation, thus drying up the revenues.

The nobles, kinsmen and others are to be kept in check, restrained from oppressing the people, especially the peasants. Justice however demands that they also be treated fairly. 'Abbas Khan approves of the protest voiced by Shuja'at Khan's soldiers against being cheated of their due by their master. "Are you not satisfied with the wealth of your chieftainship that you covet the rights of the soldiers?" Sher Shah is reported to have inquired of his lieutenant and ordered him to make good their loss immediately.[6]

It is also imperative that the administrative system work fairly both in relation to the ruler and the peasant. The ruler should continuously check the books of his tax collected, and tally them with the records of the *muqaddams*. "Government is the source of the protection of women and children of the subjects from the oppression of tyrant and is the root of safety from the tyranny of the official."[7]

The raiyat had thus to be protected from the depredations of both the nobility and the functionaries. "The raiyat are innocent", Sher Shah is reported to have said, "They submit to those who are in power. If I oppress them, they will desert the land and the kingdom will be ruined and it will be a long time before the country is repopulated."[8]

Two major considerations underlie the concern and solicitude for the *raiyat*. The first is purely economic and recognises the fact that the *raiyat* is the base of the economic system and as such has to be cared for to keep agricultural production and thereby the state functioning. Secondly, the status and position of the ruler demand that he act to control unauthorised and oppressive action; it should not be that "the fear of the ruler and the respect of his state disappear and that he be considered low, indolent and unjust among his subjects."[9]

Thus, the Sultan is the "protector of his people". This category includes each and everyone within the kingdom, particularly the helpless, indigent and the poor, women and children, for whom the Sultan is a trustee.[10] It is as a trustee that he cannot allow oppression to torment the helpless and to ruin the state. The Sultan, then, is also the head of an administrative framework which he is required to control strictly, lest the official's get out of hand and use their offices to mulct the peasantry and enrich themselves.

The Sultan is also the leader of the Afghans, their *pater familias*, the head of the commonwealth of which the entire Afghan *qaum* is a

co-sharer. It is thus his duty to patronise the Afghans, to enrich them and to exact service from them in the interest of the polity as a whole. The Afghans are dear to his heart; he is open-heartedly generous in pouring benedictions even on those who stayed at "home". However, he is a stern taskmaster and a disciplinarian; he cannot allow considerations of kinship to stand between the culprit and merited punishment. As the head of the state, as Sultan, he is beyond in claims, beyond the informal web of relationships which bind the familial and tribal structure, Sovereignty is a gift of God and even the highest have to stand before the Sultan with folded hands.[11]

This exalted status imposes its demands on the time and energy of the ruler. "It behoves the great to be active", Sher Shah is reported to have said. The Sultan should not be engaged in frivolous activities; he should be constantly on the move, supervising checking, reprimanding, approving. He is to keep company with men of high status, preferably the *ulema* and senior Afghan nobles. 'Abbas Khan gives the daily routine which Sher Shah lived by, emphasizing the concern Sher Shah had both for the administrative necessities and the imperatives of the faith.

The need to keep himself abreast of developments in the kingdom necessitates the institution of a spy system. 'Abbas Khan argues for this institution as a check on corrupt officials.

'Abbas Khan's social philosophy reflects the man's world in which he lives. A man's active and public life was lived among menfolk, among his peers and his relatives. Kinsmen were close to an individual; they rendered advice as and when necessary, and one was required to listen to them and explain his action, and also to mediate between those who had quarrelled.

Obviously, kinsmen carried a great deal of weight in a society which was still primarily tribal. However, this category also included many beneficiaries and lieutetenants, holding *ja'girs* given by a man. Their activities had to be controlled and in this respect, claims of kinship were superseded by the demands of *'adal* and good government.

The Afghans in the 16th century were also a birth conscious people, distinguishing categories by their parentage. People of mixed blood were looked down upon; Sulaiman and Ahmad are denigrated not only

because they opposed Farid Khan but also because they were of low birth on their mother's side.

'Abbas Khan is obviously critical of the "Hindi" slave girl and her offsprings who made life difficult for Farid Khan in his early years. He does not object to multi-wived establishment, to the collection of a host of slave girls who were at their master's disposal. What he objects to is giving them undue importance, and, what is worse, succumbing to their influence. Mian Hasan is at fault because he is "entangled in the snare of her love."

It is this weakness of Mian Hasan that his relatives criticise. "It has been advised by wise men not to depend on women, not to inform them of their secrets, not to consult them in state affairs and not to let them know the account (quantity) of wealth and store of things other than eatables. If somebody is entangled in the noose of love of women and suffers from the trouble of affection, he should sever it otherwise it would be the cause of domination over him. Because the time she knows that her husband suffers from his love for her, she comes out of his subordination and considers him as her servant. It has been said that jealousy is innate in the very nature of women. They are deficient in wisdom and are well known for the variety of their machinations. One should not therefore be led away by them."[12]

'Abbas Khan is not very original in these opinion regarding women; they have been reflected by a host of other writers, Persian and Indian, Muslim and Hindu. In fact, much of similar opinion idealised the roles which women held, that of mother, sister, wife and so on; but woman as woman they were suspicious of. And not without reason: in a society where the happiness, even the well-being of a person was contingent upon the caprice of another being, it was not unnatural for her to dissimulate and attempt to hold these affections; till such stage when the relationship was soured beyond redemption. Views like this are to be found mostly in urban middle class and upper class circles which had created a leisured class of privileged women whose life was wrapped up in that of their men, and who were totally dependent on them.

In fact, much of what 'Abbas Khan writes in his homilies ascribing these high flown sentiments to his actors can scarcely be called original. Treatises on individual conduct, on the behaviour and conduct of rulers,

on the conduct of teachers, sufi saints and a number of such dignitaries, works like *Gulistan*, *Siyasatnamah*, the two *Akhlaqs*, *Chahar Maqala*, which were a part of the education of the cultured man, were replete with the kind of advice 'Abbas Khan was at pains to emphasize. Admonitions against excesses, against allowing privileged classes a free hand with the poorer ones, against treating the agrarian classes harshly in fact, for *'adal*, for justice and fair play...were all too well-known in the decision making circles.

'Abbas Khan was moreover an Afghan, an Indian Afghan of the 16th century; this orientation is also evident in his moral framework. He believes in the Afghan common-wealth of which Sher Shah was the indisputable hero, a kind of father figure as he receded in time and histoty. His sympathies are with Farid Khan; he is determined to cast the Indian slave girl and her sons as the villain of the piece. In fact, this is an episode in which a more impartial observer might have held her to be more wronged than doing wrong. But given 'Abbas Khan's faith in the primacy of the pure-born Afghan, given the hind-sight that was his, he could only castigate the intrusive interloper who had robbed Farid Khan's mother of her husband's love and her son of his heritage.

It is also not unlikely that 'Abbas Khan's diatribes against the petty oppression which the lower officialdom practised on the peasantry were more a reflex of his own day than of the past. While this may be true, it should not be overlooked that the Mughal administration in the second half of Akbar's reign had acquired a strength, a formal structure which included an element of supervision, which was absent in the beginning of the 16th century. And if what 'Abbas Khan describes is the situation at the end of the century, the one at the beginning could not be better in any case.

As a well-educated Afghan of the middle stratum which lived on the support of the larer *jagirdars*, belonging to a class which was more inclined towards the pen than towards the sword, 'Abbas Khan is an excellent representative of his class. His work is certainly a glorification of the bygone age. But it would be wrong to say that 'Abbas Khan has not proved true to his task. He understood his obligation as a historian... to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. He sought out knowledgeable men from whom he could get facts, scrutinised them and included them only when he was reasonably sure that what he was

saying was the truth. The centuries old *isnad* tradition which had moulded Islamic historiography was at the back of this insistence of truth.

It was, however, truth as 'Abbas Khan knew it...not we know it. It had a value framework by which men were judged, their actions were valued. For example, the ideal "specimen" of the upper classes had to be brave, an intrepid soldier above all. He had also to be open-hearted, unstinting in his generosity, careless of money. He had also to be duly respectful of the faith and show reverence to its votaries and its symbols. He had also to be versed in literature, a connossieur of poetry, art and finer things of life. Above all, he had to be just, fair in his dealings. Given this, it did not matter whether or not he was luxurious, even sensuous; that was accepted as the normal expression of man.

These and several other like imperatives form the infra-structure of 'Abbas Khan's value system on which his work is founded. Very similar is the framework of Sikandar bin Manjhu who at about the same time, wrote his *vade mecum*, the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, which, like 'Abbas Khan's work, became the official history of Gujarat. Both of them are to the present view rather biassed, rather partial; exaggerating certain aspects and barely recognising others. The more important thing, however, is that both of them understood history as a search for truth and made sincere efforts to get to it...and put down what they considered was the truth.

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1. Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi Text : p. 163.
2. Idem 168-9,
3. Idem 232-9.
4. I'sa Khan to Sher Khan after the battle of Chausa ; see also other opinions urging Sher Khan to crown himself. Idem 140-4.
5. Farid Khan to his father; Idem 16–21.

6. Idem 229-31.
7. Idem 34.
8. Idem 224.
9. Idem 223-6 : 16-21.
10. Idem 17 : "The weak are the trust of God given to the charge of the powerful so that under their protection they may remain safe from the assaults of tyranny and the torture of the oppressors." (Tr. Imamuddin p. 11).
11. Idem 140-4.
12. Kinsmen to Mian Hasan on learning of the dismissal of Farid Khan : Idem 28-9.

A NOTE ON THE ROLE OF ZAMINDARS IN HUMAYUN'S GUJARAT EPISODE

Ahsan Raza Khan

Humayun's failures in Hindustan have generally been explained either in terms of the non-co-operation of his brothers and the nobility or in terms of the shortcomings of his character, i. e. his "volatile, thoughtless and unsteady" nature,[1] indolence and "love of pleasure" which "in his early years hampered the efforts to maintain the empire".[2] R.P. Tripathi, while not subscribing to this view, looks for the causes of his failures in his "unsuspecting nature" which "took a man at his words", in his "extravagance and lack of financial ability", as well as in "an inexorable fate" of which Humayun was a victim.[3] He says,

> His political calculations were defective. They suggest clearly that he was neither a good judge of man and their motives, nor of political situations and administrative problems. . . . He also lacked the ability to weave into a compact fabric his rapid territorial acquisition which he made in a fit of complaisance or absent mindedness.[4]

In either case the causes are sought in Humayun's personality, in either the weaknesses or the virtues of his character.

Similar explanations have been offered while looking for the causes of Humayun's failure to retain Gujarat after its rapaid conquest. To William Erskine, Humayun's "supmtuous entertainments" near Champaner led to the neglect of "the government of the provinces",[5] whereas

according to Ishwari Prasad, he "...wasted his time in ease and sensual pleasures when he ought to have been in the forefront of battle. His expeditions in Gujarat and Malwa afford good illustrations of this habit".[6] And Tripathi writes :

> If Tardi Beg had given the necessary support to Askari the misfortune might have been averted and the Beg saved the humiliation of surrendering a fort like Champaner so weakly. No one in particular could be held responsible for the failure of the Mughals to hold the two kingdoms. It was due to suspicions rife in the Mughal camp and a combination of fortuitous circumstances.[7]

The misunderstanding between Tardi Beg and Humayun resulting in Tardi Beg's refusal to aid Askari on what Tripathi calls "Tardi Beg's pigheaded diplomacy" as well as the failure of Humayun in sending re-inforcements to Askari are regarded among the immediate factors responsible for the failure of the Mughals to offer resistance to Bahadur Shah.

In short the explanations so far offerred revolve around the personality of Humayun or the "suspicious rife" in the Mughal camp. The purpose of this note is not to enter into controversy about the responsibility of Tardi Beg, Askari or Humayun, nor to dispute the role of the above factors in Humayun's loss of Gujrat. Any of the above factors might have contributed to the rapid loss of Gujarat. What is intended here is to look for causes outside the Mughal polity and draw attention to the role of the *zamindars* of Gujarat in the Mughal-Muzaffarrid conflict.

Although the evidence on this point is not adequate to suggest that they played a decisive role in throwing the Mughals out of Gujarat, even the limited evidence that is available has not been sufficiently taken notice of by the historians of Humayun, in spite of the fact that they played a conspicuous role. Looking at the activities of the *zamindars* of Gujarat we notice that at all the critical junctures the *zamindars* came to the rescue of their deposed Sultan vis-a-vis the Mughals. There is not a single reference in our sources to the *zamindars* supportting the Mughals against the Muzaffarids. And this was understandable. The Muzaffarids, who had been established in Gujarat for over a century and a quarter, had forged powerful links with the local *zamindars*. As such it was too much to expect that they would

immediately switch over their allegiance to the conquering Mughals, particularly when Bahadur Shah was alive and his nobility intact.

The first encounter of the Mughals with the *zamindars* of Gujarat was at Cambay Having driven Sultan Bahadur Shah out of Gujarat, when Humayun was encamped near Cambay we are told by Abul Fazl that on the instigation of Malik Ahmad Lad and Rukn Daud, two of the nobles of Bahadur Shah, the Kolis and the *gawaran (ganwaran?)* attacked and plundered the camp of Humayun, causing great loss to the Mughals.[8] Who were these Kolis and *gawars* (ganwars)? It may be noted that the *Ain-i Akbari* mentions Kolis as *zamindars* in a number of *mahals* in the vicinity of Cambay and further north in the Akbari *suba* of Gujarat.[9] Thus the Kolis who attacked Humayun's camp were in all probability *zamindars*.[10] The term *ganwar*, though meaning a thief or a plunderer, is generally used in the *Akbarnama* in the sense of a rustic or a recalcitrant both of which (rusticity and recucitrance) are identified, in the Mughal chronicles, as the attributes of *zamindars*. It seems that in the present context the term *gawar (Janwar)* is used by Abul Fazl as a reduplication of the term Koli. This inference is further supported by the specific usage of the term *ganwar* when it occurs for the third time in the passage pertaining to this incident, this time Abul Fazl does not consider it necessary to repeat the term Kolis and merely says that "the *ganwaran* came and set to plundering the camp". Obviously he is using the term *ganwaran* interchangeably with the Kolis.[11]

The next time we notice the activities of the *zamindars* of Gujarat is during the course of the siege of Champaner by the Mughals. On this occasion we find the *zamindars* of the vicinity of Champaner supporting the besieged against the Mughals. Giving an account of the siege Nizamuddin Ahmad writes:

> One day when His Excellency (Humayun) while going around the fort saw a group of people *(jam'i)* coming out of the forest and then looking at the army and being afraid of it re-entering the forest. *Janat Ashiyani* (Humayun) appointed a party to chase them which captured and brought some of them. It was revealed that with the co-operation of the *zamindars* of the neighbourhood they were taking the corn and oil *(raughan wa ghalla)* inside the fort...[12]

Thus we see that even when Bahadur Shah had been virtually driven out of Gujarat the *zamindars* of the vicinity of Champaner continued to assist the Muzaffarids by furnishing supplies to the besieged Muzaffarid garrison at Champaner.

Later on, the *zamindars* of Gujarat co-operated with Bahadur Shah by volunteering to pay the revenues of Gujarat to him. The passage in the *Akbarnama* reads:

> As the country of Gujarat passed under the servants of the empire, and as none was entrusted with the task of the realisation of the revenues the *riaya* of those parts sent petitions (*arzdashts*) to Bahadur Shah saying that the revenues of the country were ready (*mahsul-i-wilayat rasida*) and that if an amil were appointed by him they would be relieved of the duty of the payment of the *mal.*

In this passages the term *riaya* has been rendered by the translator as "peasantry".[14] As a consequence, historians who based their works on English translations were led to the conclusion that Bahadur Shah was invited by the "peasantry" or the "people" of Gujarat to realize the revenues due from them. That the term *riaya*, literally meaning subjects, did not necessarily denote peasantry and was often applied to *zamindars* is borne out by modern researches,[15] what is more significant, the follow-up action on the part of Bahadur Shah to realize the revenues, makes it clear that in this particular context the term was used not for the peasantry, but for the *zamindars.* For, when Bahadur Shah appointed Imad-ul-Mulk to collect the revenues and when the latter set out for this purpose, Nizamuddin categorically states that it was the *zamindars,* in addition to the soldiery, who gathered around him,[16] thus substituting the term Zamindar for the term *riaya* used earlier by him.

Moreover, it may be noted that when Bahadur Shah set out to collect the revenues, he had, according to Abul Fazl, only 200 *sawars* with him. But by the time he reached Ahmadabad he had mobilized ten thousand *sawars.*[17] Within a short time his following further swelled to 30 thousand *sawars.*[18] Nizamuddin estimates his following at 50 thousand.[19] How this number swelled from 200 to 30 or 50 thousand is shown by Nizamuddin when he specifically mentions that it was due to the *zamindars* and the soldiers who had rallied behind him.[20] Thus in the subsequent fight with the Mughals near Ahmadabad the Muzaffarids were supported by substantial forces provided by the local *zamindars.*

Lastly, after the departure of Humayun from Gujarat, consequent upon his victory over Imad-ul Mulk and the settlement of Gujarat, when Bahadur Shah marched against Askari, both Nizamuddin Ahmad and Badaoni tell us that he first mobilised the support of the *zamindars* of Sorath.[21] Thus even in this last conflict leading to the recovery of Gujarat the forces of *zamindars* constituted the backbone of Bahadur Shah's army.

To sum up, we notice that whenever *zamindars* feature in our chronicles in the course of the Mughal-Muzaffarid conflict they are in league with Bahadur Shah or his nobles. They did not waver in their allegiance to Bahadur Shah even when he had been exiled from Gujarat and actively supported his cause rather than taking advantage of the situation. It may be pointed that in the course of their rule in Gujarat for over a century and a quarter the Muzaffarids had established powerful ties with the *zamindars* of Gujarat.[22] By the time of Bahadur Shah there was hardly any *zamindar* in Gujarat who did not owe allegiance to the Muzaffarid Sultan.[23] An idea of their association with the Muzaffarids can be formed by taking into account the resistance they offerred to Mughals for twenty years after the conquest of Gujarat by Akbar in the 17th year of his reign. Although from time to time, under the pressure of the Mughals, the *zamindars* of Gujarat were forced to bow to Akbar, they did not miss a single opportunity to extend support to their deposed Sultan, Muzaffar Shah, in his attempts to recover Gujarat from the Mughals. It was only after he had passed away and there was none to uphold the banner of the Muzaffarids that they reconciled themselves to the Mughal rule.[24]

When Akbar took more than twenty years to consolidate his position in Gujarat, Humayun could hardly be expected to win over the loyalties of the *zamindars* overnight. The importance of the *zamindars* in medieval Indian polity has often been emphasized by modern scholars.[25] By virtue of the military and economic resources at their command and by virtue of their position as hereditary collectors of revenues, they constituted an important element in the polity of Gujarat also, and without their co-operation it was very difficult for any outside power to establish itself in Gujarat. It was, perhaps, as a result of the realization of the ties between Bahadur Shah and the local *zamindars* that the nobles first suggested to Humayun to restore Gujarat to

Bahadur Shah and then instigated Askari to declare himself independent of Agra-Delhi empire. With Muzaffarid nobles like Imad-ul Mulk, Mujahid Khan, Ikhtiyar Khan Rukn Daud and Malik Lad loyal to Sultan Bahadur even in penury and acting in co-operation with the *zamindars*, the Muzaffarid polity was still intact. Unless this polity was corroded, even a greater strength in Humayun's character, perhaps, would not have helped Mughals in maintaining themselves in Gujarat. It was largely through the support of the *zamindars* that Bahadur Shah was able to drive out the Mughals and recover Gujarat.

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2. Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun* (Reprint, Central Book Depot, Allahabad, 1976), p. 378.
3. R. P. Tripathi, *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire* (Reprint, Central Book Depot, Allahabad), p. 111.
4. *Ibid*, p. 112.
5. William Erskine, *op.cit.*, vol. ii, p. 69.
6. Ishwari Prasad, *op, cit.*, p. 378.
7. R. P. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
8. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, vol. i (Bibliothica Indica, Calcutta, 1877), p. 136.
9. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, Eng. tr. H. S. Jarret; ed. J. N. Sarkar, vol. ii (Calcutta. 1949), pp. 258-59.
10. It may be noted that the Kolis are a tribal people. According to Bombay Gazetteer "the term Koli, meaning clansman, clubman or boatman, is applied to the middle classes of the military or predatory Hindus of Gujarat", *Bombay Gazeteer*, vol. ix, pt. i, pp. 237-9, as referred to by Ishwari Prasad, *Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 77. Since the term is used in Gujarat for a wide range of people professing different occupations, this is not intended to suggest here that the Kolis were exclusively *zamindars*, but that some of the Kolis, on the testimony of the *Ain*, were also settled as *zamindars*, and that in the present context the term seems to have been used for the *zamindar* kolis.
11. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, op. cit.
12. Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, ed. B. De, vol. ii (Calcutta, 193.), p. 35.
13. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, op. cit., p. 138.
14. See, *Akbarnama*, tr. H. Beneridge, vol. i (Calcutta, 1907), p. 312.
15. S. Nurul Hasan, "Revenue Administration of the Jagir of Sahsaram by Farid (Sher Shah)". *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Ranchi Session, (Aligarh, 1966), pp. 102-107.

16. Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, ed. B. De, vol. ii (Calcutta, 1931), p. 37. The text says, *zamindaran dar gird-i-o jama shuda.*
17. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol. i (Calcutta, 1877), p. 138.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, ed. B. De vol. ii (Calcutta, 1931), p. 37
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, p. 39; Badaoni, *Muntakhab ut Twarikh*, vol. i (Bibliothica Indica, Calcutta, 1864), p. 347.
22. See Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, Supplement, ed. Saiyid Nawab Ail (Baroda, 1930), p. 228-29.

RUPMATI "THE MELODY QUEEN OF MALWA"

Chandra Kant Tiwari

Sixteenth century was the age of cultural activities in India. During this period music had attained considerable perfection in Malwa under Baz Bahadur and Rupmati[1] who devoted themselves entirely to its cultivation and encouragement. The love of Rupmati and Baz Bahadur is one of the most poignant stories in Indian history. Their devotion to the cause of music has been immortalized in the legends of Malwa.[2]

In this paper I have made an attempt to present a brief monograph of this melody Queen who, in the words of Abul Fazal, "was renowned throughout the world for beauty, singing and poetic gifts".[3]

Rupmati, was the daughter of the Chief of Dharampuri a town on the Narbada in Dhar district. Sir John Malcolmn, in his *Memoiers of Central India*, has written that she was a dancing girl of Sarangpur. His view cannot be accepted in the light of other local sources. According to another version, Rupmati came from the village of Tandapuri near Maheswar on the right bank of Narbada.[5] Whatever might have been the birth place of Rupmati, it can safely be said that she came from a region in the Narbada valley. According to a story current in Mandu, Rupmati was the daughter of sacred Narbada, and as a result of a boon, she was born in the house of the Chief of Dharampuri. In a dream the Goddess Narbada told the chief, that this celebrated girl

would be the queen of a vast dominion apart from being unrivalled in beauty and vocal powers.[6] From that day she was also regarded as the Goddess.

In the course of time Rupmati grew up into a beautiful maiden. At this time the kingdom of Malwa was ruled by a young prince Baz Bahadur, who was passionately fond of music.[7] One day in 1855 A.D., when he was hunting in the forest near the right bank of the Narbada having outridden all his followers, he was in eager pursuit when his ear was attracted by the most exquisite flood of melody. He followed the sound and soon reached a spot, where seated beneath a Burgud tree a young Hindu maiden was singing to the woods, and the wild deer and birds had surrounded her to listen to her voice. He was dazzled by her beauty and melodious voice.[8] Her conversation so impressed him that he strove to win her heart and hand. Eager to possess her, he made honourable offers. But this could not tempt Rupmati to dishonour the sacred race from which she had sprung. She replied, "When the Narbada shall flow through Mandu, I shall be your bride, but not till then".[9]

Baz Bahadur determined that the river should obey the voice of love, and climb the mountain height. He assembled the strength of his kingdom, axe in hand to try the force of art. The river Goddess dreading to measure his strength against the majesty of love appeared in a dream to him, "Desist", she cried, "from thy rash attempts, but receive well merited reward of thy love—go to Mandu to a spot, which overlooks our blood, search there for our sacred tamarisk, (Jhau trees) and dig wherever it is found beneath it you shall come to a pure spring, which is a tributary to us, is a part of our divinity. "Then take your bride as she has often sworn to live on the banks of her natal river".[10] Baz Bahadur found the tamarisk, dug the fountain and constructed the famous "Rewa Kund".[11] He also built near it a palace and constructed a fine aqueduct to lead the waters of the fountain to the baths of the palace.[12] Even today people in Mandu believeves that for Rupmati and for her wishes, the sacred Narbada sprinted up in the form of Rewa Kund.

When the father of Rupmati heard these things she was condemmed by him, who loved her very much, But in his pride of caste he decided to give her the poison bowl. When Rupmati was about to

drink the bowl, Baz Bahadur came up and after a severe fight against the powerful sword of her father, carried off her to Mandu and she became his queen.[13] At Mandu near Rewa Kund, Baz Bahadur also constructed for her airy retreat.[14] On a hill close by where she might enjoy the double luxury of fine breeze and scenery, and a view of parent stream the Narbada. It is said that every morning Rupmati used to have the "darshan" of the sacred Narbada from the terrace of this palace. When she descended from the palace, she took bath in Rewa Kund. This palace was the country residence of Rupmati.[15] Rupmati doubtless preferred the beauties of nature, those early ties to which she was accustomed, to the glamour and splendor of the state. Many other ruins are also associated with the names of Baz Bahadur and Rupmati. With Rupmati, Baz Bahadur devoted himself entirely to cultural activities, especially music.[16] Baz Bahadur was one of the musicians in India and almost unrivalled in Indian classical music.[17] Like Tansen he received instructions in music under Adil Shah Sur,[18] and later on from the school of Indian classical music at Gwalior established by Raja Man Singh Tomar.[19]

Baz Bahadur addressed love poems to Rupmati in Malwi, which she reciprocated. These love poems became so popular that they were sung in the villages and towns of Malwa and outside. Baz Bahadur had 400 musicians in his court[20] who played instruments like Shahnai, Sitar, chang, Qanun, Tambur and Vina. Baz Bahadur and Rupmati were proficient composers and singers. It is said that they called a conference of musicians for the perfection and classification of Ragas. Their favourite tunes were Malkauns, Ramkali, Adana, Kalyan and Hussaini Kanada. Besides her vocal proficiency in *dhrupad*, Rupmati was an excellent player of Vina, Sitar and Dilruba. So sweet and rapturous was her melody that it induced intoxication in some and sobriety in others.

Baz Bahadur's too much devotion to music and addiction to wine and fair sex, brought slackness in the administration of Malwa.[22] The deterioration in the administration caused dissatisfaction in the ranks and file. This state of affairs in Malwa invited external interference.[22]

Akbar took advantage of this confusion in Malwa and sent an army in the year 1561 A.D. According to a story related in the "History of Mandu",[23] when the fame of Rupmati reached the ears of Akbar, he

wrote a letter to Baz Bahadur expressing his desire to hear the melodious voice of Rupmati. When Akbar received a very ill-judged reply from Baz Bahadur he became excessively angry and ordered his commander to attack Malwa.[24] Other causes also account for the invasion to Malwa. It was a fertile country and economically very sound. Moreover, situated in the centre, it had great strategic importance and commanded the military and trade routes into Gujarat, Gondwana and Daccan. Its occupation was also essential for the conquests of Rajputana. Looking to these advantages Akbar sent an army under Adham Khan with Pir Muhammad as second in command.[25] The Mughal army arrived near Sarangpur without any opposition. Baz Bahadur, although brave, was not likely to offer effective resistance. He was defeated near Sarangpur.[26] Baz Bahadur, wine-stained and disgraced, fled to Burhanpur, leaving all his treasure and Seraglio into the hands of the imperialist.[27] Adham Khan and Pir Muhammad celebrated this victory by committing horrible cruelties on the helpless and innocent people of Malwa.[28] These acts of Mughal commanders left a blot on Akbar's fair name. Baz Bahadur, after his defeat, wandered here and there for help and at last submmitted to Akbar in 1570. Akbar took him in his service. He was the first to get a Mansab of 1000 horses. Subsequently he was promoted to the rank of 2000, and so ended his days.[29]

When the news of the defeat of Baz Bahadur was communicated to Rupmati, she became disconsolate and recited the following Hindi couplet :—

"Tan men Jeora rahat hai manget hai sukh raj,
Rupmati dukhya bhai bina Bahadur Baz"

The end of Rupmati was very tragic. When Baz Bahadur was preparing for battle, according to Hindustani custom he posted some of his followers over his heram with strict orders, that when they should become certain of his defeat, they should put all of them to sword lest they should be taken captive by the invaders.[30] When the news of the defeat of Baz Bahadur reached them, they commenced the work of murder. Several lovely innocents were slain.[31] A ruthless monster, who was appointed to guard Rupmati, inflected several dreadful gashes on her and left Rupmati almost dead.[32] Adham Khan who on the

flight of Baz Bahadur hastened to Sarangpur to secure these peerless beauties and treasure, also despatched his men on every side in search of Rupmati. When she was captured by Adham Khan, unable to resist his importunities she pretended and appointed an hour to receive him. Having dressed in a splendid style, she lay down on a coach with mentle drawn over her face ready to receive Adham Khan. Her attendants thought that she had fallen asleep. When an eager Adham Khan lifted her mentle, he beheld a lifeless corpse.[33] The pride of virtue impelled her to swallow a draught of deadly poison and she "died faithful to the bed of her lord." People point out a tomb at Ujjain built in a tank, where the dust of this melody queen of Malwa rests.[34]

REFERENCES

1. Farishta IV p. 227
2. Smith : *Akbar the great Mughal* p. 37
3. *Akbarnama* II p. 213.
4. History of Mandu p. 110.
5. I could not find any village named Tandapuri near Maheshwar on the right bank of the Narbada. As Maheshwar and Dharampuri are not very far from each other, this Tanda Puri must be Dharampuri. The birth place of Rupmati, which is also on the right bank of the Narbada.
6. History of Mandu p. 109.
7. Akbarnama II, 211. Badaoni II, p. 29. Farishta IV. p. 277.
8. Sterling's River of Paradise p. 109. J. B. R. A. S. XXI, p. 371.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Quoted in the History of Mandu p. 110.
11. Rewa is another name of the sacred Narbada.
12. History of Mandu p. 110.
13. Captain Harris, Ruins of Mandu : Illustrated.
14. This retreat is called "Rani Rupmati Ki Chattri" ' Rupmati Pavilion".
15. History of Mandu p. 25.
16. Farishta IV p. 277.
17. Blochmann p. 612. A. L. Shrivastava, II Akbar the great Mughal p. 36.
18. Smith, Akbar the Great Mughal p. 36.
19. Bhatkhande', A short Historical survey of the music of upper India p. 18;
20. Iqbal Nama.
21. Akbarnama II, p. 211. Farishta II, p. 273-274· Tabakat-i- Akbari II p. 151.
22. Farishta IV p 277, Al Badoani II p. 29.
23. pp. 108-9.
24. In the light of other authentic and contemporary sources this view cannot be accepted.

25. Akbarnama II p. 211, Badoani II p. 29, Smith Akbar the great Mughal p. 36.
26. Akbarnama II p. 213, Tabkat-i-Akbari II p. 151, 52. Farishta IV p. 278.
27. Ibid.
28. Badoani II, pp. 47, 48.
29. Smith : Akbar the great Mughal p. 43. Shrivastava : Akbar the great p. 68.
30. Akbarnama II p. 213,
31. Ibid II p. 213.
32. Chalmers I 385,
33. Beveridge History of India I, p. 125.
34. History of Mandu p. 108. Baz Bahadur and Rupmati were buried in a tank at Dohad, and the tomb which was raised over them, is still shown to travellers. This view seems to be exaggerated and incorrect as Rupmati died in Sarangpur, and Dohad is about 200 miles from Sarangpur and was also not in the dominions of Malwa. Blochmanu p. 29 says that both Baz Bahadur and Rupmati were buried at Ujjain.

AHOM POLICY TOWARDS THE NEIGHBOURING HILL TRIBES

Mrs. S. L. Baruah

The Ahoms laid the foundation of their kingdom in Assam in the early part of the thirteenth century and continued to rule till the formal annexation of their kingdom by the British in 1826. Most of the neighbouring hill tribes during the Ahom rule lived in isolation in the hills away from the civilizing influence of the plains. The Ahom kings experienced great difficulty in dealing with them. But by pursuing tactfully a policy of peace and conciliation and resorting to force only under exceptional circumstances, they succeeded in keeping the bordering hill tribes under their control and maintaining peace and tranquility within their kingdom.

Instead of going in the details of this pacifist policy, this paper attempts to analyse the causes for pursuing the same and its impact on the economy of the Ahom kingdom.

A number of reasons, political and economic, account for such a conciliatory policy on the part of the Ahom rulers towards the neigh-

bouring hill tribes. The tribes[1] that bordered their kingdom on the north, east and south, had different manners, customs and languages. They were holding fast to their archaic tribal system and animistic religious rites. Propagation of Vaisnavism by religious reformers was confined to the Duar (passes through which the hill people maintained their contact with the plains) areas only. Annexation of such heterogeneous hill tribes would mean additional problems to the Ahom rulers, as the hill people with their distinct social setup would hardly adjust themselves to the Ahom system of administration resting on the *Paik* system.[2]

Of course, the Ahom kings with the help of arms could have brought the neighbouring hill people under complete subjugation. But this would result in the latter's recession further and further into the backwoods making such expeditions barren and futile.

Moreover, leading an expedition to the hill areas was not an easy task. The Ahoms had bitter experiences of such expeditions. Mention may be made to king Udayaditya Sinha's (1660-1673) expedition against the Daflas[3] in the Subansiri area, which resulted in heavy losses of men and provisions.[4] Rajeswar Sinha (1751-1769), too while leading an expedition to Manipur in 1765 to restore the throne to its lawful ruler Jai Singha from the occupation of the Burmese, suffered 'the loss of two-thirds of the men and provisions and only a third could come back'.[5] From the explanations given to the king by Haranath Senapati Phukan, who was in charge of this expedition, the difficulties of a hill-campaign particularly in connection with communication and transport can be best understood.[6] To this can be added the guerrilla and ambuscade methods of warfare which enabled the tribesmen, in spite of their primitive weapons, to often put into serious discomfiture the Ahoms fighting with matchlocks and guns.

The Ahoms gradually expanded their suzerainty in the Brahmaputra valley from the east to the west bringing the indigenous powers under their control one after another. In course of their expansion in the west they came into conflict with the Muhammadans. In the sixteenth and almost throughout the seventeenth century, the Ahoms had to fight serveral wars against them.[7] To face the great Mughals, the Ahom kings realised, not only military strength but unity and solidarity of the subject population was highly essential. During this period of external

danger, they, therefore, generally avoided with tact any conflict with the internal powers and even followed a policy of appeasement towards some of the hill tribes like the Bhutanese.[8] This policy had its desired effect, so that the Ahoms in times of their need could recruit soldiers from the hill men, "who were quite able to hold their own against the well trained armies of Hindustan".[9] In the Ahoms' success against the Mughals, the tribesmen played an important role. This has been well illustrated by the Assamese ambassador, Madhavcharan Kataki, in his interview with the Mughal commander Raja Ram Singh of Amber who led an expedition to Assam in 1669-1671 in the following words, "Numerous chieftains of the mountainous regions have become our willing allies in the campaign. They consist of a total strength of three lakhs of soldiers. They are not amenable to any considerations of right and wrong. Their participation in this campaign has been directly sanctioned by His Majesty, and they rush furiously against the enemy without waiting for the orders of the general. They are quick and sudden in their attacks and their movements and actions cannot be presaged."[10]

The Ahoms were also conscious of their numerical minority. Their political strength lay in cultural assimilation. They therefore became one with the conquered, intermarrying with them, adopting their manners and customs, speaking their language and at last accepting their religion. In their policy of adding members to their racial fold, the Ahoms gladly accepted the tribesmen of both hills and plains. Thus the illustrious Ahom family of Miri Sandikai was founded by one Miri, the adopted son of a Burhagohain.[11] King Gadadhar Sinha (1681-1696) accepted two Naga princesses as his consorts.[12] The new converts, if possessed of efficiency, were even recruited to important administrative posts. Thus the second Barphukan, the governor of Lower Assam, was the son of a Naga of Banferra clan.[13] Queen Phuleswari, who took the regalia to her hand during the reign of king Siva Singha (1714-1744), appointed a Bhutanese youth as her page.[14] Kancheng, the first Barpatra Gohain, was born and brought up in a Naga family.[15]

The Ahoms used to interdine with the hillmen and invitation to the Naga Chiefs in particular, to the royal feasts was a regular feature. This immunity from caste prejudices highly impressed the hill people. The Mikirs, for example, when they found the Ahom soldiers partaking of

their food and drinks while leading an expedition to the Mikir hills, were moved and commented with great delight : "These men eat the things we eat; they are therefore men of our fraternity."[16] The elder folk then recalled the youngers, who had fled to the forests on the approach of the Ahoms, and several families of Mikirs and Lalungs immediately migrated to the Ahom territories.[17] Through this liberal social outlook, the Ahoms established equity between the people of the hills and the plains, which greatly helped in consolidating their power and maintaining their rule for a fairly long period of six hundred years.

Clashes with the Nagas were very common. In order to pacify them, revenue-free lands and fishing waters (Lakes or *beels*) along with *paiks* were granted to the Noctes, Konyaks, Aos and the Lotha (Lhota) Naga tribes living on the southern borders of the present Dibrugarh and Sibsagar districts. These lands were called *Naga-khats* and managed by Assamese agents called *Naga-Katakis*. In return for this, the Nagas had to acknowledge the overlordship of the Ahoms and pay annual tributes. This conciliatory policy towards the Nagas was of immense help to the Ahoms in maintaining relations with their kinsmen in Upper Burma as well as in protecting their kingdom from domination of the ambitious chiefs of that country.

With regard to a section of the Bhutanese (the Bhutanese of Char-duar), Akas, Daflas, Miris and the tribes on the northern frontier, the Ahoms introduced the *posa* system[18] by which several villages in the *duar* areas were assigned to them and the *paiks* of these areas were made liable to meet their stipulated demand fixed for each of them separately. These assigned families were exempted from payment of taxes to the Ahom government equivalent to the amount represented by the articles of the *posa*. These *paiks* were also to restrict the annual visits of the hillmen to a fixed locality. This system regularised the demands of the hill people upon the inhabitants of the *duar* areas and also recognised their claim to a share in the produce of the fertile lands of these areas. It also checked to a great extent the inroads of the hill people into the plains area and thereby helped in maintaining peace and tranquility in the kingdom.

In regard to the Daflas, a very dangerous neighbour,[19] the Ahom king Gadadhar Sinha introduced the *Dafla-bahatiya* assignment. The *Dafla-bahatiyas* were generally culprits convicted of various offences. The

Daflas could concentrate their ferocity and greed on these people, This system acted as a 'deterrent to the commission of crimes, the consequences of which would be forfeiture of lives to the mercy of the unrelenting hillmen.[20]

Behind the pacifist policy of the Ahom rulers towards the neighbouring hill tribes, there were some economic considerations, too, which had a remarkable impact on their state-economy. It had enabled them to have free commercial intercourse with the tribal people, thus not only creating good feelings amongst the people of the hills and the plains but also enhancing the economic prosperity of the kingdom. For example, cordial relations with the Bhutanese enabled the Ahoms to carry on a brisk trade with these people and through their country with China and Tibet. Geegunshur, four miles distant from Chouna lying on the confines of Assam and Bhutan, was the place where the Assamese merchants used to be stationed with their commodities. The Bhutanese used to bring here silver bullion amounting to about two lakh rupees and a considerable quantity of other materials like woollen cloth, Chinese silk, yak-tails, ponies, gold-dust and rock-salt and exchanged them for iron, lac, rice, Assam silk, dried fish, buffalo horns etc.[21] About the year 1820, the Lhassa merchants brought with them 70,000 rupees to buy Assam staples.[22] For the supply of ponies and silver, Assam always depended on Bhutan. It is interesting to note in this connection that Assam's trade with countries like Bactria and Kabul in ancient days through the mountain passes of Bhutan is referred to by Tavernier,[23] a French merchant, who visited India in 1641 A.D.

In a like way, through commercial transactions with the Nagas and the Garos, salt, then a rare commodity in Assam, was obtained. From other neighbouring hill tribes certain essential commodities like cotton, copper etc. were obtained. For example, from the Mishmis in the famous market at Sadiya were procured Lama swords and spears, *mishmi tita* (a kind of vegetable poison used in poisoning arrows) and *gertheana* (a vegetable production much esteemed by the plains people for its peculiar but rather pleasant smell and used chiefly in anointing the hair) and from the Singphos considerable quantity of ivory, copper and silver procured from china,[24] In the same market pepper, *manjit* (madder), wax and *jim* cloth (a kind of blanket made with cotton) were obtained from the Adis (the Abors) and the Hill Miris.[25] It was through

the Adis that considerable quantities of copper came to Assam. The Nagas in the markets at Nogora, Jorhat, Kacharihat and other spots along the border bartered their spears, cotton, jinger, chillies and salt for articles like rice, duck etc.[26] To the Kukuriya market at Barduar, the Garos brought their knives, cotton and also salt, which they purchased at Rajhat in Jayantiya and at Laur (the Laur river) in Sylhet.[27] The Khasis used to visit all the markets along the frontier as far as the middle of Nowgong and bartered their iron implements, chiefly hoes, and honey, cotton, red chillies etc. for cattle, goat, rice, tabacoo, cloths, dried fish, silk etc.[28] Such commercial transactions encouraged the trading pursuits of the people and to facilitate these the Ahom rulers opened markets at places advantageous and contiguous to the hill tribes.

Sometimes the Ahom rulers exploited the economic needs of the hill people to their own advantage. Thus by permitting the Jayantiyas and the Mishmis to trade with the plains of Assam, the Ahom rulers established their overlordship over them and compelled them to pay annual tributes.[29]

From the annual tribute paid in kind by the hill tribes, the Ahom rulers were deriving the supply of many of their necessaries. For example, for making over the Darrang and Kamrup *Duars* to Bhutan, they exacted from the latter an annual tribute consisting of yak-tails, ponies, musk, gold-dust, blanket and daggers, the total value of which was estimated at Rs. 4781-1.[30] The Nagas paid taxes of slaves, elepaant teeth, spear-shafts, cloth and cotton.[31] All this enhanced the economic prosperity of the Ahom kingdom.

Relations with the hill tribes were conducted by duly appointed frontier wardens and governors. Thus the Sadiya-khowa Gohain was in charge of conciliating the tribes of the Sadiya country viz, the Adis, Miris and Mishmis. Similarly the Marangi-khowa Gohain and the Rahial Barua were in charge of the Kacharis and Mikirs, the Jagiyalia Gohain and the Kajalimukhia Gohain of the Jayantias and the Barphukan and the Darrang Raja, of the Bhutanese. They were helped in their duties by the *Duarias* or guards of the passes on different frontiers.

Despite the concessions made to the hill tribes in various ways, most of them often violated their agreements, indulged in raids in the Ahom kingdom and withheld the payment of annual tributes. The

Ahom rulers, however, suppressed these troubles with fact and diplomacy and also by the application of force when situation so demanded, insisting on the surrender of miscreants. But whenever the rebellious hill tribes offered submission agreeing to pay annual tributes and promising to abide by the conditions imposed on them, the Ahom kings pardoned them.

The success of the Ahom tribal policy can be inferred from their uninterrupted enjoyment of sovereignty for six hundred years against the turbulent hillmen whose greedy eyes were fixed on the fertile lands below their hills. The policy was so practical that the Britishers had to follow the same course in their dealings with the hill tribes. This is clear from the command given to their frontier officers: "Conciliate these savages, if you can, be persistent in demanding the surrender of murderers, but *endeavour so to approach the tribes, that a basis may* be opened for friendly intercourse in the future."[82]

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SULTAN AHMED SHAH KHALJI OF CHANDERI—A NEW RULER OF KHALJI DYNASTY OF MALWA

S. K. Bhatt

There is hardly any contemporary chronicle which gives the detailed history of the north-eastern region of medieval Malwa during Muhammad Shah II Khalji's reign. Whatever information we get about this ruler is from the sources of the Surs, the Mughals and the Sultans of Gujarat, and that, too, is scanty as well as incomplete. Therefore, for the study of the history of this region one has to rely

more on numismatic and epigraphical sources. As a result of their study a new ruler of the Khalji dynasty of Malwa has been brought to light.

On Nasir Shah Khalji's death, his third son Mahmud II ascended the throne of Malwa. His accession was challenged first by his eldest brother Shahabuddin and on his death, by *shahzada* Sahib Khan who assumed the title of Sultan Muhammad, giving rise to a fital civil war in the Sultanate. Consequently, in 917 A. H. rebellious Prince Muhammad succeeded in capturing the fort of Mandu, by setting aside temporarily Sultan Mahmud II Khalji. Thus in 917 A. H. Malwa had two rulers, both claiming authority over the Sultanate, issuing at the same time their own independent currencies.[1] Mahmud II Khalji, in his turn sought the help of Medni Rai, the powerful Purbia Chief, and recovered within a few month the lost throne of Malwa. Muhammad II, the rebel Prince, now fled towards Gujarat to seek help from Sultan Muzaffar Shah against Sultan Mahmud II Khalji of Malwa but in vain. Therefore, Muhammad Shah II sought the help of Sikandar Lodi, the ruler of Delhi and with his support re-occupied Chanderi by 920 A. H.[2] But within a few weeks he was defeated and driven out of Chanderi by Sultan Mahmud II Khalji's forces. But in view of imminent danger of an attack on Malwa from Sultan Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat and also from the Lodi rulers of Delhi, Mahmud II Khalji adopted a farsighted policy of patching up differenees with Prince Muhammad. But the deceptive attitude of Bihjat Khan seems to have made it futile.[3] Thereafter what happened to Muhammad II is not described by contemporary sources. But we do get copper coins of Muhammad II bearing dates 921 and 922 A. H. with a mint mark which has been generally ascribed to the coins issued from Chanderi. From this numismatic evidence we may surmise that Muhammad II continued his hold over Chanderi region upto 921-22 A. H.

The year 923 A. H. witnessed a clash between Sultan Mahmud and his minister Medni Rai. The Sultan went to Gujarat to seek help of Muzaffar Shah against Medni Rai. Consequently Medni Rai went to Rana Sanga to seek his help against Sultan Mahmud II. This clash in which Medni Rai defeated Sultan Mahmud, resulted in the establishment of Rajput influence in Malwa. It also led to the dismemberment of the Malwa Kingdon whereby most of the Rajput Chiefs of

Malwa including Medni Rai and Rai Silhadi started assuming independence.[4]

Research works done by M. M. G.H. Ojha followed by Dr. Raghubir Sinh, Dr. G. N, Sharma and Dr. U. N. Day have led us to believe that at this time (924-25 A. H.) Chanderi was occupied by Rana Sanga and was handed over to Medni Rai. M.M. Ojha in support of his view has quoted a reference from *Babur Nama*[5] which describes the position of India in 1526-28 A. D. and not 1519 A. D. Dr. Raghubir Sinh relying solely on M. M. Ojha's view has reproduced it *verbatim.*[6] Dr. Day has also expressed similar views but failed to quote the source of his information.[7]

The study of contemporary historical sources like *Babur Nama Tabqat-i-Akbari*, *Tarikh-i-Firishta* and *Tarikh-i-Badauni* reveals that in the first quarter of the 16th century Chanderi became the most vulnerable part of the Malwa Kingdom. It attracted the attention of the Lodi rulers of Delhi. The rebellious attitudes of the *Shahzadas* of Malwa gave opportunities to the Lodis to interfere in Malwa politics. In 913 A. H. Shahabuddin, the son of Nasiruddin Khalji, rebelled and went to the court of Sikandar Lodi to seek help against his father and Sikandar Lodi promised all sort of help provided Shahabuddin would surrender Chanderi to the Lodies in return.[8] Two years later, in 915 A. H., Muhammad Khalji, the grandson of Nasir Shah, being affraid of his grandfather sought Sikander Lodi's protection and the *Sarkar* of Chanderi was assigned as *Jagir* and an order was issued to Shahzada Jalal Khan that he should help and support Muhammad II so that Muhammed II might not suffer any injury from the armies of Malwa Sultan.[9] In 916 A.H. Bahjat Khan, the Governor of Chanderi, whose ancestors had been the subjects of the Badshah of Malwa, on account of the weakness Sultan Mahmud Malwi and the decay of the government, came into relation with the Sultan by sending presents. The Sultan sent Imad-ul-Mulk Badah towards Chanderi that, he, in concert with Bahjat Khan, might have the public prayers read in Sultan's name in Chanderi and its neighbourhood.[10] Later, on the orders of the Sultan, Shahzada Muhammad Khan, the grandson of Sultan Nasir-ud-din Malwi, was interned in the city; and the dominion of the territory was confirmed to him as before, but all the powers passed into their hands.[11] After the death of Sikandar, Ibrahim

Lodi appointed Shaikhzada Manjhu (Muhammad Farmuli) to take charge of and protect the fort of Chanderi and to be the Peshwa (Guardian or Minister) of *Shahzada* Muhammad, the grandson of Sultan Nasir-ud-din Malwi.[12] Thus by 923-24 before the advent of the Rajputs in Malwa, Chanderi was more or less under the influence of the Lodis.

A recently discovered inscription from Piranpur dated 926 A. H. provides further information about the history of Chanderi not mentioned in any contemporary chronicle. The epigraph contains the name of the then reigning Sultan of the land, Piranpur Chanderi, Ahmed Shah son of Muhammad II the descendant of the Khalji rulers reigning at Mandu Fort. The epigraph bears the date Monday 1. Dhu'l-Qa'da 926—(13th Oct., 1520 A.D.).[13] The inscription thus supplies new information about existence of a sovereign principality on the northern border of the Malwa Kingdom. The inscription is fixed into the left side of the step-well of *Gachaw Baori*, situated to the north west of the village Piranpur, about three miles east of Chanderi.[14]

Similarly another epigraph from Chanderi dated 9 Ramadan 930 A. H. provides the information that during Ibrahim Lodi's reign Sharafu'l Mulk was the *Muqta* of the Chanderi *Shiq*. He must have succeeded to part, if not whole, of the Chanderi *jagir* of Miyan Husain Farmuli.[15]

The recent discovery of some numismatic data from D. L. Johari's collection at Indore has further added information about the history of Chanderi for the years 931-933 A.H. Copper coins in the traditional square pattern of Malwa coinage with a legend on the obverse, Sultan bin Sultan' and on the reverse, 'Ibrahim Shah bin Sikandar Lodi, bear the date 931 and 933 A. H. The study of these coins makes it clear that between 931-933 A.H. Chanderi region was under Ibrahim Lodi. [16]

Thus the study of numismatic and epigraphical data reveals that after the advent of Rana Sanga in Malwa to help Medni Rai against Mahmud II Chanderi seems to have passed on to Ahmad Shah Khalji in 926 A.H. (or may be slightly earlier) who established an independent sovereign rule in north east of Malwa in Chanderi region. Earlier, 923-24, the Lodis had systematically established their hold over this region. In 930 A. H. (or may be earlier) Chanderi came into the possession of Ibrahim Lodi and on the basis of coins found in the region,

it appears that it remained under the Lodis from 931 to 933 A. H. After the death of Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat, Chanderi seems to have come into the possession of Rana Sanga who gave it to Medni Rai. In 934-35 A. H. (1528 A. D.), when Babur attacked Chanderi Medni was there and was killed in the battle. Babur gave Chanderi back to Ahmad Shah the grandson of Sultan Nasir-ud-din Khalji. This view has been fully supported by *Babur Nama* where Babur has written, "Chanderi had formerly belonged to the Sultans of Mandu. After the death of Sultan Nasir-ud-din one of his sons Sultan Mahmud, who is now in Mandu, got possession of Mandu and the neighbouring countries; another of his sons, Muhammad Shah, seized on Chanderi, and applied to Sultan Sikandar for protection. Sultan Sikandar sent several large armies and supported him in his dominion. After Sultan Sikander's demise, in Sultan Ibrahim's reign, Muhammad Shah died, leaving a young son of the name Ahmad Shah. Ibrahim carried off Ahmad Ahah, and established one of his own people instead . . . I gave Chanderi to Ahmad Shah . . . the grandson of Sultan Nasir-ud-din . . . "[17] In the light of the above evidence the myth that after the battle of Gangraon Chanderi came into the possession of Rana Sanga who handed it over to Medni Rai and that it remained in his possession till 1528 A. D. when Babur attacked Chanderi and conquered it from Medni Rai should be taken as baseless.

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE MEWAR POLITY AT THE TIME OF MAHARANA PRATAP'S ACCESSION

G. D. Sharma

The accession of Maharana Pratap Singh to the *gaddi* of Mewar in March 1572 marked the prevalence in the Rajput states of the practice that the most competent member of the royal family had a rightful claim on the *gaddi*. The Sisodia dynasty of Chittor then could hardly claim definite territorial boundaries. This was so in spite of the concept of *Bhai-bandh* according to which the territory conquered by the Rajput ruler or his *sardars* (chiefs of the sub-clan who held territories) with the co-operative efforts of the whole clan, was considered to be a kind of a joint state. If properly channelized, it could offer effective resistence for the defence of the Sisodia country.[1] However, some basic changes had taken place since the death of Rana Sanga which in turn had infused a structural change in the Sisodia country.

Maharana Sanga had successfully maintained the concept of *Bhai-bandh*, although he had made the *sardars* feel that they were obliged to serve the interest of the Rana.[2] The Mewar *sardars* were granted territories in lieu of their services to the State.[3] However it seems, Rana Sanga made no fundamental change in the character of the nobility as

a result of which the feeling of their being co-sharers of the State remained unaltered. The practice of assigning territories to the *sardars* for their services would not have introduced any change in the relationship between the Rana and the *sardars* if an equally powerful ruler had succeeded Sanga. But political instability following the death of Rana Sanga shattered the politico-administrative structure formed during his reign.[4]

During the period between the death of Rana Sanga and the accession of Rana Pratap some fundamental changes took place in relation to the nobles which ultimately reduced the power of the Ranas. The attitude of Rana Ratan Singh (1528-1531), Rana Vikramaditya (1531-36) and Rana Udai Singh (1537-72) towards the *sardars* created dissatisfaction among the latter.[5] In fact the successors of Rana Sanga asserted their right of sovereignty over the *sardars* without seeking their confidence. Consequently, many of the *sardars* either isolated themselves from the policies of the Rana's court and went to their respective *thikanas* or joined the enemy for the sake of securing respectable positions.[6]

Resentment among the *sardars* against the Rana no doubt provided opportunity to both Bahadur Shah and, later on to Akbar, to utilize their services against the Rana. These *sardars* had been the source of strength to the Rana in the absence of which resistence offered by the Rana was seriously affected. Among the Sisodia *sardars*, as among the *sardars* of the neighbouring Rajput States, grew a feeling of insecurity of their holdings and they strove to gain the favour of the Mughal Emperor (Akbar) who was not only ready to recognize their holdings but also assign them additional, *jagirs* within or outside their *watan* holdings.[7] However, the decision of the *sardars* to desert the Rana mainly depended upon the attitude of the Rana. They still had the feeling that they should defend their ancestral land and were ready to support the Rana at any cost provided they got proper recognition and respect from him.[8] Obviously, the successors of Rana Sanga failed to realise this fact and did not give due importance to the *sardars*.

The so-called political confederation of the Rajput rulers under the leadership of the Rana of Mewar virtually collapsed with the death of Rana Sanga. Both Rana Ratan Singh and Vikramaditya made no attempt to form such a confederation. However, it seems that Rana

Udai Singh tried to revive it, though in different political circumstances. The *Amar Kavya* records that Rana Udai Singh granted Ajmer to Rao Sultan (Surtan) of Sirohi after securing its possession from the Pathans (possibly after the death of Sher Shah), restored the *gaddi* of Bundi and *qiledari* of Ranthambhor along with 100 villages of Fulia, and 100 villages of Kumbal to Surjan Hada. He also granted Gangrod. Bhesoro, Barod, and Began to Rawat Saidas, Badnoor along with 1000 villages to Jaimal Rathor of Merta, Kelwa along with 100 villages to Ram Singh son of Rao Maldeo, etc.[9] By adopting this practice Udai Singh created many feudatories and thus secured the services of many of the rulers or *sardars*. However, the Rana could retain their support so long as he was powerful.

Among the Rajput rulers Rao Maldeo, who then enjoyed great strength, could hardly appreciate this policy of the Rana. In fact some of the *sardars* were the enemy of Rao Maldeo and extension of shelter to them caused bitterness and rivalry between the two. Despite the internal weakness from which Mewar then suffered, the Ranas, particularly Udai singh, could not maintain cordial relations with the rulers of the neighbouring states. In this connection the examples of Rao Maldeo and Haji Khan Pathan are worth mentioning. Rana Udai Singh ignored the suggestion and the feelings of his *sardars* and invited an unnecessary conflicts with Haji Khan and rivalry with Rao Maldeo.[10] Since Rana Udai Singh had not the power and courage of Rana Sanga, the availability of the support of these feudatories became subject to their convenience. Thus when Emperor Akbar proceeded towards Mewar, many of them joined hands with the Mughals. This weakened the position of Rana Udai Singh.[11]

There is hardly any doubt that when the Rajput rulers were engaged in internal conflicts, the appearance of Akbar in Rajputana and the initiation of his well-known policy was not countered by Rana Udai Singh who made no attempt to establish unity among the Sisodia princes and *sardars*. Thus many of the dissatisfied *sardars*, including Rana Sagar, decided to join the imperial service. In fact, these *sardars* could appreciate that by 1565, apart from the Rana of Mewar, all the other Rajput rulers had either submitted to the Mughal Emperor or the Mughal Emperor had established his hold over their territories.[12] Under these circumstances the effectiveness of the resistance offered by the

Rana was reduced considerably. Apparently Udai Singh was aware of his weakness vis-a-vis the Mughal forces. His withdrawal from the fort of Chittor, leaving its defence in the hands of his *sardars*, further reduced his resistance considerably. One may conclude that the resistance offered by the Mewar *sardars* was merely a token as each one of them had conceded their defeat already.

There is no doubt that the flight of the Rana (Oct. 1567) with the intention to offer resistance in future would have borne fruit if the enemy's persistence had been short lived, as had happened in case of Rao Maldeo during Sher Shah's reign.[13] But now political circumstances had changed and on account of continued Mughal pressure, Rana Udai Singh could hardly get an opportunity to augment his power. After the fall of Chittor (1568) the resistance of the Rana could have been effective only if he had enjoyed the confidence of the people, particularly of the Bhils for restrengthening his army as was done later by Rana Pratap, but that factor was not properly realised at that time.

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2. The accounts of Muhnot Nainsi (*Khyat*), Kavi Shyamaldas and Pt. Ojha record the territorial assignments made by Rana Sanga to the *sardars*.
3. For example, Surajmal Hada was granted 100 villages in *jagir* in Mewar when he was appointed *qiledar* of Ranthambhor (*Vir-Vinod* ii, 87).
4. Since Rana Ratan Singh, soon after his succession, came in conflict with his brother Vikramaditya and Bahadur Shah of Gujrat, it was difficult for him to maintain the relationship with the nobility on the lines laid down by Rana Sanga.
5. Pt. Ojha, *Udaipur-Rajya-Ka-Itihas*, i (relations with Surajmal Hada) 396; i, 397, 407; G. N. Sharma, *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors* (Agra, 1962) 53.
6. Ojha, *op. cit.*, i, 297-8.
7. Cf. *Nainsi-ri-Khyat* (Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur) i, 23-31.

8. In spite of their dissatisfaction with Rana Vikramaditya, Sisodia *sardars* who had gone to their respective *thikanas*, agreed to fight on behalf of Rana Vikramaditya as the mother of the Rana had acknowledged their importance.
9. *Vir-Vinod ii*, 87.
10. *Nainsi-Khyat* i, 60-61; Ojha, op. cit., I, 407.
11. *Nainsi-Khyat* i, 23-31.
12. Akbar took possession of Jodhpur in 1563 and instead of granting it to its rightful claimant (Chandra Sen or Ram Singh) included it in *Khalisa*. Cf. *Akbar Nama* (Text) ii, 197; Nainsi, *Marwar-ra-Pargana-ri-Vigat*, i, 68.
13. Rao Maldeo could re-establish his control over Jodhpur only after the death of Sher Shah in 1545.

(ii) Social and Economic History of India

MONEY-LENDING AND EXCHANGE IN 17TH AND 18TH CENTURY MARWAR

B. L. Bhadani

In the economic set-up of medieval India money lenders played an important role. An attempt is made in this paper to study the way money lenders conducted their business in Marwar during the 17th and 18th centuries. Money lenders formed a highly specialised commercial group in Marwar practising usury, issuing *hundis* and sometimes acting as brokers. Apart from money lending they also engaged in trade.[1] They belonged to the *Baniya* community in general; but the profession was also adopted by other castes. Professional usurers were styled *sahs*, *mahajans* and *bohras*. The importance of the profession during this period when the means of communication and transport were still undeveloped is quite understandable.

Our evidence for Marwar comes mainly from certain documents collected in the Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner and in the private collections of a house of *mahajans*. The *bahis* of money lenders furnish us with information on interest rates and prices of various articles.

Valuable records maintained by a Brahman family of Merta have survived[2] This family engaged in money-lending of all types, as well as in trade. During the time of Jaswant Singh, members of this family used to recite the *Katha*.[3] Originally they held *Sasan* (revenue free grant) or *dohli*, being authorised to collect money from temples.[4] They were appointed to recite the Gita and the *Katha* in the temples for which they were paid one *taka* (a copper coin) per day.[5] During the 18th century they were also allotted Rs. 10/- per month from the Sair (market taxes)[6]

We learn from official records that the state levied a professional tax upon *mahajans*, this being a cess on their profits.[7] A rate of 8% (upon the interest charged by *mahajans*) was realised from the *mahajans* in *Pargana* pokaran. This became due whenever the *mahajans* recoveries exceeded the principal.[8]

In return the rulers of Marwar offered certain amount of patronage and protection to the *mahajans*. Maharaja Sur Singh and Jaswant

Singh both invited the *sahs* residing in different provinces to come and settle down in Marwar and take part in trade.[9] Maharaja Jaswant Singh instructed his officials to expedite the recovery of loans advanced by these *Mahajans*.[10]

Rural Money-Lending

Peasants were always hard pressed for money to pay the land revenue and maintain cultivation.[11] On secured loans the rate of interest was not so high as on unsecured loans. At the time of sowing the peasants are found to have borrowed money at 36% per annum.[12] It is however, evident that the loan was unsecured. In a particular case of secured loan the field was mortgaged by the peasant and interest was charged at 18% per annum.[13] In another case (in 1738) the borrower gave the authority to money lender to take one fourth of the income of a *Kosita* (shallow well).[14] It can be inferred that the income from the *Kosita* was adjusted against interest.

In 1738, loan was advanced to a borrower (Garg-baniya) on condition that land-revenue of the field (60 *bighas*) under his possession be adjusted against interest. The money lender would not demand interest and the borrower would have no right on the land revenue of mortgaged land.[15] The rate of interest here was quoted as 18.75% per annum.

A loan of Rs. 30 annas 5 (1738) was taken for *unali* (*rabi*) at 18% per annum, by Sadasram, Gurgila by caste.[16] The same borrower had previously taken loan twice for cultivation and for purchasing foodgrains, of the value of Rs. 383, annas nine.[17]

The burden of loans on the peasantry was very heavy. According to a 17th century Jain traveller the peasantry was under heavy burden as the secured loans sometimes rose to five times the principal due to high interest.[18] The rate of interest ranged between 10% and 36% per annum,[19] though 36% was charged on unsecured loans only.

The general practice was that loans were given in cash. But sometimes the loans were repaid in *hundis*.[20] There is evidence suggesting that the wages of a *hali* (agricultural labour) were adjusted towards payment of interest, due from him on a loan.[21] Generally loans were advanced for a short duration i.e., for one or two months. But after the expiry of this period the interest was compounded at various rates.[22] The rate of interest is invariably quoted *per mensem*. The following table shows the rates of interest given on various loans to rural borrowers.

TABLE—I

Sl. No.	Year	Amount borrowed (in rupees)	Rate of interest per annum	Borrower's caste & name	Security	Value of Security in Rs	Mode of repay-ment	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	1750/ 1693	8/-	18%	Gor, Jagram	Gold Ornaments 1. *Tilari*—1 2. *Tikara*—2 3. *Tant* —1	10/-	...	Previously Rs. 21/- was given to the same person.
2.	,,	4/-	18%	Sadhara. Natha Jadu	...	...	...	Security is not mentioned.
3.	1751/ 1694	1.50	18%	Rajput, Gordhan Jagnath	1. *Nogara*—1 2. *Than*—22	2/-		...
4.	,,	25/-	18%	Ugar, Dharnidhar	...	...	...	Security is not mentioned.
5.	,,	1/-	18%	Mali Giga Chkha	1. *Murki* of Gold	1.50	...	...
6.	,,	3/-	21%	Jodha, Bhopat	1. Ankala—3			Weight 3 *tola*
7.	,,	2/-	18%	Sahila, Mukand Ganga Ram	1. *Bid* of silver—1 (*mass*—18)	2.25	...	...

8.	,,	5/-	18%	Sahila, Mukand Ganga Ram	1. *Has* of silver—1 (weight 7 *tola* 2 masa)	6/-	...	...
9.	1751/ 1694	4/-	12%	Gor, Jagram Ganesh	1. *Has* of silver	5.75	...	Weight of *Taghari* 20 *tola*=Rs. 13.4.
10.	,,	12/-	36%	Joshi, Rav Ram Samdas	unsecured	...	...	Unsecured
11;	1790/ 1733	2/-	36%	Dube, Teta chena	,,	...	...	1. Taken for agricultural purpose. 2. Previously Rs.4/- advanced to same borrower.
12.	1794/ 1737	21/-	18%	Joshi Sivdat Ganesh	Field (*khet*) mortgaged	40/-	...	1. A field which was purchased for Rs. 40/- and then mortgaged. 2. Previously Rs. 250/- advanced to same borrower.
13.	1795/ 1730	7.50	18%	Joshi, Sivdat Ganesh	Unsecured	...	...	One fourth was taken from the share of *Kosita* (well).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
14.	1792/ 1735	30/-	9%	Garg. Mansa Ram Sanwal	Field mortgaged	...	...	...
15.	1795/ 1738	44.50	18.75	,,	...	...	...	Land-revenue of field (60 *bighas*) was to be adjusted against interest. The creditor would not demand interest and borrower would not have the right to land-revenue of mortgaged land.
16.	1795/ 1738	30.31	18%	Gurgila. Sadasram Santokh	Unsecured	...	...	The loan of Rs. 30 annas 5 was taken for *unali* (*rabi*). Previously Rs. 53, annas 4, were borrowed for purchasing food-grains.
17.	1796/ 1739	18/-	18%	Vyas Santok	Oxen mortgaged	...	...	The payment to be made before the month of *Kati*.

Commercial Credit

Most of the commercial borrowers belonged to the *baniya* community. The rate of interest paid by such borrowers could be as low as 9% per annum.[23] But generally the rate of interest on secured loans of this kind ranged from 10.5% to 18% per annum.[24] Sadhara Narhar Govind borrowed (1693) money at 10 5% per annum. He was *patwa* (one who entwines ornaments with silk, cotton or gold thread)[25] A brahman borrowed (1737) Rs. 342½ at 18% per annum on surety of two persons. Along with the surety, he mortgaged all his goods.[26] The moneylender recorded a condition in the mortgaged deed called *aiwalo*.[27] This meant that if the borrower failed to repay the loan within the stipulated period, the lender had the right to sell the movable property placed in security. The same person borrowed Rs. 345 in 1737, again on *aiwalo*; now he mortgaged opium, cloth and a *hundi*.[28] In 1737, the repayment was made through *hundis*.[29]

Often moneylenders engaged in trade themselves. Cotton was purchased in 1739 in partnership with Kanji (other partner) by the brahman moneylender of Merta, whose *bahi* we have been citing.[30] The profit was divided equally between the two, though the capital was invested by moneylender himself.[31] But in addition to the profit the moneylender charged on half of the capital, interest at 9% per annum. The rate of interest often varied according to the caste of the debtors. The rate charged from brahmans and Rajputs, for example, seems generally to have been higher than that charged from baniyas. Probably baniyas were regarded as more reliable debtors.[32]

An example of concession given to a baniya is furnished by the record of a short-term loan. In 1693, our brahman moneylender lent Rs. 4/- to Mehta Murlidhar, a baniya. The loan was repayable in eighteen days only, the debtor undertaking to 4 *takas* daily.[33] At that time a rupee was worth 17 *takas*;[34] so that after 18 days, the creditor would earn just 4 *takas*, or 1/17 of the principal. The transaction is described as *arhati boli*, an oral arrangement.[35]

The following table sets out terms of commercial loans that are recorded in the Merta usurer's *bahi*.

TABLE—II

Sl. No.	Year	Amount borrowed (in rupees)	Rate of interest per annum	Borrower's caste and Name	Security	Value of security (in rupees)	Mode of repayment	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	1750/ 1693	21/-	9%	Agarwal, Biharidas	1. *Ghughari* —1 2. *Than* —2	23/-	—	—
2.	,,	32/-	9%	Agarwal, Biharidas	1. *Ghughari* —1 2. *Than* —2 3. *Kathala* —1 4. *Harda* —4 5. *Than* —1	35/-	*Hundi*	—
3.	,,	19/-	10.50%	Agarwal, Sivdas	1. *Mala* of gold —1 2. *Than* of silver —1	22.50	—	The price of 5 *tola* silver was Rs. 4¼.
4.	,,	10/-	10.50%	Patwa, Narhar Govind	Unsecured	—	—	Security is not mentioned.
5.	,,	20/-	12%	Bhuhar, Kusla Bihari	*Ornament* 1. *Teghari* —1	28/-	—	
6.	,,	22/-	12%	Mehta, Murlidhar	1. *Teghari* of silver —1 2. *Than* of silver —2	26.50	—	

7.	1750/ 1693	8/-	12%	Mehta, Murlidhar	1. *Charawo* of brass 2. *Dori* of silver	—1 —1	8.50	—	1. Weight of *charawo* of brass $6\frac{1}{4}$ tola = 30 *seer* and value is Rs. 5/-. 2. Previously R. $70\frac{1}{2}$ were advanced.
8.	,,	5/-	12%	Agarwal, Baksai	*Has* of silver	—1	6.75	—	Weight of *has* 7.12 tola = R. 6.75.
9.	,,	11/-	12%	Mehta, Murli	*Taghari* of silver	—1	13.25	—	Weight of *taghari* 20 tola = Rs. 13.25
10.	1751/ 1694	40/-	12%	Agarwal, Vithaldas Benidas	1. *Taghari* of silver 2. *Than* of silver	—1 —2	55/-	—	—
11.	,,	20/-	12%	Bihani Har Rai	1. *Taghari* of silver		—	—	Weight $36\frac{1}{2}$ tola = Rs. 24.
12.	,,	20/-	15%	Bihani, Har Rai	1. *Champakali* of gold 2. *Pochya* of gold 3. *Dori* of silver		28.50	—	—
13.	,,	23/-	9%	Agarwal, Biharidas	1. *Bhanwar* with *Moti* 2. *Kothali*	—1 —1	27/-	—	For four months after which interest would be compo-

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
					3. *Pawat* 4. *Champakali* of silver 5. Niboli of gold			unded and charged at 9% per annum.
14.	,,	5/-	12%	Kapalo	1. *Tant* of silver —1	—	—	Weight of silver 6½ *tola*.
15.	,,	56/-	12%	Agarwal, Kasi Ram Shivdas	1. *Panchlari* of gold 2. *Tikara* of gold —2 3. *Tant* of gold —4 4. *Pan* of gold —1 5. *Cholari* of gold —1 6. *Tikara* of silver —2 7. *Tant* of silver —1 8. *Kakasi* of silver —1 9. *Kakoli* of silver —1 10. *Than* of silver —4 11. *Teghara* of silver—1	68/-	—	The loan was only for one month and after that interest would be compounded @ 12% per annum.
16.	,,	15/-	12%	Agarwal, Kasi Ram Shivdas	*Kathir* one *mound*	20/-	—	—

17.	,,	8/-	12%	*Kaplor* Sabla Mukand	1. *Tant* of silver —1 (Weight-6½ *tola*). 2. *Pawata* 3. *Than*	10.25	—	—
18.	,,	12.50	10.50%	Gorani Narasidhar Harakha	1. *Mala* of gold	17/-	—	—
19.	,,	7/-	12%	Mudhara, Balkishan	1. Bor of silver	9/-	—	—
20	,,	12/-	12%	Somani, Sukha Gigha	1. *Grjari* of silver —1 (Weight 11½ *tola*) 2. *Dulari*	14/-	—	—
21.	1794/ 1737	42.50	18%	Prohit, Deep Chand Fateh Chand	Personal security by another man	—	—	1. Rs. 300/- were previously taken. 2. The goods were mortgaged with the money lender.
22.	,,	345/-	18%	,,	—	Partly *hundi*	—	Rs.340/- were paid through *hundi*.
23.	1795/ 1738	65.25	18%	,,	—	Partly *hundi*	—	Rs. 44 annas 13 were paid through *hundi*.

The State and Credit

The income of the rulers of Marwar was mainly from taxes collected in their *khalisa*. Against this income they often borrowed large sums of money from the *sahs* and *bohras*. Maharaja Gaj Singh borrowed a heavy amount i.e. Rs. 13,00001/- from the *bohras* of Marwar and mortgaged to them the revenues of *pargana* Jalor. Later on, this loan was repaid by Jaswant Singh.[36] But Jaswant Singh himself many times borrowed money from the various *bohras* and *sahs*.[37] He instructed Miyan Farasat, the *diwan* of Jodhpur, that repayment of certain loans was to be made out of the *hasil* of *pargana* Jalor.[38] He further ordered that the agents of creditors coming to claim the amount would get daily expenses in kind (flour 1 seer and ghee).[39] The following table brings together information on some of the loans contracted on behalf of the Jodhpur rulers.

TABLE—III

Year	Amount borrowed (in rupees)	Rate of interest per annum	Remarks and references
—	13,00,001	—	Loan by Maharaja Gaj Singh from *bohras* : Jalor was mortgaged with the bohras, *Marwar-ri-khyat*, p. 185.
1647	501	12%	Loan advanced by Bohra Narwad to Jaswant Singh, *Hath Bahi*, No. 2, pp. 148-49.
1653	501	18%	Loan advanced by Bohra, Raghunath to Jaswant Singh for one month after which interest would be compounded, *Hath Bahi*, No. 2, p. 148.
1659	400	12%	Borrowed by Jaswant Singh, payment to be made in grain at market price, *Hath Bahi*, No. 2, p. 149.
1663	950 2,501 2,501	12%	Loan advanced by Bohra, Girdhar to Jaswant Singh for 15 days, after which interest would be compounded, *Hath Bahi*, No. 2, pp. 149-50.

Bills of Exchange

It seems that these money lenders performed a variety of functions. Besides moneylending they were engaged in the business of issuing and discounting *hundis*, or indigenous bills of exchange.[40]

Moneylenders could issue a *hundi* upon debtors at distant places. Bohra Narwad had advanced loans to Maharaja Jaswant Singh. He issued a *hundi* (1647) on Maharaja at Ahmedabad, and this bill was duly honoured by the Maharaja.[41] We can presume, perhaps, that the Bohra gave the *hundi* to a person and that person received payment from the Maharaja at Ahmedabad.

Peter Mundy borrowed Rs. 7000 in 1633 at Jalor by drawing a bill on Ahmedabad.[42] Similarly Sah Daulat Ram was issued a *hundi* (1764) in favour of the Marwar government on Sah Nihal Chand Alam Chand at Aurangabad. The *hundi* was repayable after ninety-one days. The drawer charged *hundawan* (discount) at Rs. 10½ per cent [43] The reasons why the rate of discount was so high are not clear.

The information gathered above relates to a small region, and is by no means comprehensive. The intention behind this paper has been primarily to present this information in such a form as to be of use in any larger analysis of the system of usuary prevalent in India during the 17th and 18th centuries. One hopes, too, that from such an analysis and from the clarifications that evidence from other regions is likely to produce, the specific features of the system of credit in Marwar could be spotted and distinguished with greater assurance.

REFERENCES

1. Maharaja Jaswant Singh invited the *sahs* for trade in Marwar and assured them that all their dues should be realised. See, *Jodhpur Records*, Basta No 11/56, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.
2. I am grateful to Shri Satya Narayan Parikh who generously lent me valuable *bahis* of his family.
3. *Turkani Ki Haqiqat*, ed. Satya Narayan Parikh, *Sodh Patrika*, Vol. 18-2, pp. 5-6, 1968.
4. *Parwana of V. S. 1796*, Bhartiya Vidyamandir Sodh Pratisthan, Bikaner.
5. *Parwana of V.S. 1809*, B. V. S. P. Bikaner.
6 *Parwana of V.S. 1821*, B. V. S. P. Bikaner.
7. *Vigat*, *I*, *p*. 395 and II p. 326.
8. *Ibid*, II, p. 326.

9. *Jodhpur Records*, Basta No. 11/56, R.S.A. Bikaner.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Vyas Lokmani collection, *Merta Bahi*, II, V. S. 1790, B. V. S. P. Bikaner, microfilms at Department of History, A. M. U. Aligarh.
12. *Merta Bahi*, II, V. S. 1790.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. Jaichand, *Sayeeki*, ed. Muni Kanti Sagar, Jaipur, 1970, p. 40.
19. Vyas Lokmani Collection, *Merta Bahi*, I & II, V. S. 1750 & 1790. In Eastern Rajasthan, apparently, the rate ranged from 10% to 25% per annum. See Dilbagh Singh 'The role of *Mahajans* in the rural economy in eastern Rajasthan during the 18th century'. *Social Scientist*, No. 22, May, 1974, p, 24. G. N. Sharma records that the rates of interest varied from 10 to 30 percent in Rajasthan. See, *Social Life in Medieval Rajasthan*, Agra, 1968, p. 340.
20. Vyas Lokmani Collection, *Merta Bahi*, I, V. S. 1750.
21. *Merta Bahi*, V. S. 1750.
22. *Ibid.* In Eastern Rajasthan this duration was six months and if not repaid within the time, the interest due was added to the principal. See Dilbagh Singh, *op. cit*. p. 24.
23. Vyas Lokmani Collection, *Merta Bahi*, I, V. S. 1750.
24. *Merta Bahi*, V. S 1750.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.* V. S. 1790.
27. *Aiwalo* is the agreement between the moneylender and the borrower in which the movable property of the borrower is entered and the property can be sold to realise the loan if the borrower fails to pay the amount. See Sita Ram Lala's *Rajasthani Sabad Kos*, I, Jodhpur, First edition, p. 2360.
28. *Merta Bahi*, II, V. S. 1790.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. See table nos I & II which are prepared on the basis of *Merta Bahis*.
33. *Merta Bahi*, V. S. 1750.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Wilson defines *arhat* as a commission (*Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, p. 32).

    It seems that in the present case the difference between the principal and amount to be repaid was regarded as the creditor's *arhat*; and being transacted orally, the deal is designated *arhati boli*.
36. *Marwar-ri-khyat*, p. 185, Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner. G. N. Sharma qnotes many example for the whole of Rajasthan in which the state borrowed from *sahs* and *bohras*, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

37. *Hath Bahi*, No. 2, pp. 148-49, R. S. A. Bikaner.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. Cf. Irfan Habib, 'The System of bills of exchange (*hundi*) in the Mughal empire', *Proceeding of Indian History Congress*, Muzaffarpur, 1972, pp. 290-303.
41. *Hath Bahi*, No. 2, pp. 148-49, R. S. A. Bikaner.
42. *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, II, p. 290.
43. *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, No. 1, p. 181, R.S.A. Bikaner.

EARLY SUFI THOUGHT IN INDIA

I. A. Zilli

One of the most significant elements in the intellectual and theological history of Islam in India is *sufism*. Sufism has, however, been very elusive of definition, in spite of the fact that the *sufis* themselves, organized in *silsilahs*, centred on *khanqahs*, and with established rituals were recognized components of the Muslim religious classes. No attempt at a definition is made here. But it has been thought useful to attempt a descriptive analysis of the thought and beliefs of two well-known Chishti saints of the 14th century; Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh, whose conversations are preserved for us in unimpeachably genuine records in the *Fawaid-ul-Fuad*[1] and *Khair-ul Majalis*.[2] No earlier Chishti text is available, but the *Awarif-ul Marif* of Shaikh Shihabuddin Suharwardi (ob. 1234 A. D.) was used by the Chishti saints as a text book,[3] and may be assumed to contain doctrines acceptable to them.

Shari'at and Tariqat :

It would appear that the *sufis* believed that two distinct traditions of religion were transmitted from the Prophet; the one known as *shariat* and the other termed as *tariqat*. The *shariat* is supposed to govern external life of the Muslims, while the latter's concern is with the spiritual sphere. The basis of *shariat* is *Quran*, *Sunnah* and *ijma'* while the fabric of the *tariqat* is woven round the *khirqah* which the Prophet is said to have received on the occasion of *miraj* ('ascent') and was handed

over to 'Ali by him.[4] This is interpreted to imply that the esoteric essence and substance of the religion was transmitted to him by this means. The use of the title *Wasi-u Rasul-i-Rabbil-'Alimin*[5] (Executor of the will of the Messenger of God) for Ali strengthens this impression. This concept is sought to be buttressed by quoting a *hadis* (Prophet's saying), which says that Quran has two meanings, apparent and hidden.[6]

That Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and Shaikh Nasiruddin also subscribed to this view is clear from some observations made by them. Once it was reported to Shaikh Nizamuddin that some people attached to him were found participating in a *sama'* where music was played. The Shaikh reacted very sharply and said "If one falls from his *maqam* at least he would remain within the bounds of *shariat*, but if one falls out of *shariat* then what is left."[7] Shaikh Nasiruddin makes a similar statement, "If one falls from *tariqat* at least he would have remained within *shariat*, but if one falls from *shariat* where would he go."[8] Once Shaikh Nizamuddin was narrating an anecdote about Shaikh Abu Said Abul Khair, who had dumped in a corner all the books that he had studied. One day he took some of these books and began reading them. He heard a voice saying "Abu Said ! give back our covenant as you have busied yourself in something else." On this Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya wept and recited a couplet which has been explained by the compiler of his *mulfuzat* in the following words : "(Such is this blessed) state, where the books of the *shaikhs*, *fiqh*, and *ahkam-i shariat* become hindrance (*hijab*), what to say about other things."[9]

On another occasion, the Shaikh said that the delight (*Zauq*) (the) *ashab-i tariqat* (followers of *tariqat*) find in *sama* (hearing recitations) is the real thing, without which life would have been meaningless.[10] He holds that in this path the main thing is *itiqad* (faith in the *Pir*) in the same way as *iman* is the main thing in the external world (*'alam-i zahir*).[11] Shaikh Shahabuddin Suharwardi has made a clear distinction between *Ulama-i Islam* and *Ulum-i Iman* and on its basis has divided the *'Ulama* into *'Ulama-i dunya* and *'Ulama-i akhirat*.[12] The epithet of *'Ulama-i zahir* for scholars concerned with externals is well-known and needs no elaboration.

However, the attitude of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and Shaikh Nasiruddin towards the *shariat* is very clear. They lay utmost emphasis on the strict adherence to *shariat* and strongly disapprove any *deviation*

from it.[13] Much stress is laid on the obedience and love of the Prophet as it leads to the attainment of love of God.[14] It is explained that love implies two things : doing what has been ordained, and desisting from what has been forbidden. On being asked as to what attitude should be adopted towards those who kept themselves so busy with the remembrance of God that they left the daily prayer, Shaikh Nasiruddin replied that they are not to be followed because the observance of the *shariat* is a necessity.[15] Both the mystics laid stress on the congregational prayer (*namaz-i jama't*), fasts, etc. in their conversations.[16]

However by the time of Shaikh Nizamuddin and Shaikh Nasiruddin *tasawwuf* had become a well-developed system with a set of paraphernalia. And, therefore, at the level of practice it became difficult to reconcile the *sufic* ritual with the *shariat*, and contradictions were bound to appear.

It seems that in principle it was considered possible that a situation may arise where some of the rules of *shariat* lost their force in relation to certain persons who had reached a certain stage of spiritual advancement. In other words, some people may reach a stage where normal laws of the *shariat* would cease to be binding upon them. This point may be better understood in the light of the following illustrations.

Shaikh Nasiruddin divided the *sufis* into two categories : *neyazmandan* (supplicating) and *nazninan* (beloved ones). The *neyazmandan* are always on the straight path of the *shariat* in regard to whatever they do with their hands, feet and tongue. But the *nazninans* are *gustakh* (bold in such matters). A scholar enquired whether the *neyazmands* would be superior then? The Shaikh said, "No, the *nazninan* have their own status."[17] Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya has narrated an anecdote regarding Shaikh Bahauddin Zakaria and Qazi Qutbuddin Kashani. This anecdote is being given in full as it clearly shows the respective attitudes of *'ulama* and *sufis*. "The discussion turned towards the learning and integrity of Qazi Qutbuddin Kashani. The Shaikh said that he lived in Multan and had a *madrasah* of his own. Shaikh Bahauddin Zakaria presented himself there every day in the morning and performed his prayers there. One day the Qazi enquired of him as to why he came such a long distance from his place and offered his prayers behind him. The Shaikh replied that he followed the *hadis* 'whoever performed his prayers behind a God-fearing *'alim* it was as if

he prayed behind a prophet sent. Then the Shaikh (Nizamuddin) said that he had heard (and the responsibility lies with the reporter) that one day Shaikh Bahauddin reached there. Qazi Qutbuddin was leading the prayer and one *rakat* had been performed. The Shaikh reached during the second *rakat* and joined the prayer. When Qazi Qutbuddin sat at the end (for saying *tashahhud*) and before he could finish the prayer by saying *salam*, Shaikh Bahauddin stood and completed his prayer. When the Shaikh had completed his prayer, the Qazi asked him as to why he rose before the *Imam* could finish the prayer... ..The Shaikh replied that if one knew from his inner light (*nur-i batin*) that the *imam* had committed no mistake, it would be permissible for him to rise. The Qazi said that every light that is not in conformity with the *shariat* is darkness. It is said that the Shaikh never went there again."[18]

Hajj is admittedly one of the five pillars of Islam. The attitude of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and Shaikh Nasiruddin regarding *hajj* is at best that of indifference. Probably, there is not a single place in the entire *Fawaidul Fu'ad* and *Khairul Majalis* where there is an exhortation for performing hajj. There are very few anecdotes connected with *hajj*.[19] On the other hand it would appear that probably the *hajj* was not considered necessary. The following quotation from *Fawaidul-Fu'ad* is quite revealing. "The discussion turned towards those of the weak faith who go to visit *K'aba* and on coming back get busy with the world. I (Hasan Sijzi) submitted that it appears astonishing that those attached with the *makhdum* (the *Shaikh*) should go anywhere else. I submitted that once I heard something from Malih, my friend, which had made great impression upon me. He had said that to *hajj* only such a one needs go as does not have a *pir*. When the Khwaja (the shaikh) heard this, tears came in his eyes and he recited the following hemistich 'that path leads to *ka'ba* and this to the friend (*dost*)'. Then he said that after the demise of Shaikh Fariduddin, may his grave be hallowed, he experienced great urge for *hajj*. He thought he should go to Ajodhan to visit the (grave of) *Shaikhul Islam*. In short, when he visited the *Shaikhul Islam*, his urge was satisfied (*maqsud mara hasil shud*). The same urge was experienced on another occasion. I visited the tomb of the *shaikh* and the urge was satisfied."[20]

Uwais Qarani enjoys a very important position in the mystic hierarchy. He has prescribed certain prayer (*namaz*) to be performed

on third, fourth and fifth of Rajab. This prayer is known as *namaz-i Uwais Qarani.* Shaikh Nizamuddin used to recommend this prayer with much emphasis (*mubalagha*).[21] One day Hasan Sijzi asked him that all the *namazs* and *du'a* which are recommended have been received from the Prophet or the Companions ((*sahaba*). Shaikh Uwais Qarani had prescribed this *namaz* and had specified the *surahs* of the Quran to be read and prayers (*du'a*) to be said. Now what is his source? The Shaikh replied "These things are done through *ilham* (divine inspiration)." This would suggest that the Shaikh accepted *ilham* as binding.[22]

There is a series of rituals connected with various aspects of the *sufis'* life in the *khanqah* and during journeys, etc. These rituals have been termed by Shaikh Shahabuddin in the *'Awariful-Ma'arif* as *rusum-i zahirah* recommended by the Shaikhs. After a description of these *rusum* he clearly says that the Prophet and the companions did not practise most of these *rusum-i-mutasawwifah.*[23]

Another problem that arises in this connection is the concept of the *pir* as propounded in the teachings of Shaikh Nizamuddin and Shaikh Nasiruddin. It has been noticed that a visit to the Shaikh was considered almost an alternative to *hajj.* It is affirmed that without the help of the *pir*, the disciple (*murid*) cannot reach to God. Once Hasan Sijzi put before the Shaikh the following problem. Supposing there were two *murids*; one of them performs just the five daily prayers and does a little *wird* (*andak wird*) and nothing more, but his faith in the *Shaikh* is firm. The other *murid* performs much devotions (*ta't-i bisyar*) and recites infinite *wirds* (*aurad-i bai andaza*) and has performed *hajj*, but he is lacking in his faith and belief in *Shaikh.* Now, of these two who is superior? The Shaikh replied, "He who has love for and faith in the *shaikh.*" The Shaikh further said that a little time (*yak waqt*) of the man who has faith in the *shaikh* is equivalent to the entire life of that devout one.[24]

The *pir* is said to have two forms, physical and spiritual. If he is contemplated in his physical form it is within the power of the *pir* to put himself there in his spiritual form. It was probably an echo of this concept that *murids* used to seek spiritual presence when they were put in a tight corner.[25] Shaikh Nizamuddin narrates how a *murid* of Shaikh Fariduddin, whom he was accompanying, used to say when there was danger of thieves and beasts : *Pir hazir bash* (Pir ! Be present !).[26]

Shaikh Nasiruddin narrates an anecdote in connection with the respect due to the *pir*. A *murid* used to sit on his knees (*zanu-girafta*) in the presence of his *pir*. He sat in the same position even when he was away from the *pir*. People asked him why he was always sitting in this manner. He replied that it would be incorrect to strech one's leg in the presence of one's *pir*. Though the *pir* is away in his physical form, he was present in his spiritual form.[27] Shaikh Nasiruddin prescribed six points for those who wanted to develop concentration (*mashghuli*). The fifth point is constant remembrance of God (*dawam-i-zikr*) with his heart tied up with the *shaikh*.[28]

It is generally believed that only prophets are sinless (*m'asum*). But Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya also believed in the innocence (*'ismat*) of the *auliya* (saints who have attained *wilayat*). Hasan Sijzi reports, "For a while discussion turned towards innocence (*'ismat*) of the Prophets and the *auliya*. The Shaikh said that the Prophets are innocent and, according to the *sufis*, the *auliya* are also innocent. The only difference is that prophets are *wajibul'ismat* (of intrinsic innocence) and *auliya* are *jaizul ismat* (of innocence by grace).[29] This is probably a natural result of the concept of *wilayat* in which all the *sufis* believed.

Another rite connected with the *pir* was the act of prostration before him. It would appear that Shaikh Nizamuddin did not favour it but he continued it as it was permitted and practised in the presence of his *pir* Shaikh Fariduddin.[30] His argements in favour of the practice are not convincing.[31] Shaikh Nasiruddin, however, discontinued it.[32]

The Doctrine of Love ('Ishq):

Shaikh Shahabuddin Suharwardi has written a separate chapter in the *'Awariful M'aarif* on the *'Ulum-i-Sufiyyah'*. Among the *'ulum* in which a sufi should be adept he includes *'ilm-i-mahabbat* (science of love). He divides *mahabbat* into *mahabbat-i-'ammah* and *mahabbat-i-Khassah*. *Mahabbat-i-Khassah* is further divided into the love of the Person (*zat*) of Allah and love of His Attributes (*sifat*). He also differentiates between rational love (*mahabbat-i 'aql*) and emotional love (*mahabbat-i-nafs*). Then he remarks that *Ulama-i-dunya* do not approve of the concept of *mahabbat-i-khassah*. After enumerating certain other things which the *ulama* do not approve, he says that these are sciences (*ulum*) beyond which there are still deeper sciences. *Ulema-i-akhirat*

succeeded in acquiring these sciences while the *ulemai-dunya* could not appreciate it.[33]

Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh has divided the love of God into three categories. The first is *mahabbat-i-Islami* which is common to all Muslims. The second is *mahabbat-i-mauhabi* which can be acquired through effort i.e. by following the Prophet. This is acquired by *abrar* (the pious). The third is *mahabbat-i-khas* which is the result of divine attraction (*jazbah*). This last category is reserved for *muqarraban* (those near to God).[43]

Both Shaikh Nizamuddin and Shaikh Nasiruddin believe that there is an inherent contradiction between *'aql* (reason) and *ishq* (love). Shaikh Nizamuddin says that the *ulama* are the people of reason (*'aql*); their reason dominates their love while with the *sufis* the case is just the reverse; they are men of love (*ahl-i-'ishq*) and their love dominates their reason.[35] Once he was asked as to how such a relationship of love was possible between man and God, keeping in view the majesty and purity of God and baseness of the human nature. The Shaikh said that this problem cannot be properly explained and cannot be a subject of discussion.[36]

It is affirmed that this concept of love (*ish'q*) has its origin in the Quran and the *hadis.* And in this connection those verses of Quran are cited in which the word *hubb* has been used in relation to God.[37] Besides these the following verses is also cited: "Surely we offered the trust to the heavens and the earth and the mountains but they refused to bear it and feared from it, but the man bore it, surely he is unjust, ignorant."[38] Shaikh Nasiruddin maintains that the word *amanat* used in this verse *mahabbat.* It was the love of God which the earth, heavens and the mountains found themselves unable to shoulder.[39]

The word *'ishq* has not been used in the Quran. Shaikh Nizamuddin and Shaikh Nasiruddin used this word more often than other words of almost similar meaning. *Mahabbat, Muhibb, Mahbub, 'ishq, 'ashiq, m'ashuq ishq-i-haqiqi, mashuq-i haqiqi, dard, dardmand, dost, dosti, mutahayyaran-i haq, mustaghraq-i mahabbat, Asir-i haq* are the words which are frequently used to designate the nature, object and subject of the relationship.[40] Comparisons are also made with *ishq-i majazi* (wordly love) to prove the point.[41] In an anecdote a young *kalal* (distiller) is said

to have been severely beaten but he did not feel the pain as he had seen his beloved while he was being beaten. Shaikh Nizamuddin adds immediately thereafter that those who love God have a far more potent beloved to fortify them.[42]

This is a theme that recurs again and again in the discussions of both Shaikh Nizamuddin and Shaikh Nasiruddin. The highest state for which one can aspire is to annihilate oneself in the love of God. Actually, *ishq-i haqiqi* (divine love) is the corner-stone of the entire structure of *sufism*.[43] Shaikh Fariduddin used to beseech God that He might grant *dard* (pang of love). Once some one in great trouble came to Shaikh Nizamuddin to seek solace. The Shaikh remarked, you are now feeling distressed; but I am always as deeply in anguish in the love of God. Only I keep it to myself.[44]

This concept of love influences the entire out-look of the *Sufis*. As the highest ideal is *wisal-i haq* (communion with God) all efforts are directed towards the attainment of this goal. God is worshipped not because one feels oneself to be answerable to God or because of any hope of rewards and fear of punishment. The aim is not *raza-i Ilahi* (pleasure of God) but He Himself. It is said that if one worships God in the hope of reward then it would not be worthy of being called *ibadat* as it would be just like working for wages.[45]

The idea of reward and punishment was looked down upon with contempt by the *Sufis*. The concepts of *raja* (hope of mercy) and *makhafat* (fear of punishment) are replaced by the concept of all pervading love. God's commandments are obeyed and His prohibitions respected because love for Him requires it.[46] This attitude further leads the sufic interpretation of *raza* where heaven and hell both become equivalent and do not matter as long as it is His will.[47] Shaikh Nasiruddin says that the *darweshes* do not offer the prayer: "O Lord ! We ask heaven from you and seek your refuge from the hell." They do not, ask from Him, but ask for Him'.[48] At another place, however, he says that when the highest stage is reached a *sufi* does not ask for Him even from him.[49] The culmination of this attitude may be seen from a statement approvingly quoted by Shaikh Nasiruddin to the effect that if he thought of heaven comes to one's mind while praying, taking a bath (for physical cleansing) becomes necessary.[50] Rabia of Basra is reported to have been stricken with high fever. On being asked about its cause she said that the

thought of heaven came to her mind while she was praying and thus she was admonished by God with fever.[51]

In this regard the ideal of the *sufis* has been exemplified in the following anecdote. "On the day of the judgement a group of the lovers of God (*muhibban-i-Haq*) will be directed to enter the paradise. They would say, 'We have worshipped You because of Your love and not for the sake of heaven and hell. It will be said that the matter is exactly as You say, but the promise of the sight and communion (*wada-i didar wa wisal*) is for Heaven and therefore go there so that the promise is fulfilled. Even then they would not go. Then the angels would be directed to throw chains of divine light (*nur*) upon their necks and take them forcibly into the paradise."[52]

Pantheism :

Latent in the concept of divine love was the concept of pantheism. The communion being absolute, the duality of the Creator and created would be annihilated (Hence the conception of *fana*, the annihilation of self). Moreover when the lover is lost in the thought of the beloved he loses his identity. Mansur Hallaj, who said, "I am *Haq* (God, Truth)" was widely supposed to have said so in a state of ecstasy.

The *Awarif-ul Ma'arif* is almost silent on this point except that at one place Shaikh Shahabuddin observes that in the process of the self-purification of the *sufi* a stage comes when he is able to become a witness of "Everything is to perish except He". This is because some of them have said in a state of ecstasy (*ghalabat*) that in both the worlds there is none but Allah.[53]

Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya also touches on pantheism very occasionally and with much restraint. But it is note-worthy that Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya accorded Mansur Hallaj much respect.[54] On the other hand, about Bayazid Bistami he maintains that he repented of his early pantheism in the last days of his life.[55]

Since Shaikh Nasiruddin quotes a couplet of Rumi,[56] it is inconceivable that he was unfamiliar with the doctrine of pantheism as elaborated by and under the influence of Ibn al-Arabi. At one place he approvingly quotes the follwing statement of Bayazid. "I have come out of the shell of the human nature as the serpent comes out of the skin.[57] He

adds that it was in this state that he had said "praise be of me, how great am I. Here is none in my garment but Allah." The Shaikh further explains it in these words, "His self was obliterated, only He remained and no one else remained." Then he gives an example, "If a donkey falls in a satmine and dissolves in it, it acquires the same quality as that of salt. Azar was not the name of prophet Abrahim's father. There was an idol of this name to which he was greatly devoted, and hence he acquired its name." On this occasion several verses were recited. The Shaikh recited the following verses :

I am He whom I love and whom I love is I,
We are two spirits who have sought a single body.
When people said to Majnun there comes Laila,
He retorted, I am Laila, and lowered his head.[58]

On another occasion a *darwesh* posed a problem: He submitted that he had read in the '*Minhajul 'Abidin*' that *tasawwuf* is *shirk* (polytheism) because it means guarding of the heart from the vision of the other (*ghair*); but other there is none. Shaikh said that for one who has attained perfection (*muntahi*) the other does not exist. It denotes extreme concentration. 'Here is none in my garment except Allah' also means the same thing. God pervades everything and He has no place or direction. And, therefore, for one who has attained perfection the guarding of the heart from other implies *shirk*.[59]

It would, therefore, seem that pantheism in sufi thought was as yet a vision restricted to those who attained a complete loss of self-identity, in the path of divine love, rather than a general theory of the identity of creator and creation.

REFERENCES

1. *Fawaidul Fuad* is a collection of the conversations (*malfuzat*) of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya compiled by Amir Hasan Sijzi, covering a period of 15 years from 1307 to 1322 A. D. It was published in India several times by Nawal Kishore, Matba-i-Hasani and Hindu Press. Muhammad Latif Malik published a good edition in 1966 from Lahore. The last edition has been followed in this paper.
2. *Khairul Majalis* is a collection of the conversations (*malfuzat*) of Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh compiled by Maulana Hamid Qalandar after 1353 A. D. A critical edition of the book was prepared by Prof. K. A. Nizami and published by the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, in 1959.

3. See *Fawaidul-Fuad*, pp. 43, 127-28; *Khairul Majalis*, pp. 58, 123, 155 etc. See also Prof. K.A. Nizami, Introduction to *Khairul Majalis*, p. 9, and *Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century*, Department of History, A. M. U. Aligarh, 1961, p. 56.
4. *F.F.*, pp. 329-330; Amir Khurd, *Siyarul Aulia*, Matba Muhibb-i Hind, 1303 H, p. 31.

   Also compare Nicholson, R.A., *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delhi, 1976, p. 11.
5. *Siyarul Aulia*, p. 31.
6. Hamid Qalandar has only referred to this *hadis* in his introduction, (K. M., p. 6). But the *sufis* have heavily drawn on this *hadis*. Regarding this *hadis* the following points may be kept in mind. This *hadis* is not found in any of the authentic collection of *hadis*. Besides Ibn-i Asir, Suyuti has mentioned it on the authority of Firyabi which is no more available. The chain of the narrators is not complete, the link between Hasan Basari and the Prophet is missing. Such *hadis* is termed as *mursal* and according to Ibn-i Hajar 'Asqalani *mursals* of Hasan Basari cannot be accepted as proof (*hujjat*). Cf. Ibn-i Asir, *An-Nihayat*, ed. Tahir Ahmad Zawi and Mahmud Muhammad Tannafi, Dar-u-Ihya-il Kutubil 'Arabiyyah, vol. 3, p. 166; As-Siyuti, *Al-Itqan Fi Ulumil-Quran*, vol. II, pp. 184-85; Az-Zahabi, *Tazkiratul-Huffaz*, vol. I, p. 67.
7. *F.F.*, p. 165.
8. *K. M.*, p. 42.
9. *F. F.*, p. 157.
10. *F. F.*, p. 108.
11. *Ibid*, p. 110.
12. Cf Shaikh Shahabuddin Suharwardi, *'Awariful-Ma'arif*, printed on the margin of *Ihyau-'ulumid-Din* of Ghazali, Misr, 1939, pp. 192-93, 269, 281-86. Sometimes *Ulama* are also called *Ulama-i-Sua* and *Ulama-i-zahir* see *Awarif*, p. 283; *F. F.*, pp. 178, 278-79. Also see Prof. Muhammad Habib Introductions to *Tarikh-i Mashaikh Chist*. Darul Muallifin, Islamabad, p. 25.
13. For example see *F. F.*, pp. 88-89, 165, 384-85, 391-92; *K. M.*, pp. 27, 42, 66, 246.
14. *K. M.*, pp. 27. 28, 95, 134-35, 246 etc.
15. *Ibid*, pp. 25-26.
16. For example see *F. F.*, pp. 7-8, 14-16, 32-33, 34, 36-37, 58, 95-96, 149-51, 162, 272-73 etc.; *K. M.*, pp. 33, 61, 227-28, 255, 272 etc.
17. *K. M.*, p. 189. See also pp. 160-61. When Shaikh Luqman Parinda got old and found it difficult to continue the enormous devotions that he had been used to in his younger days, he prayed to God that he might be set free from this obligation. He heard a voice that he had been freed (*ma tura azad Kardaim*). See also *F. F.* pp. 436-37. Shaikh Ahmad Mashuq was a saint of such high spiritual status that once when he demanded to be told about his status, he was assured that while other saints were lovers of God, he had the distinction of being the beloved of God (*ma'shuq ma*). Now, Shaikh Ahmad Ma'shuq did not offer prayer. After much persuasion when once he commenced to pray, blood streamed out from the roots of his hairs (*bun-i mau*).

18. *F. F.*, pp. 399-400.
19. For anecdotes connected wlth *hajj* see *F. F.*, pp. 262-63, 344, 362-63.
20. *F. F.*, pp. 262-63.
21. *F. F.*, pp. 34, 38, 327-28.
22. *F. F.*, pp. 327-28.
23. *Awarif*, p. 145, also see pp. 146-58.
24. *F. F.*, pp. 207-8, 314-15, 4, 391-92, 110.
25. *K. M.*, pp. 260-61, 266-67.
26. *F. F.*, p. 254, 236.
27. *K. M.*, pp. 260-61.
28. *K. M.*, p. 69.
29. *F. F.*, p. 160.
30. *Ibid*, pp. 268-69, 364-65.
31. *Ibid*, p. 269-70.
32. *K. M.*, p. 157.
33. *'Awarif*, pp. 278-79.
34. *K. M.*, p. 28.
35. *F. F.*, pp. 226-27; *K.M.*, p. 276.
36. *F. F.*, pp. 211-12.
37. Such as "And there are some among men who take for themselves objects of worship besides Allah, whom they love as they love Allah-and those belleve are stronger in love for Allah" Quran II/165 "Say : If you love Allah, then follow me Allah will love you" Quran III/300 "O you who believe! whoever from among you turns back from his religion, then Allah will bring a people, He shall love them and they shall love him..." Quran V/54.
38. *Quran* xxxiii/72.
39. *K. M.*, p. 276.

    Generally the commentators are of the opinion that *al-amanat* in this verse means *ta'at* (obedience and worship of God). Imam Fakhruddin Razi has quoted one opinion in his *Tafsir-i Kabir* that is *m'arfat* (gnosis). *Cf.* Mahmud bin Umar az-Zimakhshary, *al-Kashshaf*, Beirut, Vol. III, p. 564; Imam Muhammad Fakhruddin Razi, *Tafsir-i-Kabir, al-Matba'alul-'Amiriyyah ash-Sharfiyyah*, Misr, Vol. VI, pp. 629-30; *Tafsir-i-Qazi Baizawi*, 1355 H., Misr, p. 564.
40. *F. F.*, pp. 26-27, 78-79, 90, 163, 166-67, 226-27, 257-58, 311-12, 408, 436-37; *K. M.*, 10, 28, 35-37, 50, 97, 101, 147, 172-73, 234, 270-71, 276.
41. *F. F.*, pp. 26-27, 78-79, 90; *K. M.*, pp. 172-73. Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia has made the following comparison while giving his views about the death of *aulia*. Till the time of death they are like a sleeping person whose beloved is also present in the bed. At the time of death they are like a person who suddenly awakes from his slumber and finds his beloved, whom he has been seeking throughout his life, in his bed. You can imagine how great his happiness would be.
42. *F. F.*, p. 90. Shaikh Nasiruddin has described this anecdote in greater detail (*K. M.*, pp. 172-73). Once a person reached a wild land. He saw a man standing with eyes fixed in the sky, and his knees were covered with snow. He felt

pity and wanted to remove the snow but was not permitted to do so and was directed to go further. There he found another man who was covered with snow upto the waist. Here he was directed to go to the distiller youth if he wanted to know the secret of their endurance in the face of such hardships.

43. *F. F.*, pp. 226-37; *K. M.*, 37-38. Shaikh Nizamuddin writes in a letter to Maulana Fakhruddin Marauzi that there is unanimity among the men of *tariqat* and *haqiqat* that the real object of the creation is the love of the Lord of Universe (*muhabbat-i Rabbil-'alimin*) *Siyarul Auliya*, p. 454. See also Prof. K. A. Nizami, *Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht*, p. 33ff.
44. *F. F.*, p. 147. Yahya Ma'az Razi used to say that a particle of love is better than the devotion of all the human beings and *jin*.
45. *F. F.*, pp. 257-58, 311-12; *K. M.*, pp. 35-37. See also *Awarif*, p. 323.
46. *K. M.*, pp. 234, 81, 270-71. The concept of *raja* and *khauf* is present but the emphasis is everywhere on love. For *Khauf* and *raja* see *K. M.*, pp. 157-58.
47. *K. M.*, pp. 82, 35-37; *F. F.*, pp. 257-58, 311-12.
48. *K. M.*, p. 234.
49. *K. M.*, p. 81.
50. *K. M.*, p. 61.
51. *K. M.*, p. 200.
52. *F. F.*, pp. 257-58, 311-12; *K. M.*, pp. 35-37.
53. *Awarif*, p. 367.
54. *F. F.*, p. 431.
55. *F. F.*, p. 328.
56. *K. M.*, p. 163.
57. *K. M.*, p. 229.
58. *K. M.*, p. 229.
59. *K. M.*, p. 212.

MULLA MUHAMMAD 'ALI, THE MERCHANT PRINCE OF SURAT

M. P. Singh

The armed revolt of the merchants at Surat in 1732-33 and the eventual fall of Mulla Muhammad 'Ali has been described in two recently published papers.[1] In both the papers the events of the years 1730-33 have been examined in some detail, and the rise and fall of Muhammad 'Ali are sought to have been mentioned as sudden and accidental. But much valuable information contained in the diary

(*Miratu'l Haqaiq*) of I'timad 'Ali Khan,[2] covering the years 1719-26, has not been used in either of the two papers.

I'timad Khan's diary reveals that Mulla Muhammad 'Ali was a merchant of long standing. He rose first to become a prominent merchant of Surat and subsequently the leader of the merchant community. Unfortunately the diary abruptly ends by the middle of 1726 and we fail to have such a first hand information of the events of 1730-32.The information which the diary furnishes, however, suggests that years before the events of 1730-32 Mulla Muhammad 'Ali had become a very powerful merchant. Besides being a rich man and a large ship-owner he allied himself with other traditional rival merchant groups to form a guild (*panchayat*) to defend their common cause vis-a-vis the local administration. He also developed close association with individual local officials to safe guard his own interests and the interests of his fellow-merchants. He won over successive governors of Ahmadabad and the Mughal Court by sending rich presents and occasionally bribing whenever hard pressed. He organised a formidable force of armed retainers whom he kept at Athwa which he tried to develop into a new port. He was one of the largest creditors among the local merchants. He not only occasionally financed the Dutch, English and local merchants but the local administration also.[3]

In this paper we are mainly concerned with some events which occurred during the years 1719-26 and which shed light on the commerce and activities of this dynamic merchant.

Mulla 'Abdul Ha'i alias Muhammad Ali was an adopted son of Mulla 'Abdul Gafur, the principal merchant (*Umdatu'l tujjar*) of Surat.[4] After the death of the latter, who died heirless, his property, estate and ships worth Rs. 85,00,000 were confiscated by Haidar Quli Khan, the *mutasaddi* of Surat (1716-18).[5] 'Abdul Ha'i through the good offices of Raja Ajit Singh (the *subahdar* of Ahmadabad) approached the Mughal Emperor Farrukh Siyar[6] who restored to him all the confiscated property, bestowed upon him a precious robe and an elephant and the title of '*umdatu'l tujjar*.[7] Since recognition at Delhi had still great value at Surat Muhammad 'Ali on reaching Surat celebrated the occasion by distributing currant and almonds in public and entertaining at feasts local officials and fellow-merchants.[8] He invited Momin Khan, the *mutasaddi* and Beglar

Khan, the *qila'dar*, to his garden to a grand feast after which he gave and received presents.[9]

During the years 1723-26 the merchants of Surat resorted no less than five times to agitational measures against coercion and extortion caused by local administration.[10] They observed general cession of business, threatened to leave the port and presented a charter of their demands [11] They came out of the city and refused to go back unless their demands were conceded and a written assurance to that effect was given on the spot.[12] Of these three were planned at the call of Muhammad 'Ali during the tenure of Suhrab 'Ali Khan as *mutasaddi.*[13] He engineered the whole agitation and led the merchants in going out of the city.[14] Each time the administration was forced to sue for a compromise and in the truce that followed he played the role of a chief negotiator on behalf of the merchants.[15]

Of the three agitations the direct and immediate cause of two was official coercion and extortion.[16] The third was provoked byan abusive remark against Ahmad Chalpi which, according to the diarist, brought into question the professional credentials and social status of a merchant of Ahmad Chalpi's repute.[17] It so happened that Gadai Beg Khan, the newsreporter of Surat, who was a nephew of Beglar Khan, the *qila'dar*, in one of the new despatches dated 27 June 1726 accused Ahmad Chalpi as a "mischievous man...instigating the people to sedition."[18] Next day thes new spread throughout the city, and Ahmad Chalpi felt highly insulted—a feeling shared by his fellow-merchants.[19] In the evening of the same day the merchants assembled near Surat fort and demanded an explanation from Beglar Khan and his two nephews, Gadai Beg Khan and Teg Beg Khan.[20]

Next day, i.e. 29 June, reports the diarist, a *mahzar* (statement) was drawn up in which Ahmad Chalpi was declared an honest and well-behaved man who had no other concern in the world except his professional business.[21] On 6 July, a petition was sent to the Imperial Court'.[22] In the petition among other things the two nephews of Beglar Khan were accused of exacting four *lakhs* of rupees each through using compulsion in dealings with merchants. They were also accused of illegally collecting ten to twelve *lakhs* of rupees under the pretext of fee for permission *rukhsatana*) given to build new houses. The petitioners requested that the amount taken under these pretences be returned to the victims.[23] This frightened the *qila'dar* and his nephews. The former

sent them immediately to see Muhammad 'Ali, to make peace. The two brothers conciliated Muhammad 'Ali, made promises and brought the merchants back to the city.[24] After this truce. Muhammad 'Ali was invited by the two brothers to dine with then. Muhammad 'Ali, too, in return entertained the *qila'dar* and his nephews at Athwa.[25]

On the whole Muhammad 'Ali is said to have maintained very cordial relations with local officials.[26] Our diarist mentions frequent feasts arranged by Muhammad 'Ali sometimes in his garden and sometimes at Athwa.[27] Each of the feasts ended with presents which included horse, cloth and rarities.[28] Each of the outgoing and incoming *mutasaddis* normally did not leave or enter the city without being first entertained by the merchant prince.[29] Local officials are also reported to have invited him to their farewell and welcome parties.[30] Muhammad 'Ali for his own business needed official help, and the officials needed his co-operation. An aggrieved merchant community at Surat and cessation or transfer of business by them could ruin the officials materially (by reducing revenues) and sometimes even deprive them of their offices.[31]

Muhammad 'Ali was a very popular merchant.[32] His beneficial acts recorded by I'timad 'Ali Khan included his seeking interviews with the *mutasaddi*, Suhrab 'Ali Khan, to make peace with the Marathas, who had cut off all supplies to Surat. Prices of essentials had risen to unheard heights. Muhammad Ali threatened the *mutasaddi* with the closure of all the mosques in the city if nothing was done.[33]

On another occasion he mediated between Momin Khan, the outgoing *mutasaddi*, and Rustam 'Ali Khan, the new appointee, and averted a fight. His plea was that fighting would cause a stoppage to business of the port and hardship to the city people.[34]

On a third occasion he rescued a large number of Surat citizens fleeing from the Maratha intruders. He gave them shelter at Athwa.[35]

Athwa was formerly a small village on Tapti about three miles south of Surat.[36] It had a very convenient landing point.[37] Mulla 'Abdul Ghafur is said to have built one of his warehouses *(bukhar)* there.[38] When Muhammad 'Ali succeeded him he started using Athwa more and more for commercial and other activities.[39] He improved the old houses and laid out a beautiful garden. He mostly stayed there, visiting Surat occasionally.[40] He also kept there a strong force of armed retainers.[41] From

1719 onwards we frequently hear of the Athwa anchorage used by Muhammad 'Ali's ships.[42] On several occasions he arranged feasts and parties there and invited guests and people to stay over for the night. Suhrab 'Ali Khan once passed a night there in the company of the merchant prince.[43] Many ships for the annual pilgrimage to Arabia sailed on their voyage from Athwa.[44] This shows that Muhammad 'Ali's interests were fast shifting from Surat to Athwa which he wanted gradually to be converted into a new port obviously at the cost of Surat.[45]

Among his contemporaries Muhammad 'Ali was the largest shipowner. He inherited more than 20 ships from his father.[46] He purchased two ships from the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah,[47] and one he got built at Athwa.[48] His ships sailed extensively on the western coast,[49] between Surat and Jadda;[50] and from Surat to Mocha and to Bengal.[51] At Mocha he had a warehouse of his own.[52]

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2. *Mir'atu'l Haqaiq*, MS. Bodl. Fraser No. 124.
3. Suhrab 'Ali Khan was in great debt to Muhammad 'Ali. When he failed to clear up the debt he assigned parts of the custom to the latter *Miratu'l Haqaiq*, f. 589b.
4. *Miratu'l Haqaiq*, f. 144a; 'Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, Baroda, 1927, Vol. II, pp. 4-5.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Mir'atu'l Haqaiq*, ff. 144a, 202b.
7. *Mir'at*, II, p. 5.
8. *Mir'atu'l Haqaiq*, f. 180b.
9. *Ibid.*, f. 270b.
10. *Ibid.*, ff. 235a-36b, 263a-64a, 363a-64a, 419b, 421a-b, 422ab, 455a. I have already discussed the merchant strikes at Surat in a separate paper, the Merchants of Surat and the Mughal Administration, read at the Seminar on Urban History—a case study of Surat, held at Baroda 1974.

11. *Mir'atu'l Haqaiq*, ff. 235a, 263a, 363a, 419b.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*, ff. 363a-64a, 419b, 421a-b, 422a-b, 455a.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*, ff. 361b, 455a.
17. *Ibid.*, f, 419b.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, f. 421a-b.
22. *Ibid*, f. 422a-b.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*, f. 422b.
25. *Ibid.*, f. 427b.
26. *Ibid.*, f. 203a.
27. *Ibid.*, ff. 192b, 258b, 287a.
28. *Ibid.*. ff. 270b, 287a.
29. *Ibid.*, ff. 282a-b, 287a.
30. *Ibid.*, ff. 270b, 287a.
31. *Ibid.*, f. 457b.
32. *Ibid.*, ff. 192b, 258b, 346a.
33. *Ibid.*, f. 383b.
34. *Ibid.*, f. 269a.
35. *Ibid.*, f. 381a.
36. *Ibid.*, *Mir'at*, II, p. 103.
37. *Mir'atu'l Haqaiq*, f. 381a.
38. *Ibid.*, f. 325b.
39. *Ibid.*, ff. 287a, 381a, 426b, 582a.
40. *Ibid.*, f. 381a.
41. *Ibid.*, f 381b.
42. *Ibid.*, f. 381a.
43. *Ibid.*, f. 582a.
44. Ibid., ff. 325b, 328a.
45. At several places in the Diary Athwa has been designated *bander* or port.
46. For Mulla 'Abdul Gafur's ships, Hamilton, p. 316; Manucci, III, p. 292.
47. *Mir'atu'l Haqaiq*, f. 569b.
48. *Ibid.*, f. 589b.
49. *Ibid.*, f. 443b.
50. *Ibid.*, ff. 328a, 443b.
51. *Ibid.*, ff. 371b, 442a.
52. *Ibid.*, f. 589b.

INTRODUCTION OF SELF-PORTRAIT PAINTING IN INDIA

S. P. Verma

Self-portraiture is not a separate branch of painting. It is portrait painting in all its essentials. However, a curious student of art may be inclined to give it a separate treatment for two reasons. Unlike in portraiture the artist drawing his own likeness has to work on an unsteady model, usually a mirror reflection. Secondly, in himself, he has for the subject one with whom he is intimately familiar. A self-portrait is not only the visible self, but also the inner self of the artist, a character. It is the last feature that endows the creation with an additional charm. Portraits are documents of personalities, characters and status which a student of history can ill afford to bypass.

Unfortunately unlike the West, Indian painters do not seem to have been much inclined to leave their images for posterity.[1] In the ancient times painting remained, by and large, a vehicle of devotional themes; portrait painting and modelling received but scant attention.

In fact, the idea of portraiture was not entirely unknown in ancient times. It came naturally with figure drawing. One might hesitate to say with Percy Brown that it was "more in the minds of the people of the East than it has ever been in the West".[2] Literary evidences of portrait painting are not wanting and go at least as far back as 300 A.D. In *Abhigyan Shankuntlam* of Kalidas (composed circa 300-400 A D.) we read of a visitor admiring the portrait of the drama's heroine painted by the king.[3] In the *Chitralakshna* of Nagnjit (cir. 600-700 A.D.) the story narrates the circumstances of the death of a brahman boy, whereupon Brahma resurrects him by infusing life in his portrait.[4] The story of Chitralekha, a character in Banbhatta's *Kadambari* (cir. 600-700 A D.), painting the likeness of all the princes of the time for her royal mistress Usha is well known.[5] In his book entitled *Abhilasiartha Chintamani* (1223-1138 A.D.), king Someshvara discriminates between "*Viddha*" and "*Aviddha*" which are two types of painting. Of these *viddha* is described as a "perfect portrait, a realistic picture, looking verily like a reflection of the thing in a mirror".[6] More evidence may be cited to show the esteem in which the art of portrait painting was held. Among the Indian sculptors portraiture in stone (sculpture), too, had become a popular art by 200 B.C.[7]

In all probability self-portraiture was also practised in ancien times. This may be surmised, once again, from numerous literary evidences, our mainstay in the absence of any specific example: available or cited. Thus, in *Meghdut*, Kalidas makes a male characte (Love) to address his angered beloved in the following words :[8]

त्वामलिख्य प्रणय कुपितां धातुरागै: शिलायामात्मानं ते चरणापतितं यावदिच्छामि ।
अस्त्रस्तावन्मुहुरूप चितैर्दृष्टिरानुप्यते मे क्रूरस्तस्मिन्नपि न सहते मगमं नौ कृतान्त: ।।४७।।

"Whenever, in order to please you, I attempt to portray you in a unpleasant mood on a stone slab with *geru* (Indian red), and myself a lying at your feet (begging pardon) tears well up in my eyes so that tearfu eyes are disabled to see. Cruel time cannot bear our meeting even i the picture".

In *Chitralakshna*, Nagnjit narrates the legend of the creation of Indra Mahadeva, Vishnu, etc. We are told how through the powers bestowe on them by Brahma, they grew into well proportioned bodies and the painted their own figures.[9]

It would not be stretching the argument to presume on the basis c this evidence that ancient Indian painters did paint likenesses of other and of themselves. However, the earliest available specimens of self portraiture are those that belong to the period of Akbar. The pictoria colophon of the manuscript *Gulistan* of S'adi, dated 990 A.H. (158 A.D.), executed by painter Manohar, represents the portraits of th scribe Husain "*Zarrin Qalam*" and the painter himself with a book i his hand.[10] This is not a mere accident. On and off we come acros authentic self-representations drawn by the painters of Mughal cou themselves, throughout the sixteenth century and part of the seventeent century. Extant among them are the pictures of Keshavdas dated 159(two of Daulat executed in 1596 and 1605-09 and of Goverdhan date 1609.[11] Portraits had a great fascination for the Mughal emperor: Babur and Jahangir both were skilled in describing the personalities c important men in their memoirs.[12] Indeed with some imagination on could even conjecture their likenesses. Akbar took great interest i portraiture. He himself sat for it and had ordered his court painters t draw the portraits of all the grandees of the kingdom. Thus an immens album was prepared.[13]

Manohar, the earliest in the Mughal court, learnt the art of por rait painting from his father Basawan. The latter excelled in drawin

portraits and also some other branches of painting.[14] He worked on the folios of the *Hamzanama* (1560-73 A.D.), the earliest known illustrated manuscript of the Mughal school.[15] To him goes the credit of introducing Indian elements in Mughal miniatures.[16] Manohar whose work belongs to the period 1580-1640 surpassed his father and specialised in portraiture: He painted human and animal figures with facility and success.[17] A highly gifted artist, Manohar established himself in the field by portraying himself when he was only 16 or 18 years old.[18]

Manohar's portrait is drawn in the profile, which is the characteristic feature of Jain art. This particular painting seems to have acted as trend setter; from now the early Mughal style, where three-quarter face was the rule, began to be increasingly replaced by the native tradition until the latter fell into disuse by the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Indeed, throughout this period portraiture had been imbibing the native style in general. This trend thrived in spite of the fact that Western pictures and engravings now pouring in the Mughal court in numbers, depicting subjects such as Lord Christ, Virgin Mary, the saints, emperors and princes, were mostly drawn in three-quarter view. Painters were often ordered to make copies of the Western works, which they faithfully reproduced.[19] In original creations, however, they strictly adhered to the Indian principles.

Keshavdas, chronologically next to Manohar, too portrayed himself in the profile. The miniature displays Akbar in the company of two nobles. The artist's own portrait with a scroll of paper in hand appears separately in the foreground.[20] An inscription on the scroll reads: "सिद्ध श्री जलालदीन अकबर पातिशाह् चिरंजीव ॥ सवत् १६४६ पोष सुदि नौमी लिषितंकेशवदास चित्रकर" "Long live His Highness Jalaluddin Akbar Padishah. Samvat 1646 (1590 A.D.) on the 9th of the lighted half of Pausha. Written by Keshavdas, the painter".

Percy Brown has identified Keshavdas with the Kesu of *A'in-i Akbari*.[21] He does not explain the basis for such a conclusion. Barrett and Grey have adopted the same view uncritically.[22] This is incorrect. As a matter of fact there were no less than five painters having similar names, i. e., Kesu *kalan* (the elder), Kesu *khwurd* (the younger), Keshav *kahar* (the palanquin-bearer), Kesu Gujarati and Keshav Gujarati.[23] They must, therefore, be regarded as distinct individuals.

The third self-portrait is of Daulat. He has portrayed himself in three-quarter view. This picture is a part of the pictorial colophon of the manuscript, *Khamsa* of Nizami (British Museum, Or. 12208).[24] Daulat specialised in portrait painting. Another portrait of his own (c. 1605-9 A.D.) appears on the margin of folio 44 of *Murqqa'a-i Gulshan*.[25] A distinct resemblance in the features of both these portraits shows Daulat's success in portraiture.

Goverdhan's self-portrait, drawn in profile—an accepted trend in portraiture after Akbar, is dated 1018 A.H (1609-10 A.D.).[26] In this miniature he appears as a youth of 15-17 years. Another portrait of his (c. 1605-9 A.D.), executed by Daulat, bears close resemblance with the former.[27] Goverdhan, too, like Manohar, attained great success in portraiture.[28]

Self-portraiture does not seem to have been commonly practised as only a few painters out of the hundreds at the Mughal atelier are known to have made their own pictures. None of the established portrait painters such as Basawan, Bishandas, Abu'l Hasan, Hashim, Balchand, Bichitr,[29] Muhammad Nadir of Samarqand, etc., ever showed interest in self-portraiture. The fact that such self-portraits as are met with appear rather insignificantly on the margins, and pictorial colophons of the manuscripts or on the corner of a miniature suggests that no considerable importance was attached to them. The art of painting was in the sixteenth century a prerogative of royalties and nobles. From them were drawn also the subjects for portraiture. However, a change crept in the seventeenth century. After Jahangir self-portraiture completely disappeared from the Mughal art.

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2. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, II ed., New York, 1975, p. 143.
3. Cf. Sita Ram Chaturvedi, *Kalidas Granthavali*, II ed., Kashi, Samvat, 2007, pp. 113-4; Shukla, *Shilpa Shastra*, II, Lucknow, 1967, pp. 78-9.

   Scholars have given different dates of Kalidas. Macdonnell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 251, 323; Keith, *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 31-2; Bhan-

darkar, *Annals of Bhandarkar Institute*, VIII, Pt. X, 1926-27; Smith, *Early History of Ancient India*, III ed., p. 304. All suggest Kalidas to be in Gupta period, i. e. 300-500 A. D. Chattopodhyaya gives the date 100 B. C. (*Allahabad University Studies*, II, 1926, pp. 79-170). Kedar places him in Sunga period, i. e. 200-300 B. C. (*Nagpur University Journal*, No. 5, Dec. 1939).

4. Cf. Goswami and Dahmen-Dallapiccola, The *Citralaksana of Nagnjit*, Delhi, 1976, pp. 35, 68, 70-1.
5. Cf Krishnamohna Sastri, *Kadambari* of Banbhatta, Varanasi, 1961, p. 279.
6. Raghavan, "Some Sanskrit text on Painting", *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, IX, 1933, p. 907.
7. Coomaraswamy, *Portrait Sculpture in South India*, London, 1931, pp. 12-3.
8. Cf. Sita Ram Chaturbedi, *op. cit.*, *Meghdut* (uttarmegh), p. 367.
9. Goswami and Dahmen-Dallapiccola, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
10. Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, Catalogue No. 258. Reproduced: Grey in Leigh Ashton, *Art of India and Pakistan* (Painting), London, 1948, Pl. 121.
11. Keshavdas : *Jahangir Album*, (fol. 25a), National Library, Berlin; Daulat: *Khamsa* of Nizami, British Museum (Or. 12208, fol. 325), *Muraqq'a-i Gulshan* (fol. 44), Imperial Library, Tehran; Govardhan: *Jahangir Album* (fol. 25b), *op. cit.*
12. Appearance and characteristics of individuals described by Babur in his memoir *Tuzuk-i Baburi*, tr. Beveridge, *Baburnama*, II edition, Delhi, 1970, I, Sultan Mahmud Mirza, p 45; Sultan Ahmad Mirza, p. 33; Bai Sunghar Mirza, p. 111; Sultan Husain Mirza, p. 258; II, Description of birds and animals, pp. 488-503. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, tr. Rogers, Delhi, 1968, II ed., pp. 33-4 (appearance of Akbar described by Jahangir).
13. Abu'l Fazl, *A'in-i Akbari*, tr. Blochmann, I, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1948, p. 114.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Staude, "Les artistes de la cour d' Akbar et les illustrations du Dastan-i Amir Hamza" *Arts Asiatiques*, II, 1955, Fig. 4; also by him "Basawan", *Encyclopaedia of World Art*, McGraw Hill, London, II, 1968, p. 385.
16. It is evident from the earliest illustrations attributed to Basawan viz : in the MSS *Hamzanama*, *Tutinama* (Cleveland Mus. of Art), *Diwan* of Anwari (Fogg Art Mus.), *Darabnama* (B. M. or. 4615).
17. See B. M. Alfieri, "Manuhar", *Encyclopaedia of World Art*, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 498; Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 129; Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 498; Pl. 331; Havell, *Handbook of Indian Art*, London, 1929, p. 207, Pl. LXXV.
18. In the self-portrait he appears a youth of 15-17 years. For reproduction, S. V. f. n. 7.
19. For example "Christ, the Mary and St. Anne" (Collection of James Ivory, New York); "The Madonna and Child" (B. M.); "The Mandonna and Child with St. Joseph" (B. M); Christian etching, *Dara Shukoh Album*, fol. 194 (Windsor Castle Library); "Madonna and donars" and "Mother and Child" (Imperial Library, Teheran); "Court of Jahangir" and "Unhappy Lady" (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); etc.

20. Reproduced : Kuhnel and Goetz, *Indian Book Painting*, London, 1926, Pl. 9.
21. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
22. Barrett and Gray, *Painting of India*, Ohio, 1963, pp. 87, 93, 205.
23. For miniatures attributed to these painters see Kesu the elder in *Darabnama* (or. 4615), *Ta'rikh-i Khandan-i Timuria*, ff. 18, 49, 69, 72, 147. (Oriental Public Library, Patna); Kesu the younger in *Ta'rikh*, ff. 193, 253, 323. 337, (*op. cit.*); Kesu *Kahar* in *Baburnama*, Pl. 74 (National Museum, Delhi, N. M. 50.326); Kesu Gujarati in *'Iyar-i Danish*, Pls. 63, 82 (Chester Beatty, Dublin); Keshav Gujarati in *Baburnama*, ff. 384, 406 (B. M. or. 3714).
24. Reproduced : Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, London, 1912, I, Fig. 43; Brown, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVIII.
25. Atabai Badri, *Fehrist-i Murqq'at-i Kitab Khana-i Saltanati*, Teheran, 1353, pp. 358-9. Reproduced : Godard, "Les Marges du Murakka' Gulshan", *Athar-e Iran*, I, 1936.
26. Reproduced : Kuhnel and Goetz, *op. cit.*, Pl. 38.
27. *Murqq'a-i Gulshan*, *op. cit.*, Badri, *op. cit.*, Godard, *op. cit.*
28. Portraits attributed to this painter are in National Library, Berlin; Los Angeles County Mus. of Art, New York; Chester Beatty Library, Dublin; Victoria & Albert Mus., London (No. 18—1925); British Museum (Add. 18801); Freer Gallery of Art, Washington (D. C. 39.46a); The Louvre, Paris (No. 7.163); etc.
29. Ettinghausen in his book *Paintings of Sultans and Emperors of India in American Collections*. Delhi, 1961, has suggested a self-portrait of Bichitr painter (miniature in Freer Gallery of Art, No. 42.15). Reproduced : Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, Pl. 14.

THE MADAD-I MAASH REGULATIONS IN MUGHAL EMPIRE

Iqbal Husain

While studying the Mughal revenue administration one comes across various regulations concerning the *madad-i maash* grants. For example, the *Ain-i Akbari* says that if the grant had been made to a group without specifying the shares of each grantee in the *zimn*, and one of the grantees died, the *sadr* was to determine his share, and this share was to be resumed to the *khalisa* until the heirs presented themselves and established their deserts at the Court.[1] Further it instructs the *'amils* to resume the grant of the person who had died or absconded.[2]

Shah Jahan's order of his 5th regnal year provided that one half of all grants exceeding 30 bighas was to be resumed in the case of the

death of the original grantee; but if the grant was of 30 bighas or less, the whole of it was to be distributed among the heirs subject to proving their deserts.[3] This was sharply modified by an order issued 13 years later which provided that the whole of the grant was to be resumed upon the death of the grantee unless the original document included the words '*ba farzandan*' (with the offspring) in which case a half was to be left to the heirs.[4]

On 2 January 1659 after coming to the throne Aurangzeb issued certain orders at different dates modifying the earlier regulations. Their provisions are repeated in a *parwana* of the officiating Diwan Raja Raghunath dated 10 January 1661.[5] In sum, these provided as follows :

(i) If the original *madad-i maash* holder has died leaving a wife or son or daughter or the sons of the daughter and the grant of land assigned to him was equal to 30 bighas or less it should entirely be confirmed.

(ii) In case the land grant exceeded the limit of 30 bighas, half of the same should be resumed and the other half left to his heir/heirs.

(iii) If the heir/heirs were not satisfied with the reduced grant, they could petition the Emperor and after proving their deserts claim a larger grant.

(iv) Only in case of the death of a grantee whose grant contained the formula "with the offspring"[6] after the name of the grantee, one half to be allowed to the heirs after an enquiry, otherwise the whole grant to be resumed.

(v) Aurangzeb's *farman* dated 2 January 1559 confirmed all the *madad-i maash* holders in their grants subject to their being alive and in possession of valid documents. In case of the death of the grantee, half of the grant was to be restored to his heir and the other half to be resumed.

(vi) The *madad-i maash* grants not resumed by the *sadrs* in violation of *farman* of Shah Jahan should be entirely restored to the original holders.

(vii) The *madad-i maash* should be retained by those who held it before the accession (of Aurangzeb) provided they held valid documents but half of the grants of those who died after the accession having more than 20 bighas should be resumed; if less, these were to be restored.

Aurangzeb's *farman* of 34 R. Y.[7] made a complete change in these regulations : "All grants already made should be continued without any change or diminution in the names of the heirs of the deceased and in the case of such heirs who already held other grants the share in those grants should be acknowledged and that should be considered as an additional grant." Thus the established policy of resuming large portions of the grants upon the grantee's death was abandoned. Further the *farman* lays down some provisions to be followed in the case of the death of the original assignee and in determining and distributing the share of the widow or son or other heirs.

This paper aims at examining the extent to which these regulations framed at the Imperial Court were actually followed. The study is based on unpublished[8] and published[9] collections of *madad-i maash* documents. It may be admitted that the conclusions drawn can only be preliminary in view of the availability of a mass of unexamined material of this nature in libraries and private collections in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and England which require a proper calendaring and study. However, the present paper may give an idea how far the administration of the grants in the Mughal-Empire was controlled by set rules and regulations. The study has been made reign wise—from Akbar to Aurangzeb.

Akbar

'Akbar's reign', observes Irfan Habib, 'presents the spectacles of wholesome resumptions and reductions of grants, either on the suspicion that they had been obtained by corrupt and fraudulent means or simply as part of policy directed against certain class of grantees'.[10] Here it may be pointed out that Badayuni says that Akbar ordered in 983AH/1575AD that the *aimma* of the whole empire should not be let off by the *karoris* of each *pargana*, unless they produced valid papers concerning their grants for inspection and verification by the *sadrs*. Consequently a large number of grant holders from all parts of the country came to the court for the renewal of their grants and used all fair and foul means to get their grants renewed. But those who had neither the means to pay bribes nor a strong recommendation were ruined.[11] It may be inferred that the cases of resumed grants might have been generally of such persons. Besides, during the present study, no document concerning the resumption or reduction of *madad-i maash* has been

noticed except the order of Mirza Khan Khanan of 1604.[12] As against this we come across a case of increase in the original grant conferred by an earlier ruler on the *mujavirs* of the *dargah* of Majduddin[13] from 700 to 1000 *bighas* vide a *farman* of 22 February 1580.[14]

The *parwana* of Mirza Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan of 1604 states that originally Kaiqubad Parsi was assigned 300 bighas of land in Nausari, *sarkar* Surat.[15] Half of the grant was resumed in compliance with a *farman* ordering a general resumption of 50% from all *madad-i maash* grants. The resumed land was, however, restored to the grantee when he produced the original *farman* assigning him 300 *bighas.*[16] The above case suggests that by 1604 some revisions were made in the original regulations of Akbar which directed a total resumption in the event of death.[17] Here it is, however, noteworthy that the *parwana* does not specify the limit of the land grants to which the formula of resumption was applicable. Moreover, in the case of Kaiqubad the resumption was made in his life time for which there is no provision in the *Ain.*[18] It is, therefore, quite possible that this resumption was different from the standard one prescribed upon the death of the grantee.

Jahangir

Jahangir, in his *Memoirs*, says that he confirmed all the land grants conferred by his father.[19] In fact he followed a two-fold policy. He confirmed all the land grants conferred by his father except that of the *Mujavirs* of Ajmer. The grants which he conferred seem, however, to have been subjected to resumption, reduction, increase or confirmation after the death of the original grantees. To explain this contention the following few cases may be quoted.

(a) *Resumptions* :

Jahangir's farman of 18 November 1613 refers to the resumption of 20,289 *bighas* of land out of a total grant of 27,310 originally conferred by Akbar on the *mujavirs* of the *dargah* of Ajmer.[20] The resumption was made obviously because 198 out of 229 heirs and sharers of the original grant appeared before the Emperor. It is interesting to note that in fact these 198 persons were in possession of 25,450 *bighas* of land and as per regulations only half of the grant ought to have been resumed. A *sanad* of Shah Jahan's reign however makes it clear that the resumption in the

above case was made on account of Jahangir's anger because some of th young *mujavirs* appearing before him had declined his suggestion t accept government service and preferred to live on *mdad-i maash* grants.[21] Later on the grant was, however, restored to the *mujavirs* in accordanc with the regulation of half restoration and half resumption.[22] In anothe document we notice that Saiyyed Husain and others held a *madad maash* of 6881 *bighas* but the entire grant was resumed as they did nc appear before the Emperor for verification and renewal. Consequent upo thier appearance before the Emperor, the grant was reduced to 438 *bighas* and the rest resumed.[23] In this case the details of resumptio indicate that either the sharers did not appear or had died.[24] A *parwan* of the reign of Jahangir (1613) says that Musammat Bega Khanam, th wife of Rehman Beg, held a land grant of 60 *bighas* in village Dhankht *sarkar* Hajipur. After the death of Musammat Bega half of th grant was resumed and the other half restored to the heirs.[25]

(b) *Grants renewed without resumption* :

In some cases it is noticed that the grants were renewed to the heir without resumption. For instance Shaikh Fatehullah and others wer assigned 6890 *bighas* of land in village Nadla, *sarkar* Ajmer by Akbar When the Shaikh died his heir Shaikh Hashim petitioned Jahangir for th restoration of grant. The entire grant was renewed in his name.[26] Similarly, Akbar's grant to Udant Nath of Jakhbar was also confirme to Sarat Nath one of his successors and heir when the former died.[27]

(c) *Reduction and increase in the grants* :

Apart from confirming land grants, Jahangir appears to have exer cised his authority in reducing and increasing them freely. It transpire that mostly the increase in grants of those assignees was made wh enjoyed it by Akbar's orders.

Bibi Jaan and others connected with the *dargah* of Ajmer were grante 230 *bighas* of land.[28] On Jahangir's arrival at Ajmer they petitione for the renewal of the grant. Out of 230 *bighas*, 100 *bighas* were resume and 130 *bighas* were restored to them.[29] In another case we notice tha Shaikh Farid had a grant of 560 *bighas* in accordance with Jahangir' *farman* of 10 Amardad Ilahi II. The grantee appeared before th Emperor for the renewal. Out of 560 *bighas* the grant was renewed fo 300 *bighas* only and the rest was resumed.[30]

Besides the cases of reductions in original grants, some grants were increased in *bighas*. We notice that Saiyyed Shah Muhammad had 406 *bighas* of land in *madad-i maash*. The Saiyyed petitioned to the Emperor for the renewal His grant was increased from 406 *bighas* to 506 *bighas*.[31] Similarly Saiyyed Mansur held 500 *bighas* of land in *madad-i maash* which was conferred by Jahangir. Saiyyed Mansur appeared before the Emperor for the renewal of the grant who increased 200 *bighas* to the original grant making it 700 *bighas*.[32] In both the cases, it is to be observed, the original grants were in the names of individuals viz. Saiyyed Shah Muhammad and Saiyyed Mansur; but when the increase was made, the names of their sons were added as co-sharers.[33]

Shah Jahan

(a) *Resumptions* :

Compared with Jahangir, we notice that the resumptions of land grants occur more frequently in the reign of Shah Jahan. The *farman* of 1 July 1650 refers to an earlier *farman* of Shah Jahan conferring 60 *bighas* of land in *madad-i maash* to *Musammat* Bibi Mariyam and others, and Qazi Khan in *pargana* Naseerabad, *sarkar* Allahabad. After the death of Qazi Khan his share was resumed by the local authority recommending its release to his heirs and sons, Saiyyed Qasim and Ghulam Muhammad, equally. Bibi Mariyam being alive, her share was not disturbed.[34] A similar case is noticed in the *hasb-ul hukm* of Shah Jahan dated 27 December 1649, which refers to the *farman* of Jahangir assigning 140 *bighas* in *madad-i maash* to Saiyyed Ja'afar and others in *pargana* Naseerabad, *sarkar* Manikpur, Allahabad. It says that after the death of Saiyyed Ja 'afar his share was resumed by Mulla Mahmud who recommended to the Court that the resumed land grant be assigned to Nurullah and others the heirs of the deceased. The other half of the grant was left with the co-sharer, Abdul Qadir, who was alive.[35] The resumed land was, however, renewed to the heirs as recommended by the *sadr-i juz*.[36]

In one of the Batala documents of the 16th year of Shah Jahan's reign it is recorded that resumption was not made strictly in accordance with the regulations. Moulana Ishaq and others held 107 *bighas* and 8 *biswas* in *madad-i maash* vide a *farman* of 1575. After the death of the Moulana, 49 *bighas* were resumed and 58 *bighas* 8 *biswas* were renewed to his heirs.[37] In this case it is noteworthy that instead of resuming half of the grant as per regulation less than half was resumed.

(d) *Renewal without reduction* :

Mughal administration seems to have dealt with cases of land grants assigned to 'men of learning and piety' with due consideration. For instance the *nishan*[38] of Shah Shuja dated 19 September 1653 says that Moulana Saleem son of Moulana Shahbaz died leaving a will duly signed by his father that his sons should receive equal shares and if no son is alive the shares should accordingly go to the sons of the sons. Still the land grant of 590 *bighas* which the deceased held was renewed to Shaikh Latif and others with the permission of Shah Shuja.[39]

A large number of *madad-i maash* documents of Shah Jahan reign indicate that where the regulations for the resumption of grant could be applied, the Mughal administration adopted a generous attitude and restored the entire land grants to the heirs of the original grantees.[40] Shah Jahan showed even greater generosity in the case of the *mujavirs* of Ajmer by allowing them a general exemption in inheritance to the *madad -i maash* grants without any resumption.[41]

It may be pointed out that no case of increase of grants has been found during the present study.

Aurangzeb

(a) *Resumption of grants* :

The *farmans* of 2 January 1659 and 10 January 1661 already referred to indicate that the stern measures adopted by Shah Jahan in the 5th and 18th R. Y. proved ineffective.[42] Therefore Aurangzeb seems to have proceeded with restraint and leniency in the affairs of *madad-i maash* holders. It should, however, not be assumed that there were no cases of resumptions of grants. The *farman* of 14 February 1697 refers to an interesting and gradual resumption of *madad-i maash*. Originally, as the *farman* says, Saiyyed Habib held a grant of 2000 *bighas* in *pargana* Bhagalpur, *sarkar* Monghyr. After the death of the grantee half of the grant was resumed and the other half confirmed to his son Saiyyed Mir. In the meantime Saiyyed Mir died and a further resumption of 500 *bighas* was made allowing only 500 *bighas* to the heirs. The heirs did not appear before the court; hence an additional resumption of 350 *bighas* was ordered. This was, however, returned to them when they came to the Court.[43]

In another case it is recorded that the grant conferred by Jahangir to the Jogis of Jakhbar was resumed. It was, however, returned to them on perpetual lease (*patta*).[44] It appears that the grant of the jogis was

resumed in pursuance of Aurangzeb's order of 1672—73 for the resumption of all grants held by Hindus.[45]

(b) *Renewal without resumption* :

There seems to have been a general tendency of renewing entire land grants after the death of the original grantee from the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign. A *Hasbul Hukm*[46] of 4 November, 1661 refers to the *farman* of Shah Jahan dated 4 Di Mah Ilahi 6 assigning a grant of 795 *bighas* and 3 *biswas* to Saiyyed Ahmad and others. After the death of Saiyyed Ahmad the entire grant was renewed to his heirs.[47] In another case we notice that a grant of 40 *bighas* was conferred upon Bazid Khan in 1666 in village Majhwa, *pargana* Arrah. After 14 years the grant was confirmed to him and in 1703 when he died the whole grant was restored to Hafiz Muhammad Masum, son of the deceased.[48] But this confirmation came after Aurangzeb's order of 34 R. Y.

Another instance of implementation of this *farman* of Aurangzeb is furnished by another published document: *Musammat* Masuma and others held a grant of 1000 *bighas* in *madad-i maash* in village Salwandi, *pargana* Panipat, *sarkar* Delhi. After the death of *Musammat* Masuma the grant was restored to her heirs; having been equally divided among them as all of them were females.[49]

In view of the above it becomes clear that the standard *madad-i maash* regulations were not rigidly enforced in the Mughal Empire. Generally, as transpires from cases of resumption of and increase in grants, it depended upon the will of the Emperor to observe or ignore the regulations.

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24. *Asanid-ud Sanadid*, 129-36.
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26. *Asanid-ud Sanadid*, 30-32.
27. *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar*, 94; In another case we notice that Shaikh Abdus Samad and Shaikh Mohammad held 400 *bighas* in *madad-i maash* in Hajipur. After the death of Abdus Samad his share was renewed to his daughters vide *farman* of 23 June 1623. *Some Farmans Sanads and Parwanas*, 10.
28. *Asanid-ud Sanadid*, 42-43.
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NATURE AND INCIDENCE OF TAXES LEVIED ON INLAND TRADE IN EASTERN RAJASTHAN DURING THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

Dilbagh Singh

An attempt has been made in the present paper to analyse taxation on trade in Eastern Rajasthan during the 17th and the 18th centuries. It is based on documents available at the Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, such as the *Yaddashti*, *dastur-ul-amals*, *mapa rahadari*, *chithis* and the *roznamah* chabutra kotwali. The documents available on the subject are copious and contain valuable statistical information.

Preliminary studies of the agrarian economy of Eastern Rajasthan from c. 1650-1800[1] have established that necessary conditions had been created in the region by the second half of the 17th century to stimulate brisk trade in agricultural produce and industrial goods both at the local level as well as long distance trade thereby linking villages with commercial centres such as the *qasbas*, *mandis* and cities. Trade was carried not only in high value agricultural and industrial products such as indigo, cotton, opium, sugar, sugarcandy, tobacco, calico, silk, finished goods, and food grains. The agrarian economy of Eastern Rajasthan from the later 17th century witnessed an advancement in terms of agricultural production accompanied with an upward trend in the prices of agricultural products. The most significant development in the rural economy was a shift from low to high grade crops, cash crops in particular. Money economy had deeply penetrated the rural society.

Inland trade was carried on by the professional class of *mahajans* of varying financial capacities referred to as *veoparis*, *sahthanis* and *vichhayat*.[2] The *banjaras* actively participated in long distance trade.[3] Apart from professional traders, *chaudharies*, *qanungos*, *patels* and *udikis* were also engaged in local trade.[4] Majority of the traders who participated in local trade were also rich cultivators and traded in commodities which they produced in their fields.

The documents pertaining to local trade highlight the type of relationship which existed between the peasant and the market. Not only the traders but also the zamindars and a section of the peasants reached the open market to sell their produce. There are numerous instances of the *raiyat* carting their produce to the *qasba*, the *hatwara*[5] and to fairs for sale.[6] The peasants also used to buy finished goods and other commodities from these commercial centres.[7]

A variety of taxes in the form of duties levied on different commodities at different rates had to be paid apart from perquisites to the officials. These taxes were levied at various points on the way to the market and at the place of sale and purchase. A number of taxes were levied also upon the merchants who puchased commodities from the village, *qasba* or city and sold them either at the same place where they had bought them or in other villages and *qasbas*.[8]

Among the perquisites mention can be made of *kori bhomiki*, *rahdari*, *dastur chaudhuri*, and *vatvali*. The nature and incidence of these taxes are as follows :

1. Kori Bhomiki :

Some *bhomias* had the customary right to realize *kori bhomiki* from the traders passing through territories under their control. Legally only such *bhomias* could impose it as were realizing it for long; it was thus a customary levy and not be imposed in new areas. However, practically all the *bhomias*, in spite of strictures against it, were appropriating it from time to time.[9] Traders and peasants naturally, protested against this extortion. There are numerous instances to the effect that traders *banjaras* ceased commercial operations in areas where they were harassed by the *bhomias* on account of *rahdari bhomi*. In many cases the *bhomias* used coercive methods to compel the traders and *banjaras* to pass through territories held under their jurisdiction in order to exact *kori bhomi rahdari ki*.[10]

According to the *yaddashti dastur ul amal pargana* Phagi, the *bhomias* were entitled to receive *bhomi rahdari ki* at the following rates on different carriages :

Carriage of the items :	*Rate*	
Gari Calico *kirana* etc.	*dam*	25
Gari carrying grain and salt	*dam*	12.5
100 Pack camels carrying grain, *kirana* etc.	*Taka*	6.0
100 pack buffalo carrying grain *kirana* etc.	*Taka*	4.0
100 pack oxen carrying grain, salt etc.	*Taka*	2.0

According to the *yaddashti dastur ul amal sayar chubutra kotwali qasba* Toda Bhim, traders passing through *pargana* Toda Bhim had to pay *rahdari* on twelve and a half out-posts (chauki) out of which two and a half chaukies belonged to the *bhomias*. The following amount had to be paid as *rahdari* to the bhomias in the pargana :

Carriages of the items :	*Rate*
100 pack oxen carrying salt and grain	Rs. 2.50
100 pack oxen carrying til, gur and sarson	Rs. 5.00
100 pack oxen carrying sugar, *kirana* tobacco, cotton, ghee	Rs. 10.00
100 pack oxen carrying grain belonging to *Bhats*	Rs. 1.25
100 pack oxen carrying til, sarson, gur belonging to *Bhats*	Rs. 2.50
Pack Bullock carrying grain, and salt	*dam* 12.5
Pack Bullock carrying til, gur, sarson and rice	*dam* 25.0
Pack Bullock carrying cotton, sugar, ghee, *kirana*	*Taka* 1.00

Gari carrying rice, cotton, ghee, tobacco, *kirana*, sugar	Rs. 2.09
Gari carrying gur, til, sarson	Rs. 0.88
Gari carrying grain and salt	Rs. 0.47
Sirva containg betel leaves indigo, calico	Rs. 0.25
Sirva containing ghee raw cotton, *kirana* tobacco, sugar	Rs. 0.09

2. Dastur Chaudhari :

Traders were also required to pay perquisite to the *Chaudhari* of the *qasba* when the commodities were brought there for sale. The *dastur chaudhari* was charged at the following rates :[11]

Commodity	*Rate per mound*
Food grains	1 paisa
Raw cotton, sugar, sugarcandy, gur, oil, oilseed, tobacco	2 paise.

3. Vatvali :

Traders had to pay a cess to the *vatval* who was appointed by the state or the *ijaradars* on the *chaukis* in the territories of the *pargana* and at the *chabutra kotwali* in the *qasba*. He was responsible for collecting *mapa rahdari* from the traders passing through the *chauki* under his control. He also collected a variety of taxes at the *chabutra kotwali*. He was entitled to receive *vatvali* from different carriages at different rates in keeping with the value of the commodity.[12] In many documents the *vatvals* are accused of having made illegal extortions from the traders.[13] The *vatvali* was charged at the following rates :

Pargana Hindaun

Commodity	Carriage	Rate in dams	Carriage	Rate in dams	Carriage	Rate in dams
Grain	*Gari*	6	Packbullock	3	*Sirva*	...
Raw cotton		25		6		6
Rice, til						
Sarson, cotton		12.5		6		3
Ghee		50		25		6
Sugar		...		25		...

The *vatval* posted at *chabutra kotwali* and other market places was entitled to appropriate *dam* 25 per 20 Rs. worth of sale of commodities.[15]

4. Kotwali :

The *kotwal* who was officer in charge of the market in the *qasba* was also entitled to certain perquisites. He was paid taka 1 on the sale of commodities of the value of Rs. 20.[15] Traders dealing in tobacco, *mahuwa* and *san* were exempted from the *hasil kotwali*. In many cases the *kotwali* extorted illegal cesses from traders and shopkeepers.[16]

Besides realizing *hasil kotwali* in the market, the *kotwal* was also entitled to appropriate a cess from the traders from all the *chaukis* that the traders passed through in the *pargana*. The rate of *kotwali* on different carriages was as follows :[17]

Commodity	Carriage	Rate in dams	Carriage	Rate in dams
Grains	*Gari*	6	Pack bullock	3
Raw Cotton		25		6
Rice, til, sarson, Cotton		12.5		6
Ghee		50		25
Sugar		...		25

The important taxes in the record category were *rahdari*, *mapa*, *baithak*, *bharoti*, *pasaru* and *nikasu*, *singoti*, *parna*, *aara*, *vachh virar*, *chhadami*, *bahetawani*, *khunchi*, *mohrana*, *kayali* and *teh bazari*. The definition, nature and incidence of these taxes are as follows :

1. Rahdari :

Of all the taxes on trade, the most burdensome was the *rahdari* (toll tax) which was exacted by the state. It was proportionate to the value of commodities carried. It was also levied on food grains and other articles of mass consumption. Differential rates of *rahdari* were adopted in respect to different categories of dealers such as *sahthani vichhayat* and *veopari*.[18] Certain articles being carried for specific purposes were exempted from it. For example, the *raiyat* of the villages bringing seed from the *qasba* for sowing were exempted from the payment of *rahdari*. Similarly, artisans buying raw material were exempted from it. The *ijaradars*, *jagirdars*, *udikis* and *inamis* were also not required to pay it on the commodities realized in revenue which they took to the *qasba* market for sale. Traders who bought grain realized by the *jagirdars* etc. in revenue were also exempted from *rahdari*. Those selling oil cake

(*khali*) to the *banjaras* were also not charged rahdari.[19] In conditions of scarcity and famine food grains and other essential commodities of mass consumption imported through the traders were also exempted from *rahdari*.[20] It was also waived off on certain special occasions; for example, at the famous Sarswati fair held at Sawai Jaipur in April-May were exempted from the payment of *rahdari* within the territories under the control of Jaipur Maharaja.[21]

The *hasil rahdari*, from which *chaudhuries*, the *qanungo*, the *qazi*, the *mufti* were exempted,[22] was charged at differential scales from the *veopari*, the *sahthani* and the *vichhayat*. The rate levied on the *veopari* was 50 percent less than paid by the *sahthani*. The *veoparis* from Sawai Jaipur were paying it at a rate 50 percent lower than other *veoparies*. The traders bringing cotton to Sawai Jaipur and carrying it out from there were charged 75 percent lower than the normal rate.[23] The rates levied on the *banjaras* the *sahthanis* and the *vichhayats* respectively are given in the following table :

(A) Ratc of Rahdari on each carriage per Chauki

(*Pargana Mal Pura*)

Carriage	*Rate*
Gari carrying zink, lad, calico	Rs. 0.44
Gari carrying grain, salt	*Taka* 1.00
Gari carrying raw cotton, ghee, oil, iron	*Taka* 2.25
Gari carrying kirana, coconut, flowers sugar, sugarcandy, *betal* leaves	Rs. 0.37
Gari carrying cotton good quality	*Taka* 2.00
Gari carrying indigo, silk	Rs. 1.25
Gari carrying til black & white	*Taka* 2.00
Pack Camel and *baffalo* carrying :	
Calico, *betel* leaves	*Taka* 2.00
Grain, salt	*dam* 25
Kirana, raw cotton, flowers	varied from 37.5 *dam*
Ghee, oil, sugar	to 1 *Taka*
Sugarcandy	*Taka* 1.50
Indigo, silk	*Taka* 3.00
Pack bullock carrying :	
Raw cotton, kirana, ghee, oil, Flowers, sugar	*dam* 19 to 25

Iron, paper, tobacco, grain, salt	*dam* 12.5
Calico, lad, zink	*Taka* 1.00
Indigo	*Taka* 1.50
Sugarcandy	*dam* 25 to *dam* 37.5
Betal leaves	*Taka* 1 *dam* 6
Til white	*dam* 19

(Pargana Todabhim)

Rate of Rahdari on the carriage passing through the pargana for 10 Chaukis

Carriage	Rate
100 Pack oxen carrying :	
Salt, grain	Rs. 10.00
Til, rice, gur, sarson	Rs. 20.00
Sugar, Kirana, tobacco, cotton, ghee	Rs. 40.00
grain of Bhat & Charans	Rs. 5.00
Pack bullock carrying :	
grain, salt,	*Taka* 1.00
til, gur, sarson, rice	*Taka* 2.00
cotton, sugar, ghee, kirana	*Taka* 4.00
Gari carrying :	
rice, cotton, ghee, tobacco, kirana, sugar	Rs. 8.40
til, sarson, gur	Rs. 3.44
grain, salt	Rs. 1.84
indigo, calico, betal leaves	Rs. 40.00
Sirva containing :	
betal leaves, indigo, calico	Rs. 1.00
ghee, cotton, kirana, tobacco, sugar	Rs. 0.47
Goat per 100	Rs. 4.00
Per bullock	Re. 0.19

Note : 1. The rate for pack camel was 100 percent more than that for pack bullock, and 50 percent less for pack horse than for pack bullock.
2. The rate of *rahdari* on *vugaha* was 50 percent less than *Sirva.*

Rate of Rahdari on Sahthani and Vichbayat in Taka

(Pargana Hindon)

Commodities	Carriage	Rate on Sahthani	Rate on Vichhayat
Grain	Gari	3.25	6.00
Rice, til, sarson, cotton		6.50	13.00
Raw cotton		13.00	6.00

Rates of *rahdari* in different *parganas* show considerable variation in magnitude from *pargana* to *pargana*. This was perhaps due to difference in prices prevalent in different *parganas*. However, it is not clear from the documents whether the rate of *rahdari* was adjusted to the price fluctuation or not.

In the majority of cases *rahdari* was farmed out to *sahukars* on *ijara* for a fixed sum.[24] The *ijaradars* in many cases caused harassment to traders and *banjaras* by demanding it at a rate higher than the customary one.

2. Mapa :

Mapa, next to *rahdari* in order of importance, was realized on the sale and purchase of various commodities at various markets such as in the *qasba*, *hatwara* and *mela* (fair). Proportionate to the value of goods sold and purchased, it was not demanded on certain commodities bought for specific purposes such as seed purchased by peasants, oil seeds bought for taking out oil, indigo purchased for dyeing cloth, and the sale of grain realized in revenue by the *ijaradar*, *jagirdar*, *udiki* and *inami*.[25] It was not levied on certain categories of persons such as the *chaudhuri*, the *qanungo*, and the *zamindar*.[26]

Rate of Mapa per Rupee (*Pargana* Khohri)

On the commodities sold and purchased by *gaveti* (resident of the village)	*dam* 12.5
Commodities sold by *vichhayat* in the *qasba*	*dam* 19.0
Commodities taken out by the vichhayat from the qasba	*dam* 12.5
Mapa on tobacco	*Taka* 7.00
On the sale of bullocks, horses	*dam* 25.0

Rate of Mapa per rupee levied on the Vichhayat
(*Pargana* Bahatri)

Commodity	*Rate on Sale*	*Rate on Purchase*
Grain, sugar, raw cotton gur, aal etc.	28 *dams*	12.5 *dams*
San	31 *dams*	25 *dams*
Tobacco	*Taka* 1 *dam* 6	25 *dams*

Rate of Mapa levied on the Sahthani (per rupee)

Sugar, raw cotton, oil rice	12.5 *dams*	12.5 *dams*
Tobacco	25.p *dams*	25.0 *dams*

Rate of Mapa per rupee in dams

(*Pargana* Hindon)

Commodity	*Rate*
Raw cotton	22
Kirana	15
Till, rice	9
Ghee, oil	9

Rate of Hasil Mapa on different Carriages

(*Qasba* Malarna)

Commodity	*Carriage*	*Rate*	*Carriage*	*Rate*
Grains	Gari	*Taka* 6.00	Pack bullock	0.75 *Taka*
Rice		*Taka* 9C0		1.00 *Taka*
Tobacco		Rs. 1.31		—
Sugar		Rs. 1.19		6.00 *Taka*
Aal		Re. 0.94		—
Gur		Re. 0.44		1.75 *Taka*
Til		*Taka* 8.00		1.00 *Taka*

Rate of Mapa per rupee in dams on the sale and purchase of different commodities by the traders and the Artisans

(Qasba Phagi)

Items	*Rate*	
	Seller	*Buyer*
	dam	*dam*
Commodities sold by local village merchant to the other local village merchant	6	12.5
Grains sold by the local village merchant to the *vichhayat*	6	25
Commodities sold by the *vichhayat* in the village	31	Nil
On the sale of *mahuwa* by the local village dealer to the *vichhayat* or by the *vichhayat*	*Taka* 1.00	—
Sale of commodities by the *vichhayat* to the other *vichhayat*	*Taka* 1.00	—
On the sale of tobacco by the local dealer and *vichhayat*	*Taka* 1.00	—
By the *vichhayat* to the other *vichhayat*	*Taka* 2.00	—
On the sale of iron, wood, cotton by the local village trader to the *vichhayat*	*dam* 25	
sold by the vachhayat	*dam* 25	

On the sale of grains by the *banjara*	*dam* 25
On the sale of Cattle	*Taka* 1.00
On the distiller in the village per distillary	*Taka* 7.00
On the oil pressure on each press	*dam* 25
On the sale of calico, silk by the *vichhayat* in the village	*dam* 6 per roll (*Than*)
Raw skin sold by *Khatik* to the local customers	*dam* 12.5
by the vichhayat	*dam* 25.0
On the sale of finished cotton by the local trader in the village	*dam* 12.5
On the sale to the vichhayat	*dam* 25.0

Different rates were charged in the *qasba* market and in the *hutwara* on the sale of grains. In the *qasba* the rate of *mapa* on the sale and purchase of grain was 19 dams per rupee and in the *hutwara* 12.5 *dams*.[28]

3. **Baithak** :

It was realized from artisans and traders who brought their finished goods and other commodities for sale to the *hatwara* organized in different villages on different week days. Different rates were charged from different artisans and dealers proportionate to the value of the commodities. It was charged at the following rates on the basis of per *baithak*[29] (display) :

Rate of Hasil per Baithak in the Hatwara

Asami	*Qasba Phagi* Rate in *Taka*	*Qasba Toda Bhim* Rate in *Taka*
Tanner	0.50	2.5 *dam* per pair of shoe
Thattera (utensil maker)	0.50	—
Chheepa (Calico printer)	0.50	31 *dams*
Kandera	0.50	31 *dams*
Goldsmith	0.25	15 *dams*
Lakhera	0.25	—
Khatik (meat seller)	0.25	31 *dams*
Bajaj (cloth merchant)	0.25	1.25 *taka*
Sarraf	0.25	—

Pansari	0.50	—
Dyer	0.75	—
Sikligar	0.25	—
Kasera	—	1.25 *taka*
Blacksmith	—	1.25 *taka*

4. Bharoti or Bhari Gari :

The *bharai*, paid by the trader while loading their carts, was also proportionate to the value of goods loaded. It was charged at the following rate.[30]

Rate of Hasil Bharai per Cart

Item	*Rate in Taka*
Gari salt, grain	2.00
Gari raw cotton, flowers, sugar, kirana, calico, raw leather	4.00
Gari til	3 00

5. Pasaru and Nikasu :

These cesses were levied on the traders in the *qasbas* and villages where markets and *hatwaras* were organized while turning out and turning in the commodities carried in different carriages from the market. Different rates were charged from the *banjara*, the *vichhayat* and the *sahthani*. The rates were proportionate to the value of commodities carried by the traders.[31]

Rate of Nikasu Pasaru in the Qasba Chatsu

Commodity	*Carriage*	*Rate in taka*	
		Taka	Dam
Grain	100 pack oxen belonging to the banjaras	19	00
	1 pack bullock	2	25
	1 pack horse	1	13
	1 *Gari*	4	31
Till, cotton	1 *Gari*	7	25
	1 pack bullock	2	00
Raw cotton	1 *gari*	15	25
	1 pack bullock	2	37
Sugar	1 *Sirva*	2	12
Indigo	1 pack bullock	Rs. 3.00	

Rate of Nikasu Pasaru on Vichhayat and Sahthani
(Qasba Toda Bhim)
(rate per cart)

Commodity	*Vichhayat* Rate	*Sahthani* Rate
Rice, Gur	6 *Taka*	6 *Taka*
Sarson, til, mung	5 *Taka*	4 *Taka*
Grain	15 *dam* per rupee	—
Ghee, raw cotton	15 *dam* per rupee	16 *Taka*

6. Singoti :

Singoti was realized from traders who dealt in cattle such as bullocks, baffalo, camel horses etc. It was charged at the rate of *taka* 1 per rupee on the sales.[32]

7. Parna :

It was levied on grain traders. It was not demanded from *pargana* officials who traded in grains.[33] Those grain dealers who came to settle in a newly constructed *Katla* were also exempted from it.[34] Demanded from grain merchants who did not buy the state share of grain realized in land revenue, it was a coercive tax. In a number of documents we find the *panch mahajans* protesting against the harassment caused to them by the state officials under the pretence of *parna.*[35]

8. Vachh Virar :

It was also realized from grain merchants at the time of the sale of grain in the market.[36] However, its incidence is not mentioned in the documents.

9. Aara :

It was realized from the *mahajans* of the *qasba* who went to far-off villages for procuring various commodities for commercial purposes.[37] Its incidence is not recorded in the documents.

10. Bahetawani :

It was levied on outgoing and incoming commodities in the *pargana* at different rates on different carriages. It was charged at a uniform rate on a loaded carriage irrespective of the value of goods. However, it was a different rate from the *sahthani* and the *vichhayat* :[38]

Rate of Babetawani per carriage

Carriage	*Rate on Sahthani*		*Vichhayat*	
	Taka	*Dams*	*Taka*	*Dams*
ari Purkas	4	00	5 —	00
ari Chobaili	3	00	3 —	37.5
ari tibaili	2	00	2 —	25
amel	1	00	1 —	12.5
ullock	—	25	— —	31
orse	—	12.5		15
affalo	—	37.5		47
irva	—	6		6

1. **Khunchi** :

It was charged when an exchange of commodities took place between two traders in the village or the *qasba.* Those traders who sold way their goods either to local traders or to the *vichhayats* were equired to pay it. It was charged at a uniform rate of *dam* 6 per upee.[39]

2. **Mohrano** :

It was levied on each cart carrying goods while passing through the *argana* at a uniform rate of Rs. 2/- per cart.[40]

3. **Kayali** :

The rate of *Kayali* was Rs. 0.62 per hundred rupee. It was charged rom the traders at the time of weighing their goods.[41]

4. **Tehbazari** :

It was realized from petty traders for the use of state land in *atwaras,* and fairs.

It would appear from the above that the legal taxes imposed on raders were not only very large in number (about 20) but also considerable in magnitude. Some of them, like *rahdari, mapa, kotwali,* were quite burdensome.

It is also apparent from the study of these taxes that certain privileges were granted to a saction of the traders who were either exempted rom some taxes or were required to pay these on concessional rates.

On the basis of the documents it is possible to ascertain the total burden of taxes on trade in certain goods by calculating the value of

commodities carried in the cart or on the camel, bullock, horse, baffalo, *sirva* and *vugacha* on the basis of prevailing market prices which are available in other categories of documents such as the *arhsatta* and the *nirakh bazar*. The value per mound in terms of money can be worked out since the carrying capacity of different carriages in mounds is available in the documents.[43] The number of *chaukis* (outposts) and *chabutra kotwali* in the *parganas* and on different routes where all important taxes were realized is also mentioned in the documents.[44] By taking together all this information the total burden of taxes on trade can be worked out for a particular distance.

In addition to paying the legal taxes, the traders also had to meet illegal demands and extortions from various authorities, e. g. the state officials, *bhomias* and the *ijaradars*. Sometimes these extortions became unbearable to the traders who had to give up trading activities at least temporarily. The coercion was more in respect of mapa and rahdari which were also legally or illegally claimed by the *bhomias*. In the majority of cases *mapa* and *rahdari* were farmed out to *ijaradars* who did not refrain from demanding a rate higher than the customary rate.

What is more striking is the fact that in spite of the heavy burden imposed by way of taxation and illegal extortion, trade was brisk and flourishing and the traders definitely benefited from inland trade particularly in agricultural products. It was perhaps due to an upward trend in prices from the mid-17th century onwards. There are many instances to show that the traders earned handsome profits by exporting grains and other commodities in other regions where prices were high. That trade in this region was highly profitable is also confirmed by the fact that the *mahajans* in Eastern Rajasthan had accumulated enormous liquid cash and were trying to find out fresh avenues for the investment of their surplus capital.

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The term sahthani is used for those petty traders who operated at the local level i.e. in the qasba or the villages. They had their own shop in qasba or the village· The vichhayati was a petty dealer coming from outside to a village or hatwara. According to wilson's glossary, the vichhayati was as petty dealer who does not keep a shop, but carries his goods to a fair or market or exhibit them in a street or on the steps of a door, on a mat or cloth spread on the ground H.H. Wilson' glossary of revenue and judicial terms. p. 85 Chithi to the Amil Pargana Khohari at K. M. Mah Vadi 8 V. S. 1789/1732 Dasturulamal bhomi mapa rahdari pargana Hindaum V. S. 1798/1741 Dasturulamal Amal dastur chotra kotwali Pargana Phagi V. S. 1741/1684. Jaipur Records, Rajasthan Archives, Bikaner.

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DECAY OF MUGHAL INDIA'S RED SEA TRADE MONOPOLY (1619-1627)

Phanindra Nath Chakrabarti

(a) Introduction :

The sea-borne trade of Indian merchants during the period of our discussion was westwards with Mocha[1] (lies inside the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb), the Chief Commercial Centre in the Red Sea region and eastwards with Achin, Tiku and Priaman in Sumatra and Bantam in Java[2]. Merchants from Constantinople, Abyssinia, Cairo, and various places in the Levant used to come to Mocha to buy Indian merchandise.[3] Capt. Saris and Capt. John Davis spoke highly of mercantile activities of Indian merchants in Bantan, Achin and other places in South East Asia.[4]

But the trade with places in South East Asia suffered so heavily on account of the encroachments of the English that, in the phraseology of Roe, the Indian merchants were 'undone' and their trade was 'overthrown'.[5]

Indian merchants had to depend almost exclusively upon the Red Sea trade.[6] In fact, the Red Sea trade, William Foster remarks, was the 'only commerce of importance', now left to Indian merchants.[7] Besides, the Red Sea was a principal 'vehicle of the Pilgrim traffic to the holy places of Islam'.[8]

Here is related the story of how and why Indian merchants were pressed by the East India Company to hand over this exclusive right of foreign trade in the Red Sea.

(b) Importance of the Red Sea trade :

Realising fully the importance of the Red Sea traffic, Sir Thomas Roe wrote a letter from Ajmer on Nov. 24, 1616 to the Directors of the East India Company suggesting the despatch of a small ship with the 'fittest English goods' and some others which the Red Sea region would 'yield'. His letter also drew a bright picture of the Red Sea traffic. The profit of the Red Sea trade, he writes, exceeded that of all the 'trades of Indya' (India) and would 'drive this alone'.[9] Roe urged that assortments of both Fnglish and Indian goods might be sold at the Red Sea Ports at high profit to the merchants from Egypt who frequented the pilgrim ports.[10]

(c) Reasons for capturing of the Red Sea trade :

Roe determined to snatch this trade away from the Indian merchants mainly for four reasons :

(i) As English goods were not in much demand in India 'to produce return Cargoes'[11] he thought of establishing a 'branch trade' between Surat and the Red Sea where assortments of English and Indian goods, as well as spices of Bantam could be sold at very profitable rates to the traders of Egypt who usually bought in specie.[12]

(ii) Under the influence of mercantilism the English sovereign banned the export of a 'considerable amount of silver' with which the English merchants could purchase Indian commodities.[13]

(iii) The English commercial activities in the South—East Asia then faced a stiff opposition from the Dutch and the English realised that they were no match to the Dutch 'either economically or militarily'.[14]

(iv) The Dutch also opened up the Red Sea trade in 1615 which encouraged Roe further.[15]

(d) Modus Operandi of Roe :

But it was not easy for the English to carry on their trading activities in that region because it had always been a speciality of the Surat traders.[16] English attempt to obtain a share of this trade was bound to be taken seriously by the Mughal authorities, and, consequently, their existence in Mughal India was sure to be threatened. So Roe offered, early in February 1618, to the Indian merchants at Surat to carry their goods to the Red Sea ports on English ships. Roe was sure that Indian merchants would welcome his scheme because they had to pay per ship for obtaining the *cartazes* from the Portuguese.[17] Roe might have thought, the greatful owners of the Mughal ships relieved from this tax, would consent to 'pay for the protection afforded' to their ships by the English. Roe also thought that through this service to the Indian merchants not only the hold of the English would increase on those merchants and through them on the Mughal central authorities, but this would 'also draw at least some revenue' by means of conveying the Mughal junks to and fro.[18]

But the Indian business community turned down the proposal[19] because the English instead of buying Indian goods for the markets of England, were exporting Indian commodities to the Red Sea ports 'in competition with themselves'.[20] Then Roe appealed to Prince Khurram early in 1618 to allow the English to obtain a share of that trade. The Prince's reply was that the English were not to 'trade to the Red Sea'. If the English were not 'contented to have free trade for all but Mocha', they might 'goe out of the countrye' as he 'must not begger his people' for the English.[21]

Besides Roe was also opposed by William Kerridge, the then President of the Company at Surat and his colleagues, who 'resented the ambassador's interference' because they thought the matter lay outside Roe's duty.[22] They thought that Roe's principal duty was to secure commercial privileges for Company's trade in India from the Great Mughal and not in the Red Sea region.

Ignoring all these, Roe devised a project for the forcible capture of the Red Sea trade on Feb., 14, 1618. Sailing from Surat to Dabhol and Mocha on a ship laden with cargoes provided by Kerridge, Captain

Pring would surprise and seize the junks of the Surat merchants returning from the Red Sea ports. Roe thought that by the use of force the English would break the monopoly enjoyed by the Indians and make them understand the 'interest of free commerce'.[23] Accordingly Roe informed the Directors of the company in London that the Mughal ships were to be seized for two reasons :

(i) to bring the local Mughal authorities to their senses; and,

(ii) to impress on the Mughal court the reality of English naval supremacy. Thus would Jahangir and his advisers 'realise that the English were, indeed, as they claimed to be Lords of the seas' and then listen with due respect to their claim 'to a free market and fair treatment'.[24]

By the time the Directors of the company in London permitted Roe to push his project through, the *Royal Anne* left Surat in the middle of March 1618 with Edward Heynes, Secretary of Roe, and Joseph Salbank, a merchant of the company to negotiate with the local ruler. The *Anne* reached Mocha after a month. They procured a *firman* from the Pasha of Yemen for a peaceful trade 'both for present and future times, as intending to visit their ports yearly with plenty of English and Indian goods.'[25]

Armed with this *firman*, Roe was determined to persevre with the experiment and on Feb. 17, 1619, when he himself started for home in the *Royal Anne* the *Lion* sailed for Mocha carrying a reply from Roe to the Governor of Mocha pressing him to obtain both from the Pasha of the Yemen and from the Turkish emperor at Constantinople, such privileges as would encourage the English to continue their commercial operations regularly. The *Lion* returned to Surat in Oct 1619 and made nearly 100 percent profit. This incredible profit induced Kerridge to resolve to prosecute this trade.[26]

The Indian merchants at Surat, finding the English were exporting Indian goods to the Red Sea ports in competition with them and afraid of the loss of the Red Sea trade, instantly took three steps :

(i) They stopped selling goods to the English and a 'general boycott' was organised by them against the English at Surat. The English were told that unless they abandoned the Red Sea traffic, not a single 'yard of calico' would be sold to them.[27]

(ii) The merchants petitioned the Prince not to allow the English to share 'that trade, for yf (if) he did they (Indian merchants) were all undon(e) and the citty begered'[28] (i. e. reduced to poverty).

(iii) On their insistence the *Mutasaddi* of Surat prohibited the sale of corals at Surat by the English[29] brought from the Red Sea ports.

This was not all. At the instigation of the local merchants, the *mutasaddi* arrested 'a couple of merchants' of Surat who in spite of the prohibition, had supplied to the English commodities suitable for the Red Sea' trade.[30]

But Roe's *modus operandi* was not implemented before August 1619 when he had already left India (Feb. 17, 1619). Thomas Kerridge, President of the Company at Surat, wrote a letter on August 16, 1619, to the factors at Ahmedabad enquiring the advisability of seizing the Prince's (Khurram's) junk on her return from the Red Sea.[31]

Implementation of Policy of Force :

The first act of seizure occurred in Nov. 1619, when the English fleet under commander Bickley captured a cargo vessel belonging to the Sind merchants going from Lahari bandar on its way to Persia.[32] As a result of this act of open hostility against the Mughal empire Hughes and Parker, two servants of the Company at Agra, were imprisoned by the order of Asaf Khan[33] and the Sind merchants were given Rs. 10,200 from the effects of the English. After a few days' confinement, Hughes and Parker were released.[34]

The Company must have realised by this event that it would not be possible for a few Englishmen on shore to quarrel on land with the mighty Mughal empire. Again it would be foolish to maintain factories in the country, stocked with valuable goods, and to play rough with the Mughals. Retaliation on the sea would be considerably easier. So the English decided to dissolve all factories. The President at Surat instructed the local factors of Broach, Agra, Ahmedabad and Burhanpur to close their commercial operations and to get down to Surat.[35] The English might have thought that by this contraction of their arena of activities and drawing their men and resources to Surat for detention of the Mughal shipping on the high seas, they would be able to exert pressure on the Mughal authorities who would not be able to resort to retaliation.

The second act of the drama began from September 1623 when Captain Hall began seizing Mughal junks. On Oct. 1, 1623, Hall aboard the *Blessing* wrote to the Surat factory that they had anchored near Daman with a number of captured Mughal junks under his command.[36]

Surrender of Red Sea trade monopoly :

Eventually the local Mughal authorities at Surat were forced to conclude an agreement in September 1624. Saif Khan, the then *Muta-saddi* of Surat, along with a couple of merchants granted a number of privileges (thirteen in all) to the English which were not altogether commercial. The agreement was then sent to the emperor for confirmation. Captain Willoughby, a servant of the Company obtaining the royal *firman* from Jahangir then at Lahore, reached Surat on September 7, 1624.[37] By this grant not only the Mughal authorities agreed to allow the English a share of the Red Sea trade but also the English secured the right to convey the Mughal junks from Surat to Mocha and back. The period of Mughal India's monopoly was over.

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ORISSAN LIFE AS REFLECTED IN THE LITERATURE OF UPENDRA BHANJA (1670-1720)

Krusna C. Jena

Upendra Bhanja is considered the greatest poet in Oriya literature. He represented Oriya poetry at its glorious point. A prince of the royal family of the Bhanja dynasty of Ghoomusar, he had to suffer the palace politics. He moved from place to place and spent much of his time in isolation. It was a favourable situation for a poet like him and he left behind a great literary heritage of which the people of Orissa are really proud.

Upendra Bhanja has given a vivid picture of the socio-economic life of his period. He was not merely confined to Orissa alone, his descriptions include the prevailing conditions in other parts of India. In Labanyabati, considered his best work, the hero is from Karnatak and the heroine from Ceylone. Though primarily a romantic epic, it

describes social life including the customs of the people, the practice of marriage, and other social functions.

The writings of Upendra Bhanja can be classified in different categories. The mythological works include *Baidahya Vilas*, *Ramalilamruta*, *Abanarasa Taranga*, *Kala Kautuka*, *Chanda Bhusana*, *Brajalila*, *Kunja Vihar*, *Rasa Lila*, *Krishna Vihar*, *and Subhadra Vihar.* While following the main trends of Indian mythology, he introduced in these works, a great deal of the local Oriya ways of life and socio-cultural trends.

Upendra Bhanja had intimate knowledge of the palace life and had experienced the pleasures and problems of a prince. This he amply reflected in the life of Ramachandra in his *Baidahya Vilas*, the story of Ramchandra and Sita which has inspired many works in Sanskrit and other Indian languages. The importance of *Baidahya Vilas* is that he has taken Sita as the main character. The female characters, thus, predominate in dignity and emphasis over the male characters. The poet himself had been suffering a very difficult life. He was driven from his kingdom and had to spend several years in the forests. While, he described the life of Ramchandra in the forests, he had very vividly pictured the forest life and the difficulties attached with it.

Sita, the main character of *Baidahya Vilas,* is a typical Oriya lady. There is little of north Indian influence in her private and public life. Her feelings, though following the main trend in the Sanskrit *Ramayana,* come closer to the Oriya climate. Her attachment towards the family, her sacrifices for the sake of her husband and her silent protests against the forces of suffering make her a great lady. Upendra Bhanja has attained unprecedented heights in describing her emotional feelings in very delicate yet forceful language.

Among the imaginary epics, the names of *Labahaybati*, *Koti Bramhanda Sundari*. *Premasudhanidhi*, *Hema Manjari*. *Chitra Lekha*, *Kama Kala*, *Monoroma*, *Premalata*, *Muktabati*, *Chandrakala*, *Chaddrarekha*, *Kalabati*, *Sasirekha*, *Sobhabati*, *Rasapanachaka*, and others stand supreme. In these imaginary narations, the poet has imagined many extra-worldly pictures. Even than his attention has not been completely cut off from mundane influences. Whenever he has a chance he provides glimpses of Orissan socio-economic life. In *Koti Bramhanda Sundari*, the descriptions, though highly imaginary, open visions of Oriya life as prevalent in the medieval time. This is made more romantic because of the close connection of the poet with the different royal families of

the state. He has also described the day-to-day activities of the general public. Economic life in those days was both narrow and limited. People had to depend on limited professions.

In several of his writings he has given us clear descriptions of the food and medicine common among the people of Orissa. In no other literary work of the period do we find such narrations. For instance, he has said that the ladies used a specific medicine so that their breasts would remain firm Similarly, men used to taken different herbs for keeping their body beautiful and strong. Upendra Bhanja has described almost a complete science of medicine and physiology in his epics. In his narrations people appear as religious and depending on astrological findings. There were numerous temples in the kingdom and in all epics there were detailed descriptions of the temples and the worship of the deities.

As for dress and ornaments, Upendra Bhanja has given a picture of the fashions of the period. Women used to wear rings of precious metal in their ears and nose. They used necklaces and decorated their arms with other metal ornaments. Men's dress used to be simpler. They wore both cotton and silk garments and on special occasions they also wore ornaments.

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CORPORATE LIFE IN MEDIEVAL ANDHRA VILLAGE

T. S. N. Murty

Corporate life was an essential element in medieval Andhra village. Every village consisted of a number of functional groups which expressed themselves in terms of castes. Though the membership in a caste group

was determined in course of time by birth, as long as the same type of economic activity was in force the caste system continued in its original form. When there was a change in the economic activity, the caste system also tried to adapt itself to the new development by breaking up itself further into sub-castes. There was a continuous process of new castes being formed as new occupations developed. Thus the basis of the caste group and functional group continued to be identical in medieval Andhra.

Epigraphical sources mention these groups as 'Samayas' the number of which was generally eighteen and the entire people of these eighteen samayas were called Ashtadasa-prajalu.[1] Padunenimidi jatula prajalu,[2] Padunenimidi samayalavaru[3] and samasta-samalavaru[4]. They included Mahajanulu (brahmins), Srivaishnavulu (priests of vishnava temples), Komatlu (traders), Kampulu (protectors and cultivators of land), Telikivevuru (Oil mongers), Salevaru (weavers), Gollavaru (shepherds), Akkasalavaru (smiths), Sanivaru (courtesans), Vadrangulu (carpenters), Kummarulu (potters), Vastrachchedakulu (tailor), Charmakarulu (shoe-makers), Rajakulu (washermen), Kshurakarulu (barbers), Balinja-setti kandru (toddy-tappers), Boyalu (hunters and guardsmen) and Kammarulu (black-smiths). However, it cannot be said that every village consisted of these samayas only; some villages might have contained more or less number of and even different samayas. Streets or particular sections of the village came to be inhabited by people of one and the same samaya. They were called vadas such as Akkalavada, Sanivada, Nakarapuvada etc.

These samayas were organised into self-governing institutions that performed a wide range of functions. The individual was considered an integral member of the group and he was expected to sacrifice his personal interest when it came into conflict with that of the samaya. The members who violated the decisions of the samaya were branded as *samaya-drohis* and were severely punished. According to a copper plate grant dated A.D. 1304 from Nellore District, the merchants of the place combined themselves to make certain rules for trade. one of them, a renegade, was murdered, and the merchants' samaya gratefully gave a charter grant to the murderer allowing him to carry on his merchandise in future free of duty[5]. The samayas had their own leaders. An epigraph dated S. 1041 mentions one potinayaka as the peddi i.e., the leader of the Telikis, and Eriyama Nayaka as the leader of the Kampulu of

Bandini Village[6]. An epigraph from Simhachalam dated S. 1213 refers to Srivishnavanayakulu[7] and two inscriptions from Srikurmam refer to vaishnava Nayakulu[8]. An inscription of Kulothunga Choda refers to Pedda Kummari who must have been evidently the head of the potters' samaya[9]. But no definite information is available to determine the process through which the leaders of the samayas came to occupy these responsible positions.

The main functions of the samayas can be described as:(1) maintenance of corporate property; (2) protection of the right and privileges of the samays (3) arbitration in disputes among their members (4) enforcement of the common code of professional and social conduct; and (5) participation in the maintenance of village administration.

One of the chief features of medieval Andhra village economy was the rapid growth in samaya property mainly in the form of land. It was received by the samaya as a remuneration for its collective service to the ruler; or as a purchased commodity, or in the case of the cultivators' samaya new lands were brought under cultivation by way of deforestation. Medieval Andhra rulers granted lands or entire villages to Brahmins for their maintenance and successful discharge of their duties. A typical of this type of gift can be found in an epigraph from Peddatumbalam dated S. 1070 which states that one Racarasa gifted a village to the Mahajanulu, after dividing it into vritis and it further states that the vrittis were neither saleable nor mortgageable.[10] In a large number of land-grants it was stipulated that the donee or donees were not entitled to mortgage or sell their vrittis, from which it can be inferred that the ownership of land belonged to the ruler and the donees were entitled to enjoy the rent of it. But, as the donees began to sell their right of enjoying rent, ownership of the ruler turned to be a theoretical concept and virtual rights on land were enjoyed by the samaya or an individual that received it. A record from Panchadharla registers the sale of some land by the Pancalulu and Nayilu of that place to one Buddhasani.[11] One Bairisetti installed in the village Peddapariyala the gods of Baireswara, Sakaleswara and Nageswara and endowed them with one-third of the produce in the land irrigated under the tank Sakala Samudra newly constructed by him. The remaining two-thirds is said to be the share of the King. Bairisetti purchased some vritti lands of the Brahmins and made a gift of them to the same temple[12]. It is evident from the above two epigraphs that the samayas owned lands and even

vritti lands were, in practice, saleable. Hence, it can be inferred that samayas owned and maintained lands; but no valuable information is available to ascertain the mechanics of their management.

The samaya discharged the functions of a trust and accepted money deposits or held lands in trust for the maintenance of a specified religious purpose, such as supplying oil for a perpetual lamp. The Kampulu of Talanda Twelve accepted a deposit of 10 madas in one case[13] and one and a half puttis of land in another case[14] towards the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in each case. An epigraph from Simhachalam dated S. 1213 states that one Narayana Senapati, a Kalinga pariksha, deposited six madas with the Pancadhi Srivaishnavanaykulu towards feeding thirty Brahmins daily in a matha built by him[15]. An inscription dated S. 1063 states that one Prolipanda made a gift to the temple of Vasukuravi and the Munnuru Sanis, along with others, were entrusted with the task of properly maintaining the gift.[16] Two epigraphs from Mukhalingam, registering cash gifts for lamps in the local temple, state that they were entrusted to the care of the Telikis of Bandınigama and Codagangapenta.[17] Another example can be found in an epigraph from Mukhalingam which states that cash gifted for a lamp in the local temple was entrusted to the Nayakas of Nakarapuvada with the stipulation that they were to maintain the lamp from the yield of two puttis and ten tumus of land.[18]

Some epigraphical records of medieval Andhra bring into light instances where the samayas collected taxes from its own members and others. According to the copper plate grant from Nellore District dated A.D. 1304, mentioned above, the samaya of the traders of the place issued a charter grant to the murderer of the samayadrohi allowing him to carry on his merchandise in future free of duty. The same guild presented a grant in 1322 A.D. to a person who murdered two toll-collectors. In another case the Mahajanulu of Garagapadu transferred to the local temple the marriage fees granted to them by Ganapamba.[19] Another epigraph states that the Mahajanulu and several merchants of Bhojanavuru, a village, made a gift with the tax levied on the sale of cloth, arecanut, etc.[20] An epigraph from Srikurmam states that the Telikivevuru samaya exempted an oil onill from Ari for the maintenance of mill a perpetual lamp in the local temple.[21] According to an Amaravati record the Pancanamvaru of Dharnikota and Amareswaram sent taxes as a gift to Kamatheswara of Dharnikota.[22] From these records it is

clear that the samayas were entrusted with the responsibility of collecting taxes from their members and from others and they were empowered to exempt a member from payment of tax or to contribute tax to a temple. And this must have been done, of course, with the consent of their ruler.

The samayas made extensive grants to temples. One epigraph from Srikurmam dated S 1167 records a gift of cows to the local temple by Kampulu of Indapuram.[23] An epigraph from Cimata dated S. 1234 records a gift to the local temple by Kampulu and Karanalu.[24] An epigraph from Mattewada states that one Mallisetti and his son Vennisetti, on behalf of all the Dharma Saliyajanulu of Matiyasthala and neighbouring places, instituted Ganapeswara in the name of Saliyajanulu and Sakaleswara in the name of all devotees.[25] It is evident from this record that two merchants who might have been purchasers of cloth, collected contribution from the weavers for constructing the temple of Ganapeswara. In A.D. 1216 at Velpur, Kings Bhima and Rudra on the one side and the priests and Sanis on the other entered into an agreement with regard to the incomes of the temple[26]. The above epigraph throws light on the important role played by the samayas of priests and Sanis in the maintenance of temples. There were many instances where the people of all the samayas in the village joined together and registered gifts to the local temple. A typical example of such gifts can be found in an inscription from Katukur dated S. 1225 in which the details of the contributions were described.[27] One epigraph from Nagulapadu dated S. 1225 states that all the people of the eighteen samayas of the place gifted to the local temple for the merit of Prataparudradeva.[28]

The significant role played by the village samayas and their leaders in the management of the village affair cannot be underestimated. Their presence and consent were required whenever a gift was made by the rulers of the day. One record from Maktal dated S. 1242 states that in the Magatalasthala Gundayani and his pradhani......gifted with the consent of all the samayas including the Srivaishnava samaya, a tax called singanadam-pannu.[29] Similarly according to an epigraph dated S. 1230 Mahapradhani, puravari Nayakulu gifted, with the consent of the Ashtadasa prajalu of Tekumbed, to the local temple a part of the income from the land tax[30]. An undated epigraph from Panugallu states that King Tonda granted to a temple two nivartanas of paddy land and five kha (of dry land) in each of the villages of Kanduri

vishaya with the consent of the gramanayakulu.[31] In this case the consent of the grama-nayakulu was obtained. Who were these gramana-yakulu? We have to admit that as far as medieval Andhra is concerned the materials discovered so far do not enlighten us on the composition, leadership and functions of the village council. In the absence of such evidence we have to presume that the grama-nayakulus mentioned in the above epigraph were no other than the leaders of the village samayas.

Leaders of the samayas engaged themselves in active participation in the village administration. In medieval times a new type of village administrative system known as Ayagara system was evolved in which the leaders of the samayas enjoyed semi-official status. The Prabhuparru grant of the Eastern Chalukya monarch Saktivarman I, which states that the gramani of the village was dismissed by the King,[32] would testify to the extension of the state administrative machinery to the village. Later on Reddi and Karnam were appointed by the government to look after the village administration. Raddi or Reddi, as the head of the village, superintended its affairs. He was the King's representative in the village and was made responsible for the collection of land revenue and maintenance of law and order. The Karanam measured the fields, estimated the crop, determined the King's share of produce which each arikapu had to pay, and maintained registers regarding their transactions. Under Ayagara system, which came into vogue in Andhra during the Kakatiya period and took a definite shape in later times, "every village consisted of a number of servants who were remunerated for their services to the village commune by manyams, grants of tax-free lands, meras and mirasis (fees). They were commonly called ayagars or grama bhatas, and their land-grants, bhata vritti manyams. They were hereditory officers. Generally their number was twelve though the exigencies of work, rural economy and the size of the village determined the number".[33] The Ayagars were: Reddi, Karnam, Talari, Nirukattu, gold-smith, blacksmith, carpenter, purohit, washerman, barber, potter and shoe-maker. Apart from Reddi, Karanam, Talari and Neerukattu, the rest of the Ayagars had no official designation except their professional nomenclature. In view of the above fact they can be taken as the leaders of their respective samayas. The legacy of this system can be found in the present day village administration.

Corporate life in the medieval Andhra village, thus, expressed itself

through a wide range of economic, social and administrative functions of the village samayas.

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CLASSIFICATION OF LAND AND ASSESSMENT OF LAND TAX IN EARLY MEDIEVAL TAMILNADU FROM 950 TO 1300

Y. Subbarayalu

The aim of this paper is to underline the complexity of the problem of land-tax assessment in Tamilnadu from the 10th through the 13th centuries by studying some peculiar features least noticed by earlier scholars.[1] These features rather crucial to the understanding of the problem are denoted by the Tamil terms *taram*, *madakku*, *virivu* and *parappu*. Out of nearly four thousand published inscriptions[2] (the bulk of this belongs to the Chola dynasty) belonging to this period only about sixty-five inscriptions provide information about these terms. Most of these sixty-five inscriptions come from the four districts of Tanjavur (Tj), Tiruchirappalli (Tp), South Arcot (SA), and Chengalpat (Cg)[3]. There are four inscriptions from Tirunelveli district of the extreme south.

The data relating to the present study comes from the passages containing the description of lands made over to temples and charities. Since lands of a secular character are also described along with the eleemosynary lands in identical terms the description of all lands can be taken into account.

Taram :

The idea of classification of land for tax purposes is explicitly known from inscriptions only from the later half of the 10th century as indicated by the term which begins to appear abut 950. The basic meaning of the term *taram* is 'grade' or 'sort'. When this was used in combination with the auxiliary verbs *chey* meaning 'to do' or *peru* meaning 'to obtain' it meant verbally 'to grade', 'to sort' or 'to classify'. This by extended meaning connoted 'assessment' also.[4] The non-assessed lands were indicated by the term *taram-ili* meaning that has no *taram*'.

From the information found in a few inscriptions it may be suggested that there were about twenty different grades of land in certain localities.[5] Whether this whole range of grading was practised throughout the country is not ascertainable. The norms under which the grading was done are also not mentioned. The available irrigation facilities, fertility of the soil and the number of crops raised annually would have formed the basis.[6]

Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri has noted that there is inscriptional evidence to suggest that 'the revenue from agricultural lands was periodically reassessed, and the classification of the land revised from time to time in accordance with changes in cropping, fertility and so on'.[7] It is possible to suggest that reassessment should have followed immediately upon reclassification of a land. But such details of simultaneous occurrences are rarely found mentioned. What K.A. Nilakanta Sastri had in mind seems to be the gradual enhancement of tax over some years on newly reclaimed lands or on such lands raising long-term crops as the areca-nut crops.[8] When some land was donated for some charity the grade of the land was lowered in order to lessen the tax burden. Thus an inscription dated 1074 (Tp. dt) mentions that a land of 14th grade was lowered to the 20th grade by a *Sabha* for tax purposes.[9] It seems the details of grades of the entire land of each village were kept recorded in a book called *tara-pottakam*.[10] Very few inscriptions are avilable to give an idea of the proportionate ratios between different grades and the assessments thereon. An inscription (Tp. dt) of c. 1300 mentions that a rate of 60 *kalam* (k.) of paddy per *veli* (v.) was fixed for the lowest grade (*kadai-taram*).[11] Another inscription (Tirunelveli dt)[12] of c. 1300 which would have contained rates for the first four grades is unfortunately damaged. The available information suggests that the rate for the first grade was 2.4 times that of the fourth grade both in paddy and money.

Madakku :

Madakku as a verb means 'to fold' or 'to club'. It seems in the process of grading when certain plots of land were assigned to a particular grade the actual measurement of that land was converted to the standard unit of the grade. The process of conversion which involved a kind of 'clubbing' was denoted by the verb *madakku* the converted standard unit was also called *madakku* used as noun. Naturally this conversion resulted in the shrinkage of the original extent in terms of the standard unit. Thus according to an inscription of 1044 from Tp.dt. a land measuring 2.843 *veli* was reduced in grading and standardizing (*taram ittu madakki*) to 0.462 v. The ratio of the original land to the standard land was in this case 6.15 to 1. Only a few instances of this kind are available, but even they show quite a variety.[13] They range between 96.01 to 1' and '4.67 to 1. One inscription of 1247(SA.Dt) alone gives five instances of five different ratios : respectively 13.09, 28.38, 47.72, 4.67 and 53.35 original units to one standard unit.

Virivu or Parappu :

Virivu and *parappu*, used in connection with the classification of land and identical in meaning, are antonyms of *madakku*. They mean 'expansion' or just 'wide area', and seem to have been used to indicate the actual area of a land in contrast to the standardized area of the same. In a few inscriptions the ratio of this actual area to the standard area is given. But here the available ratios are not so different from each other.[14] Broadly they fall into two varieties. Two instances have the ratios of the standard to the actual area respectively as 1 : 1.28 and 1 : 1.25. All the three remaining instances have the ratio as 1 : 5. The contrast between the *madakku* and *parappu* is clearly brought out in an inscription of 1239 from Tj. dt. where it is mentioned that the rate per *ma* (1/20 of a *veli*) towards a local contribution in money called *sabha-viniyogam* had been fixed at 3 *kachu* in the case of ordinary unit (*parappu*) whereas when it was converted to the standard (*madakku*) unit the same was fixed at 30 *kachu*.[15]

Distribution :

There is some peculiarity in the geographical distribution of the above terms. The term 'madakku' is confined to the Tanjavur, Tiruchi-rappalli and S.Arcot districts, i e. the Chola-mandalam proper. The terms *virivu* and *parappu* taken together are found distributed in the Chola-mandalam as well as in the Chengalpat district of the Tondai-mandalam. But in the Chengalpat district the term *parappu* alone was used. Since the term *taram* is noticed all over the Tamil area and since the principles underlying the terms *taram* and *madakku* seem to be interconnected, the non-occurrence of the term *madakku* outside the Chola-mandalam may not signify much, though possible local divergences must be admitted.

Rates :

The above information relating to *taram, madakku* etc. would have been very useful had it been provided with the corresponding rates of assessment. Unfortunately such rates are very rarely mentioned along-side of the details of classification. But the available rates mentioned in the inscriptions containing the classification details provide some idea.

An inscription of 1036 (SA. dt.) gives for two lands two rates (*varichai*) respectively of 102.28 k. and 245 k. The first land was of 'virivu' category. The second is not described.[16] (In this inscription the

rate for *melvaram* or landlord's share is given as 50 per cent of the *varichai* or assessment rate. This rather puzzling thing is not considered here. The second inscription dated 1215 (Tp.dt.)[17] gives a rate of 60k. for a last grade land. The third inscription dated 1249 (Tj.dt.)[18] gives a rate of 120k. for a classified land (classified grade is not indicated). The fourth inscription dated 1266 (Tj.dt)[19] gives two rates for two different classified lands : 200 k. and 78.93 k. respectively. The fifth one dated 1257 from Tj.dt. gives three different rates for three different lands (classified but grade not indicated) : 370 k., 130.37 k. and 107.13 k.[20] The sixth one dated 1259 (SA.dt.)[21] gives a rate of 560 k. for a land said to be of *virivu* category. The last inscription dated 1259 (SA.dt.)[22] gives the rates of 765.41 k. 830.19 k. and 798.59 k. for lands raising two crops (*kar-maru*) and 428.01 k , 405.61 k. and 459.14 k. for one-crop (*oru-pu*) land. All these lands are mentioned as *virivu* lands. But from the ratio of conversion (5:1) given in the two last-mentioned inscriptions it may be seen that the lands were really of *madakku* category mistakenly written as *virivu.*

A review of the above rates would suggest that they are too divergent to admit of a general statement. From two Tanjavur inscriptions of Rajaraja I (1014)[23] giving assessment rates from forty different villages it is understood that the rates ranged between 95 and 100 *kalam* per *veli.* The classification details are not given in the said inscriptions. We may assume that the land extent given may be taken as the actual measured area of the lands concerned, i.e. all these lands were of the *virivu* category. We may also assume that cultivation practices did not change so much from the time of Rajaraja I through the 13th century as to alter the average yields. In that case, compared to the rates given in the two Tanjavur inscriptions, the rates given above would show that the unusually excessive rates were collected from *madakku* lands. The instances provided in the last-mentioned (7th) inscription above certainly support this suggestion but for the wrong mention of the appellation *virivu.*

Conclusion :

In this paper I have considered only a limited range of the problem of classification and assessment. For instance the data relating to the survey, the cropping pattern, the total yield of lands, etc. have not been considered, not to mention the large number of tax terms relating to

land. This limited study itself has raised some issues to be settled before making a decisive statement regarding assessment. My aim was to stress that the assessment rates given in the inscriptions are themselves of not much use at their face value unless they are correlated with the classification of the concerned lands. Here we may recall a statement of Nilakanta Sastri:[24] 'From an inscription...dated 1152, it is seen that some *devadana* land, *apparently of very good quality*, was assessed at 26 1/4 kalams per *ma*, equal to 525 kalam per veli ..' This statement would be rather misleading unless the land is considered as one of the *madakku* category, *i.e.*, the land unit mentioned was not the actual measured area but one converted to standard specifications.

REFERENCES

(Arabic numbers following volume no. indicate the serial number of inscription unless otherwise specified).

1. The best work to date is K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, 2nd ed. (Madras University, 1955), pp. 527-9.
2. Unpublished inscriptions are not considered here since the summaries given in the Annual Reports on Epigraphy (published by the ASI) do not give the full data relating to the terms under study.
3. The first three districts, Tj, Tp, and SA, comprise the area of the Chola-mandalam proper which was the central Chola area, while Cg forms the central portion of the Tonda-mandalam originally the Pallava country, later a part of the Chola territory.
4. *SII* (=South Indian Inscriptions, published by the ASI), XIX, 378, *ll.* 12-3.
5. *SII*, IV, 508.
6. In a paper entitled 'Land Revenue Assessment in Cola Times' contributed to the Felicitation Volume in honour of Father X. S. Thaninayagam (to be published soon), Prof. Noboru Karashima of Tokyo University has analyzed lands from many villages mentided in two Tanjavur inscriptions of Rajaraja I and an inscription of Virarajendra from Gangaikonda-chola-puram and concluded that 'there are differences in composition of taxable land and also in productivity among the villages of different localities ..'
7. *The Colas*, p. 529.
8. For instance *SII*, VI, 438 & *SII*. VII, 412.
9. *SII*. IV, 508.
10. *SII*. XIV, 245. The word is mistakenly read as *tara-yettakam*.
11. *IPS* (=Inscriptions of Pudukkottai, 1929), 170.
12. *SII*. VIII, 454.

	Reference	Ratio	(Year)
13.	*SII.* V, 633	6.15 : 1	(1044)
	SII. III, 86	68.76 : 1	1187
	SII. VIII, 248	33.8 : 1	1223
	SII. VIII, 206	96.01 : 1	1238
	SII. VIII, 50	13.09 : 1	1247
		28.38 : 1	
		47.72 : 1	
		4.67 : 1	
		53.35 : 1	
	SII. XII, 149	19.41 : 1	1248
14.	*SII.* VII, 1031	1 : 1.28	1197
	SII. VII, 1028	1 : 5.1	1223
		1 : 5.0	
	SII. XII, 174	1 : 1.25	c. 1250
	SII. VI, 35	1 : 5.1	1257

15. *SII.* VI. 50, 1.9
16. *SII.* IV, 223
17. *IPS.* 170
18. *SII.* VII, 1039
19. *SII.* XVII, 600
20. *SII.* VI, 35
21. *SII.* VIII, 55
22. *SII.* VIII, 56
23. *SII.* II, 4 & 5
24. *The Colas*, p. 585

A CHRISTIAN IMAGE FROM HUGLI (1632) ?

J. Van Troy

In the morning of June 12, 1956 an illiterate miner, working in the coalmine of Dhori (Kargali seam in the Damodar Valley, Bokaro Coalfield, 3km. east of the Bokaro Thermal power station, Bermo Thana, Hazaribagh Dt. Bihar) struck a piece of wood. When taken out of a hole in the coalseam, it proved to be an image of a woman and child. The coalminers took the miraculously discovered statue for an image of a Devi like Kali Ma and began to worship it. But the local Christians recognised it as the image of the Virgin Mother Mary and

her child Jesus; their guess was confirmed by the local Catholic priest. The image was handed over to the Christians and is now kept in the Catholic village-chapel of Jarangdih (3 km west, south-west of Bokaro Thermal Power Station) and fervently venerated by the local people as the Dhori Mata.

The Image

The image is made of very dark, hard wood. Unfortunately its wood has never been properly identified. It is about 30 cm, high and has a base of ca. 5cm. It represents a standing female figure, dressed in a long robe, which covers her feet, and draped in a long cloaklike garment which covers the head and one end of which is tucked in her waistband. The oval face (almost 1/5 of the total height) is heavy : the full lips, cheeks and chin are realistically carved. The free right arm is cut off (accidentally, when found) at the elbow; the left arm holds a child, dressed in a long robe.

The statue evidently belongs to the South European late Gothic tradition: the material (wood), the realistically carved face, the treatment of the folds of dress and cloak, point to a 16th-17th cent. South-West European origin. Its basic iconographic features may go back to the early middle Ages. As there was no Catholic mission or settlement in the Chotanagpur area (including Hazaribagh and Dhanbad districts) before 1835[1], the statue must have been abandoned at Dhori by travellers. Who were these travellers?

An admittedly hazardous hypothesis, for which there is no positive evidence, but which seems to fit in with known facts, is that these travellers were the Christian captives who travelled form Hugli to Agra in 1632-33 after the capture of the Hugli Bandel by the Moghul troops.

The Siege of Hugli

The sources of our knowledge of the siege of Hugli and of the fate of the Christian captives are the lengthy account of the *Badsahnamah* of *'Abd-u'l Hamid Lahuri* [2] and the brief accounts in the *'Amal-i-Salih* and the works of Khawafi Khan and Samsam-u'd-daulah.[3] Foreign sources are the accounts of the eye-witness, Jesuit Father John Cabral, who sent an official letter on the siege to his Provincial superior on Nov. 12, 1633[4] and of Augustinian Friar Fray Sebastian Manrique, who was in Hugli in 1628 and travelled through India in 1640-1641, and who

relates the tribulations of the Christian prisoners.[5] Manucci and Bernier[6] also give short stories of siege and captivity, but they write more than twenty years after the events.

The siege conducted by land and sea, directed by Bahadur Khan Kanbuh with the help of Inayat-u'llah, son of Qasim Khan, governor of Bengal, and Allah Yar Khan, started on June 26, 1632.[7] An initial attack, made on July 2, 1632, gave the Mughal attackers the Church of our Lady of Mercies outside the Bandel proper.[8] After desultory fighting and protracted and frustrating negotiation, the Mughals brought in artillery and began mining. After blowing up an important building, they attacked in strength. The besieged, who had suffered many casualties during the 3 months' siege decided to abandon the Bandel; on Friday 24 September 1632 all, except 50-60 who remained in the Bandel, embarked on dozens of vessels, big and small. They were still at anchor in the morning of Sept. 25; that day Bandel fell to the Mughals and several vessels surrendered. For two days, the other boats tried to move down the Hugli river, avoiding the fire-vessels and breaking through the Mughal boatbridge and cables spanning the river. Many boats got stranded on sandbanks in the river, which that year was exceptionally low; one large ship with two thousand people and much property on board[9] blew up, when boarded; other ships were captured; only 3 or 4 vessels with 3000 Christians including 160-170 Portuguese men and women made their way to Sagar island.

The Prisoners :

According to the *Badshah-namah*, 4,400, according to Manucci 5,000 Christians were captured after the siege; Khawafi Khan speaks of 1,400, Dutch sources of 1,500 Portuguese prisoners.[10] These prisoners were sent to Agra : according to the *Badshah-namah*, Inayat-u'llah Khan and Bahadur Khan Kanbuh brought on July 19, 1633 (11th Muharram 1043 A.H.) 400 Christian prisoners, male and female, young and old with the idols of their worship before Shah Jahan.[11] Manrique, who met some prisoners in Agra in 1641, gives an account of the difficult journey of the Christian prisoners, who left Hugli by the end of September 1632 and arrived after "about eleven months"[12], actually after less than 10 months in July 1633. The prisoners who included sick people women and children, had to suffer endless toils and difficulties. The brunt of hardships, was borne "by Fray Antonio de Christo, who

succoured the sick, the weak, and the poor, giving up day after day, not only the cart which had been given to him, walking on foot himself, but also the greater part of his rations..." When the rations proved insufficient, "he took advantage of the alms, given him by certain Christians travelling through these parts."[13]

The Images of Hugli :

Muslims and Christians alike appear to have been very much concerned about the images venerated in Hugli. After the first major attack the Mughals captured and destroyed the Church of Our Lady of Mercies outside the Oandel; the image of Our Lady fell into their hands through negligence of those in charge. The Mughals carried it off with the statues of other saints and "out of contempt hung them up from the trees" under the very eyes of the Christians.[14] The main image of the Virgin of the main church of O. Lady of the Rosary which, according to legend, had been found floating in the river and when placed in the church, was next day found outside above the portico, was saved by a Christian and miraculously returned to the new church of the Augustinian Friars, provisionally built in 1640; later on it was put in a niche above the entrance of an enlarged Church (1676) where it is still now. This image of terra-cotta of O. Lady of Happy Voyage represents the Virgin and Child; both of them hold a small boat in the hand. [15] Jesuit Father Fialho refused to let the Mughal soldiers wrest a crucifix from his hands.[16]

The images brought to Agra were, according to the '*Amal-i Salih*' "of European workmanship and such as to excite the envy of Masir"; those which represented prophets were by order of Shah Jahan "sunk in the Jumna"; the others were "broken and sunk." [17] The Christians and their victors then were very much concerned about the fate of the Hugli images.

The Road taken by the Prisoners:

No source gives a positive indication of the route taken by the prisoners. Travellers, Indian and foreign, took the usual road from Bengal to Agra via Murshidabad to Rajmahal, where they often embarked for Patna; from Patna they usually travelled by land on horse or cart. A leisurely journey from Bengal to Agra took two to three months.[18]

The Christian prisoners took more than nine months to travel from Hugli to Agra and they suffered exceptional hardships, due to the presence of sick people, women and children. Manrique, who gives the most adequate account of the journey, does not mention boats, nor any place, where the prisoners stayed for any length of time. But at least part of the journey was made over roads on which carts could move and on which Christians—apparently merchants—travelled, who gave alms.[19] But now the discovery of the statue of the Virgin Mother Mary at Dhori in the Damodar Valley suggests the possibility that part of the journey of the prisoners may have taken place on a military track from Bengal to Benares through Jharkhand (Chotanagpur).

From 1585 onwards, Akbar began to take interest in the highland of Kukrah, or Coira Orissa as Chotanagpur was then called. [20] In that year Shabaz Khan Kanbuh made the Kukrah raja a tributary; according to *A'in-i-Akbari* Kukrah was part of the Bihar Subah. In 1591 the Kukrah Raja took part in the first Orissa campaign; in a second Orissa campaign, Man Singh, governor of Bihar took troops from Rohtas (Shahabad Dt) to Orissa down the usual Ganges route, but the detachment led by Yusuf Khan Chakk" marched over Jharkhand and Kokra to Mednipur". [21]

Jahangir and Shah Jahan also tried to control Kukrah. In 1616 Ibrahim Khan, brother of Nur Jahan and governor of Bihar, invaded Kukrah and captured Durjansala, its raja.[22] In 1632 Kukrah was given as jagir to the Bihar governor in return for an annual payment of Rs. 135.000, after four years raised to Rs. 161.000; still in 1688 tribute is demanded from Coira Orissa. [23] The Chero kingdom of Palamau, which under Bhagvat Ray and Anant Ray (1613-1661) had become very powerful and whose soldiers were raiding the plateau as well as S. Bihar were repeatedly subdued by the Mughals. Raja Sahabal is said to have been captured by Jahangir. In 1629 Palamau was given in jagir to Bihar governor Ahmed Khan. In 1641-42 and again in 1643 the Bihar governor undertook campaigns against Palamau through Sherghati and Manatu passes. In 1660-61, under Aurangzeb, Daud Khan conducted a decisive campaign and Palamau came by 1666 under direct control of the Subedar of Bengal Bihar. [24]

A feudatory of the raja of Kukrah, Hemat Singh, 6th raja of the Ramgarh dynasty, built, according to an inscription of 1642, a fortified residence at Oadam (S. Hazaribagh Dt); in 1670 this residence was

transferred to Ramgarh, presumably because Oadam was inconveniently close to the route of the Muslims through Chotanagpur. [25]

These fragmentary data indicate that from 1585 onwards and particularly during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, the Mughals sent expeditions into the interior of the Chotanagpur plateau and that at least on one occasion a western route from Benares to Lower Bengal-Orissa through the plateau was used.

Unfortunately we have no concrete contemporary evidence about the western route. The earliest survey maps of the East India Company, partly based on observations of James Camac and published by Rennell in 1779,[26] do not indicate any roads in the area of the middle Damodar Valley. However, from 1780 onwards, a military road, the "old Benares Road", was made to link Benares and Bengal; after the great Kola uprising of 1831-1832, this road was replaced by 1838 by the actual Grand Trunk Road. The old Benares Road cannot be traced any more, but its general direction is indicated by the still extant, but partly ruined semaphose towers, built on hills on either side of the road. This old Benares Road started close to Chas (now in Dhanbad Dt) and followed the Damodar Valley; one semaphose tower is found south of the Damodar river, 2-3 km south of Dhori, which is north of the river. It then followed the Bokaro valley via Gomiah; thence it crossed the plateau of Hazaribagh and Chatra; from Chatra it went more N.W. to Sherghati (on the actual Grand Trunk Road).[27] This British "old Benares Road" may have partly corresponded to an earlier track in the Damodar Valley.

In case the old British military road broadly corresponded in the Damodar Valley to an earlier track, it is possible to conjecture that the Christian prisoners were led that way to Agra and that when carts could no longer move along the now mountainous track, they or their guards abandoned the statue of Mary in Dhori.

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1. The first catholic priest, known to have resided on the Chotanagpur plateau is Fr. Goiran, who in 1835 became the first chaplain of the catholic soldiers in the Hazaribagh cantonment : H. Josson, *La Mission du Bengale Occidental*, Bruges, 1921, I, p. 169.
2. 'Abd-u'l-Hamid-Lahuri, *Badshah-namah*, in H. M. Elliot, J. Dowson, *The History of India*, VII, pp. 31-35, 42-43. For the account of the siege and

captivity, this history is based on the *Badshah-namah* of Muhammed Amin Qazwini.

3. Muhammed Salih Kanbuh Lahuri, *Amal-i-Salih*, Mss India Office 85, i, p. 212 b, tr. H. Beveridge, Appendix p. 423 in Fray Manrique, *Travels, 1629-1643*, tr, Luard, Hosten, Hakluyt Society series II, vol. 61.
Muhammed Hashim Khawafi Khan, *Muntakhab-u'l-labab* in Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, VII, pp. 211-212; Samsam-u'd-dawlah, *Ma'athir-ul-umara*, mentioned by E. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Moghuls*, London. Burns-Oates, 1932, p. 99.
4. John Cabral, s. j., *Letter to the Malabar Provincial*, November 12, 1633 tr. H. Hosten, in Manrique, *Travels*, II Appendix, pp. 391-422.
5. Fray Sebastian Manrique, *Travels, 1629-1643*, The *Itinerario de las Missiones Orientales*, tr. C. E. Luahrd, H. Hosten, 2 vols, Hakluyt Society, series ii, vols 59, 61, Oxford, 1927, II pp. 323-339.
6. Niccolao Manucci, *Storia di Mogor*, (*1656-1712*), tr. w. Irvine, London, pp. 175-176; 182-183; Fr. Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire, 1656-1658*, tr. A. Constable, London, 1891, pp. 174-176.
7. The over-all commander of the operation was Qasim Khan, husband of Nur Jahan's sister : Manijah Begam; the actual leader of the land-army was the military commander of Burdwan, Bahadur Khan Kanbuh, assisted by Qasim's son 'Inayat-u'llah Khan, and Allah Yar Khan; the fleet was led by Khwajah Sher Khan.
The best modern account of the siege is that of B. P. Saksena, *History of Shah Jahan of Dihli*, Allahabad, 1932, pp. 107-113. Sources do not agree on the dates. According to the *Badshah-namah* of *Lahuri* 2nd Zil-hijja 1041 (June 9 1632) was the date of the first attack and the Bandel fell on 14 Rabi'l 1042 A H. (10 Sept. 1632). John Cabral, the eye-witness states that the Moghul fleet appeared on June 24, and the army on June 26, 1632; the first attack took place on July 2 and Bandel fell on Sept. 25, 1632; we follow Cabral's chronology.
8. Bandel is a Portuguese corruption of Bandar (port, warf).
9. Cabral, *Letter*, p. 414.
10. Lahuri, *Badshah-namah* in Elliot-Dowson, VII, p. 35; Manucci, *Storia*, I, p. 176; Khawafi Khan, in Elliot-Dowson, VII, p. 212; (Dutch) Dagh register, 1631-1934, quoted by Irvine in Manucci, *Storia*, IV, p. 421.
11. Lahuri, *op. cit*, Elliot-Dowson, VII, pp. 42-43. As Qasim Khan died 3 days after the siege was over (Rabi'l, 1041) his son 'Inayat-u'llah and Bahadur Khan Kanbuh took the prisoners to Agra; '*Amal-i-Salih*, in Manrique, *Trarels*, App. II, p. 423.
12. "They spent about eleven months on this journey" Manrique, *op. cit.*, p. 325. If the christians were captured after Sept. 25, 1632 and reached Agra by July 19 (Lahuri, *op. cit.*, Elliot-Dowson, VII, p. 42) or in July 1633 (Letter of Fr. Corsi of Agra, quoted in Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 103) they spent less than ten months on their journey of 900 miles; Maclagan, *ibid.*
13. Manrique *op. cit.*, II, pp. 325-326.
14. Cabral, *Letter*, p 402.
15. Josson, *Histoire*, I. p. 81; Fr. H. Hosten gives an account of a week's research at

Bandel in H. Hosten : "A Week at the Bandel Convent, Hugli", in *Bengal Past and Present*, X (1915) pp. 36-122, specially p. 78 : Our Lady of Happy Voyage. For the legends, see L. Bodson, *Precis Historiques*, Bruxelles, 1896, p. 41; *Missions Belges*, Bruxelles, 1904, p. 471.

16. Maglagan, *op. cit.* p. 102; Cabral, *Letter*, p. 414.
17. *'Amal-i-Salih*, in Manrique, *Travels*, II, App., p. 423; similar information in Lahuri, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 42.
18. J. Pereira, priest of Satgaon, close to Hugli left Satgeon at the end of January 1579 and arrived at Fatehpur Sikri on March 8, 1579; H. Hosten, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, VIII, 1912, p. 218. Shah Jahan himself during his revolt against Jahangir, followed the ordinary route via Rajmahal (Akbarnagar) both on his way to Allahabad and back (1624) Sebastian Manrique reached Burdwan on August 31, 1640, stayed at Dacca for 27, at Patna for 20 days and reached Agra by Dec. 24, 1640; the journey Patna-Agra took him only 25 days. Manrique, *Travels*, I, Introd., of Luhard, p. iii. Tavernier on his journey left Agra on Nov. 25, 1665, arrived at Allahabad Dec. 7. 1665, at Patna on Dec. 21. 1665, at Rajmahal on Jan. 4, 1666 and at Hugli Febr. 20, 1666. Tavernier, *Travels* in India, ed. V. Ball 2nd ed. rev. W. Crooke, London, 1925 passim.
19. Manrique, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 325-326.
20. Kukrah takes probably its name from the Kurukhs-Oraons who inhabit the central parts of the Chotanagpur plateau.
21. Abu'l Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, II 30, 228 tr. H. Blochmann, ed. G. L. Goomer, 1965 p. 536. James Burger, *The Chronology of India*, 1913 p. 56; R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa* II, p. 8; Stewart, *History of Bengal*, section VI. See also J. Blochmann in an article of the J.A.S.B., 1871, quoted by S. C. Roy, *The Mundas and their Country*, Asia Publ. Delhi, Bombay, 1970 (reprint of 1918) pp. 83-84.
22. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* in Elliot-Dowson, 2nd ed. Susil Gupta, Calcutta Memoirs of Jahangir, 1952, p. 108. Jahangir speaks of many expeditions undertaken by the Bihar governors to subjugate the Kukrah area in order to get the diamonds for which Kukrah was famous." The territory is still under the possession of the officers of this government." (*ibid.* p. 109.)
23. P. C. Roy Chaudhury, Bihar District Gazetteers, *Palamau*. Patna, 1961, p. 57.
24. A good account of these expeditions is found in B. Virottam, *The Cheros*, also Roy Chaudhury, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-56.
25. P. C. Roy Chaudhury, Bihar District Gazetteers, *Hazaribagh*, Patna, 1957, p.
26. Jacob Camac, Military Collector of Ramgarh (from Chatra) and in command after 1765 (Buxar) of the South West Frontier, suggested a survey; he made personal observations during his campaign against Kara dih, and Kunda Palamau (1771). In 1773 Rennell completed the survey of the Southern jungles. He published the first maps of Chotanagpur in 1779 (Maps VIII-IX); a copy of this map is found in the Hazaribagh Gazetteer and in the book of J. C. Jha, *Kol Insurrection in Chota-Nagpur*, Calcutta, 1964. The British were disturbed by the Maratha forrays on Bengal through the Chotanagpur plateau.
27. Roy Chaudhury, Gazetteer, *Hazaribagh*, p. 155; the importance of this military road is brought out in the work of Jha. *op. cit.*, passim.

PLANNING AND LAY-OUT OF MUGHAL SARAIS

Ravindra Kumar

Sarai was an important institution of medieval Indian society. There is evidence suggesting the existence of *sarais* in the vicinity of Delhi as early as Balban's reign.[1] In Firuz Tughluq's time, *sarais* are known to have been established as a recognised means of promoting public welfare.[2] The most significant contribution in this direction, however, was made by Sher Shah;[3] and the tradition was followed by the Mughal kings.

There exist a large number of *sarai* structures surviving from medieval period, all over the country, many of which deserve classification as historical monuments of some importance. As a matter of such medieval structures as comprise rectangular enclosures with one or two gateways and a row of almost identical cells fronted by porches running along the four sides in the interior, may safely be identified as *sarais*, since this seems to be, with some variations, the model of the general plan of well known *sarais*.[4] For properly assessing the significance and the development of the institution of *sarais* in medieval India. these structures should he identified and surveyed.

In this paper I propose to present the results of a survey of three existing structures of *sarais* located at various places in Uttar Pradesh, dating back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[5] Here first the planning and the lay-out of the *sarai* structures is described and then an attempt is made to trace the changes occurring in this respect.

Damdama :

The earliest of the three surviving structures is Damdama, at present known also as Reserve Police Lines. This is either a Pre-Mughal or possibly a Sur building.[6] It is situated at a distance of two kms from the Mathura cantonment railway station on the Agra road. According to Growse (1883) this is one of the five *sarai* buildings existing at Mathura, which 'are fine fort like buildings, with massive battlemented walls and bastions and high arched gateways.' The first, which is smaller than the others and has been much modernized, has for many years past been occupied by the police reserve, and is ordinarily called the Damdama.[7]

Damdama is a square enclosure covering an area of 112.50X112.50 sqm. with high battlemented walls all around and four bastions of the shape of an irregular pentagon on the corners. There is one gateway which opens on the northern side. Inside the enclosure, row of rooms runs along all the four sides. On taking measurements of the rooms it was discovered that all the extant rooms with the exception of one big room in the centre of the eastern wing are of equal size. It may suggest that originally there might have existed big rooms of the same size in the centre of the southern and western wings as well. On a count of the rooms in the eastern wing which is completely intact, the total number of ordinary rooms was calculated to be 110. Including the three bigger rooms, the total number of rooms in the *sarai* comes to 113. Inside the enclosure also located two wells and a small mosque of which the well located next to the mosque seems to belong to a much earlier period than the other two structures.[8]

An ordinary room of the *sarai* is a square of 3.30 X 3.30 sq.m. and is fronted by an arched opening of 1.75 X 3.30 sq.m. which is more or less like a porch. A smaller arch of width 1.00 m. provides entry to the main chamber of the room. At present the rooms have one window each in the rear walls, but these seem to be later additions as no original arch is visible in the walls. The bigger room surviving on the eastern side is a rectangle of 6.90 X 3.30 sq.m. It is fronted with a verandah covered with stone slabs supported on iron rails.

The gateway of the *sarai* as it stands today covers a total plinth area of 13.70 X 16.05 sq.m. There are five arches in the gate as it stands at present. But one arch at the northern end is clearly a later addition as borne out by the joint gothic pillars sustaining the arch, a typical feature of British architecture in India. Moreover, it is an absolute arch which is no where found in the early buildings of that period. The remaining four arches are of the pointed horse-shoe shape and were part of the original structure. The space on both the sides of the main passage is occupied by a double storey complex consisting of a number of rooms and open spaces.

Bastions on the four corners are solid structures. There is one set of stairs leading up to the roof of the rooms and bastions in the south-western corner. This kind of bastions would not possibly be of any use for providing residential facility to persons staying in the *sarai*. It is obviously a feature designed to strengthen the fortification of this building.

Sarai Chhaparghat :

This *sarai*, apparently built during Akbar's reign, is located at Chhaparghat, 8 kms. east of Bhognipur on way to Ghatampur.[9] William Finch, who visited India during 1608-11, has left the following description of this *sarai* : "Here is one of the fairest *sarais* in India, like a goodly castle then a inne to lodge strangers; the lodgings very faire of stone, with lockes and keyes, able to lodge a thousand men. A man can scarse shoote from side to side with an arrow."[10] Peter Mundy also gives a detailed description of this *sarai* : "Two course before wee came to this place (Shankar-ki *Sarai*), wee passed through Chuppergutta (Chaparghata), where is the fairest and formalest sarae that I have yett seene, with 4 faire Towers att the 4 Corners, and 2 stately gates att cominge in and going out, with a verie highe wall round about, full of Battlements, as yett all compleat. By it runs a little River with a Stone bridge over it. It runs into Jemina, which was againe in sight not 1/2 a mile off."[11]

It is a massive structure standing upon a platform just beside the road on the south. In this building bricks of unusually large size are used which, to the best of my knowledge, are not found in other Mughal buildings. From a visual inspection it appeared that the size of these bricks was more or less the same as that of Kushana period. But inside the *sarai* as well in its vicinity there were no signs of Kushana remains,, from where such a large number of bricks could have been obtained for this structure. Moreover, the state of weathering of the bricks does not permit their identification with Kushana bricks. The only explanation that one may venture to suggest is that these were especially made for the construction of this building.

Sarai Chhaparghat is a rectangular enclosure covering an area of 168.86 × 105.05 sq.m. with high walls all around. A two meter high platform, on which the entire building stands, gives an added effect of height to the walls. There are two gateways in the *sarai* on the eastern and western sides. There is an old well in the south-eastern corner of the enclosure, but no remains of a mosque are visible anywhere inside. Rooms in the *sarai* run along all the four sides and are identical in design and dimensions with the exception of two bigger rooms in the centre of northern and southern sides. It appears that originally there were four corner rooms which, opened into the octagonal structures that looked like bastions. These were the structures that are referred

to by Peter Mundy as Towers ! But all of them are in a state of ruin. According to local tradition the 'bastions' and a section of the eastern wing of the *sarai* were demolished by the British forces in 1857.

An ordinary room of the *sarai* is an irregular hexagon covering an area of 14 87 sq.m. It is fronted by a half-domed opening of 2.30 X 3.20 sq.m. Main chamber of the room is entered through an arch of width 1.20 m. Just above this arch is a small opening in the wall, apparently meant for ventilation and light. Every alternate room is connected with the next adjacent room through an arched opening of width 1.20 m. in the common wall. It is interesting to note that even though alternate rooms are interconnected, the half-domed porches outside them are not. This arrangement of two-room suites is unusual and is not found in any other *sarai*. Larger rooms in the centre of southern and western sides are of the shape of an irregular polygon. A side room also of the shape of an irregular polygon is attached to them on one side.

Both the gateways are similar in design and size. These are double-storey structures covering a plinth area of 19.18 X 28.10 sq.m. In each one of them two lofty arches of horse shoe shape, extending up to the total height of the gate stand on the eastern and western ends of the structure. Main entry is, however, formed by a smaller arch of width 3.40 m. which leads us inside the *sarai* through the central octagonal chamber of the gateway. This chamber is covered with a vaulted dome.

The western gate is flanked on the south by domed structures forming four rooms which are in a ruined state. Arched niches in the walls of the first room are clearly visible. As there are no remains of a mosque inside the enclosure it may be presumed that this complex would have served as a mosque. Possibly the mosque was not included in the original plan of the *sarai*, but was added afterwards.

Flanking the western gate on the north is a double-storey structure with half-domed spacings in each storey opening in its facade. This structure would probably have met the residential requirements of the service staff in the *sarai*. A staircase opening in the southern wall of the gate from inside leads to the roof of the rooms and the upper storey of the gate.

It is evident from a comparison of the general plan and structure of this *sarai* with that of Damdama that certain new features in the

sarai building are emerging. The single gate of Damdama is replaced by two gates on both the sides. This was done probably to regulate and facilitate the entry and exit of travellers. Such a change could be possible, apparently, on account of growing political stability. This kind of general plan having two gates is retained in the *sarais* built subsequently. The above comparison also shows that the ratio between the space covered by a gate and the total area of the *sarai* diminishes considerably. While in Damdama this ratio is 1 : 57, similar figures for *Sarai* Chhaparghat would be 1 : 32. If both the gates of the latter structure are taken into account, then this ratio would come down to 1 : 16. Thus it is obvious that the area covered by the gates of the *sarai*, where the rooms for the stationing of the *sarai*-staff were generally located, is increasing drastically. Perhaps to a certain extent this change could also have been necessitated because of the tendency to provide larger space for storage within the *sarai*.

The bastions in this *sarai* were made hollow unlike the solid bastions of Damdama. These were probably used as rooms, though their purpose is not clear. This change, apart from providing extra space for stores etc., is also indicative of a change in the conception of the structure of a *sarai*. It seems that a *sarai* is no longer designed after the model of a fortress, and therefore the bastions on the corners that are found in Damdama are now beginning to give way to corner rooms which tend to become almost an essential feature of the later *sarais*.

Raja ki Sarai :

A *sarai* of Jahangir's reign, it is located near Aram Bagh in Agra. It is locally known as *Raja ki Sarai* and is situated to the east of Aram Bagh on the river bank. At present there is an orchard flanking this building on the east which seems to be the site of yet another Mughal garden. This is indicated by a well located on its north-western corner towards the Jamuna which from a distance looked similar in design to the wells on the eastern and western corners of Aram Bagh facing the river.

Peter Mundy describes a *sarai* located on the left bank of the Jamuna in the following words : 'I departed from our howse in Agra, beinge in the streete called Pullhuttee (*phal-hatti*, fruit and vegetable market), and crossing over the river. I came to Noore mohol ca sara

(1 course), which is a very faire one, built by the old Queene Noore mohol (Nur Mahal) for the accommodation of Travellers, in which may stand 500 horse, and there may conveniently lye 2 or 3000 people; All of Stone, not one peice of Timber in it, the roomes all arched, each with a severall Copula.[12] It stands between two gardens built also by her."[13] This description almost exactly fits this building which, as we have noticed above, was originally located between two gardens. No other structure on the left bank of the river and flanked by two gardens is traceable. In this identification there is only one debatable point which needs to be settled. Peter Mundy states that both the gardens flanking Nur mahal's *sarai* were 'built' by Nur Jahan herself. As noted above, the garden flanking *Raja ki Sarai* on the west is Aram Bagh. It is possible that the garden on the eastern side of the *sarai* was built by Nur Jahan, and this confused Peter Mundy into imagining that the other garden was also established by her.

The *sarai* is a rectangle of 185.60 X 37.20 sq.m. with two gates on the northern and southern sides respectively. There are only two rows of identical rooms running along the eastern and western sides. There is no mosque inside the *sarai* enclosure, nor is there any well inside.

All the rooms in the *sarai* are of equal size, and each one is a rectangle covering an area of 3.25 X 3.15 sq.m., fronted by a porch of 2.25 X 3 25 sq.m. Entry to the main chamber of the room is through an arched door. The porches are interconnected through openings in the side walls, thus forming a long colonnade. In the centre of the eastern side is a pavillion of 3.20 X 3.10 sq.m. opening towards the east. It is possible that this opening connected the *sarai* enclosure with the garden on the eastern side. In the north-western corner a small sub-enclosure containing a number of scattered structures of varying size is noticeable; but it does not appear to be a part of the original plan.

The southern gateway, which is now much dilapidated, probably formed the main entrance for travellers coming from the east. Only two arches of this structure remain now. Marks of post holes are still visible in this gateway. It was flanked on both sides by smaller entry points, but the structure does not exist now. The northern gateway is in a worse state of ruin.

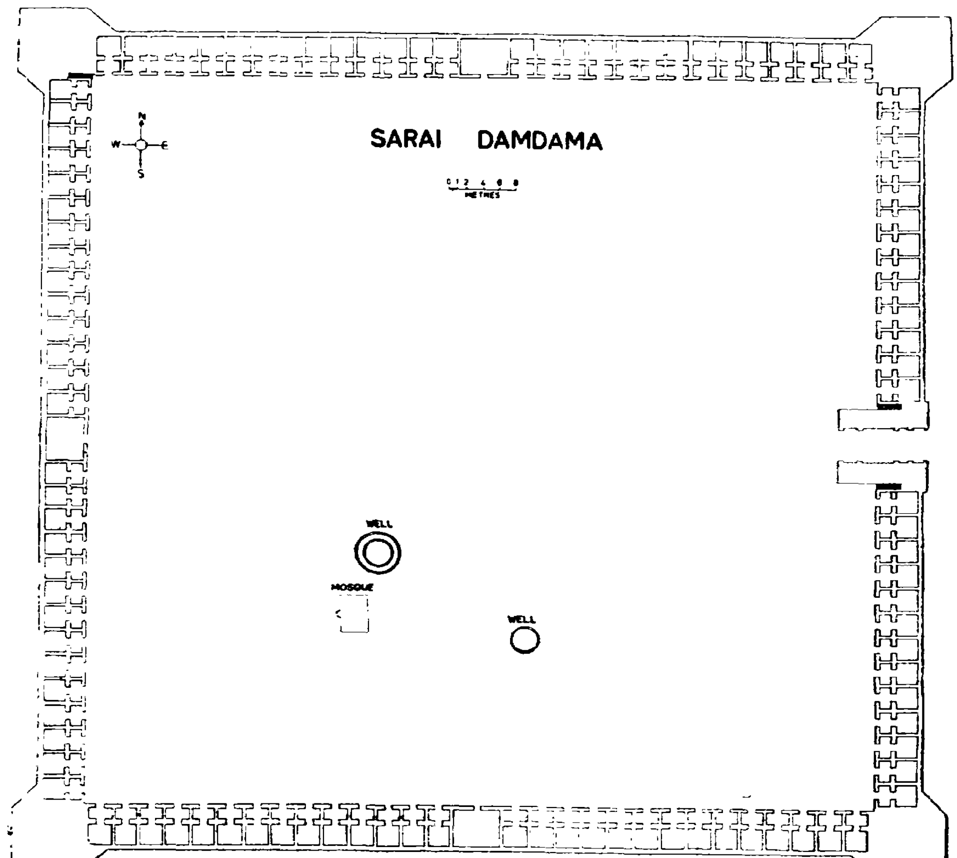
This *sarai* provides an unusual plan. Unlike the rectangular or square *sarais*, the length of this *sarai* is much greater than its breadth

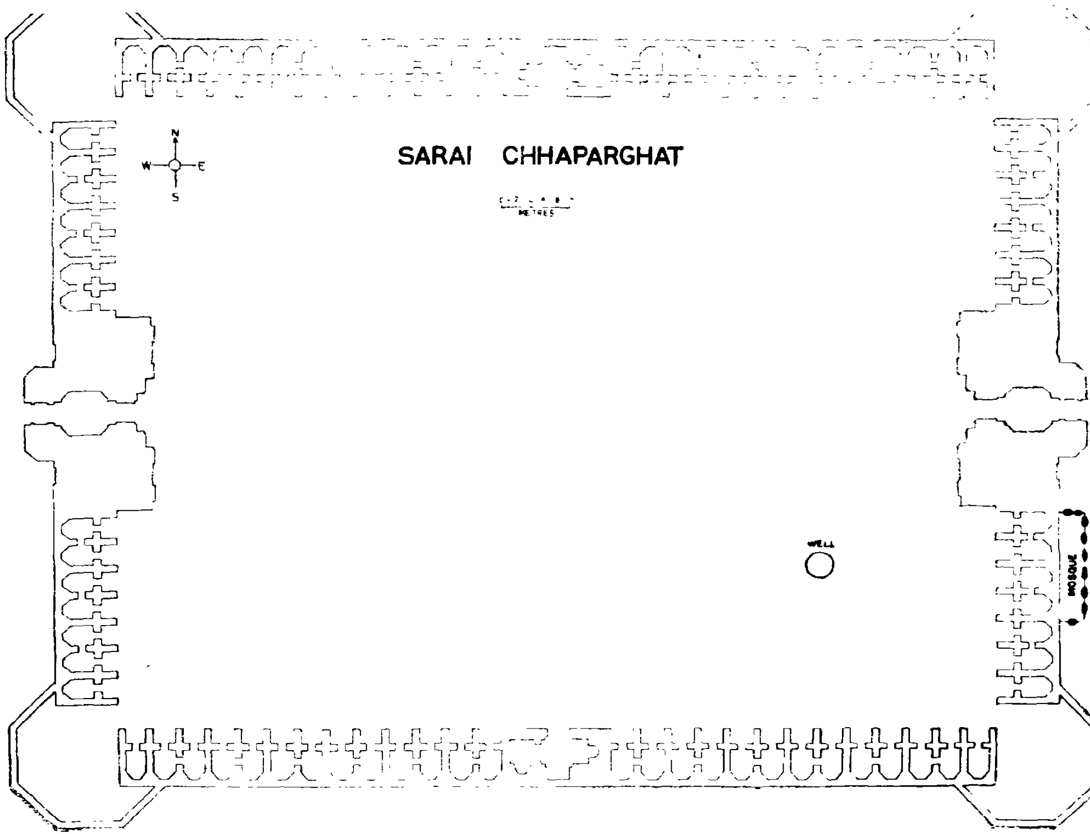
and gives its plan a rather disproportionate appearance. The gates are much simpler than the gates of Damdama and the *sarai* at Chhapar-ghat. The location of the *sarai* being so close to the capital, it did not probably require strong gates for security. An additional feature here is the inter-connected porches forming a colonnade in front of the rooms which provides sheltered access to each room. This arrangement has not been noticed in any of the *sarai* surveyed till now.[14]

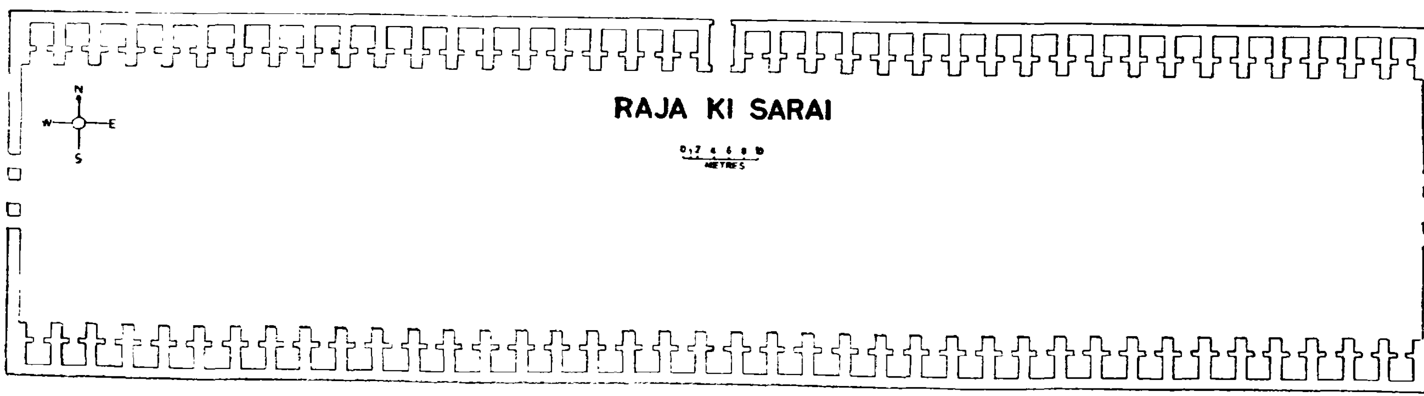
From the description of these *sarais* it is possible to trace the changes occurring in the general plan of the *sarais* during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The most significant feature of this change is the addition of one more gate in the basic plan of the *sarai*. The space under the gate was also increased probably to provide larger quarters for the *sarai* staff. Another change in the general features is in the concept of the utility of space in the *sarai*. The solid bastions are gradually converted into the hollow structures providing considerable space for storage and other purposes.

REFERENCES

1. Ziauddin Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, ed. Sh. Abdul Rashid, pp. 65-6.
2. Shams Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, (tr. Elliot & Dowson), Vol. 3, p. 354.
3. Abbas Khan Sarwani, *Tarikh-i Sher Shahi*, (tr. Elliot & Dawson), vol. 4, p. 417.
4. For example Sarai Nurmahal situated 16 miles south of Jalandhar, where an inscription over the western gateway confirms its identification as *sarai*. Sarai Miran in Kannauj where, too, an inscription is available; Sarai Ajitmal and Sarai Ekdil in Etawa.
   Also see F. Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire* (Tr. A. Constable), p. 233. "The Eastern *Karavans-Serrah* resemble large barns, raised and paved all round, in the same manner as our *Pont-neuf*."
5. This was part of the Survey of Medieval Monuments carried out by a team of the members of the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, consisting of Iqtidar Alam Khan, Jamal Mohd. Siddiqi, Ravindra Kumar, Nasir Ali Zaidi, Mohd. Taskeen & Mohd. Shareef, in May and September 77. The report is to be published shortly.
6. It appears from the general plan of the structure, the massive battlemented walls and the shape of the arches in the building that it is either an early Mughal or a Sur building. In the general plan two features which tend to bring it close to that of a fortress are : (a) Single Gate and (b) Solid bastions at the four corners. This is in sharp contrast with the general plan of the *sarais* built


SARAI DAMDAMA
N
W
E
S
0 1 2 4 6 8
METRES
WELL
MOSQUE
WELL


SARAI CHHAPARGHAT
METRES
N
W
E
S
WELL
MOSQUE


RAJA KI SARAI
0 2 4 6 8 10
METRES
N
W
E
S

after the establishment of the Mughal authority in northern India on a firm footing, and suggests that this is a structure built at a time when even in the vicinity of an important *pargana* headquarters like Mathura a *sarai* would not be considered secure unless it was fortified. The *sarai* Chhaparghat which is described next, is a good model of the later day *sarais* having two gates, from which solid bastions are eliminated. The impression gathered from the general plan that Damdama is a pre-Mughal structure is further strengthened by the shape of the arches in the gateway which have a slight drop in the curve towards the crown unlike the developed Tudor arch of the Mughals. Compare Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period), p. 87.

7. F. S. Growse, *Mathura : A District Memoir*, p. 29.

8. This well is at present covered with a roofed room containing a tubewell. But there are still clearly visible four red sand-stone slabs of equal length fixed in the wall of the well on different sides. Each one of these slabs carries a circular hole. Apparently this arrangement was meant to support some mechanical device for lifting water from the well. Moreover the bricks used in this well are smaller in size as compared to the modern larger bricks used in the other well upto almost the water level.

9. William Finch (*Early Travels in India*, ed. W. Foster p. 179) refers to this *sarai* when he passed through this place in 1611. He nowhere indicates that it was established only recently; this suggests that it was built several years before he came to this place. From the shape of the arches in the gateways it is obvious that this building was erected some time after the technique of making. Tudor arch was already perfected under Akbar.

10. *Early Travels in India*, ed. W. Foster, p. 179.

11. *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, (ed. R, C. Temple,) Vol. II, p. 89.

12. There is probably a mistake in Peter Mundy's description. If 'Copula' (cupola) has been used in its true architectural sense, it seems improbable that a room of 3.25 X 3.15 sq.m would have possessed several of these. My suspicion is that the ward 'Copula' has been used for niches in the room, which are four in each room.

13. Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-9.
Cf. *Jahangir's India*. tr. W. H. Moreland & P. Geyl, p. 4. It seems that the 'Noore mohol ca sara' of Peter Mundy is the same building as the *sarai* that was established according to Pelsaret, by 'the officers of Nur Jahan Begam', on the left bank of Jamuna in a city named Sikandra, where custom duties were collected by her staff from the traders bringing products of Bengal and other eastern provinces.

14. This arrangement is not seen in the following *sarais* surveyed by us : Damdama, *Sarai* Chhaparghat, *Sarai* Ekdil, *Sarai* Ajitmal, *Sarai* Miran, Nawalganj, and Khudaganj *Sarai*.

INDIAN AND EUROPEAN TOWNS C. 1500 : A COMPARATIVE STUDY

Hamida Khatoon Naqvi

Notwithstanding the anomaly of the use of primary sources for the Indain (north of river Tapti) and secondary works for the reconstruction of non-Russian European towns for obvious reasons, this exploratory paper has been attempted here to focus the marked difference in the two sets of urban growth in the pre-industrial age. Equally striking is the proliferation of myriads of urban concentrations whether they be under imperial patronage as in India or sporadic spontaneous growth as in Europe. Evidently in the above two parts of the work the era of breaking away from age-old rural bonds into freshly formed urban agglomerations had arrived.

Foundation :

Since the beginning of the 12th century a host of merchant settlements had sprung up all over Europe (west of Russia), such as Venice, Florence, Genoa in Italy; Marseilles, Roueu and Bourdeaux in France; Ghent, Burges, Antwerp in Lowlands; Lubeck, Nuremberg and Hamberg in Germany and York, Bristol and London in England.

Since the Mediterranean sea had been freed from Muslim control (1096), trade with the East and Baltic sea and Atlantic ocean was resumed through the Mediterranean. The traffic was conducted partly by sea and partly over land routes. In the 12th and 13th centuries

Foundation of new towns or rejuvenation of the older ones was sponsored for political reasons by the highly centralised state established at Delhi in 1206. Thus Lahore, Sialkot, Multan, Nasirabad (in Sind, modern Haiderabad), Delhi, Firozpur, Hisar, Firozadbad, Jaunpur, Sultanpur (Awadh), Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Agra were either founded or revived by c. 1500.

Though founded or developed primarily and initially as administrative centres, subsequently the rulers helped them acquire size, populousness and other dimensions of urban life including economic viability which in turn ensured endurance. The

the merchants traversing the area between the northern coast of the Mediterranean and Baltic and Atlantic ocean built their settlements along the routes at close intervals primarily for wintering.

These settlements acted as the nuclei for the future merchants' towns.

Growth :

The settlements attracted adventurous spirits from far and near through their promising prospects. The resultant conglomeration of a large working force swelled and stabilised its population strength, which *in turn*, reduced pressure on land growing heavily since the population eruption of the recent decades and lent a permanent character to the embryonic towns instead of an ephemeral wintering habitat of roving merchants.

As the sites of the nascent towns had originally belonged to some ecclesiastical or temporal feudal lords, the urban settlers were forced to take up arms to defend their right over the land. In this prolonged struggle against the feudal authorities the merchants were backed by the continuous inflow of wealth and the entire body of urban dwellers who were required to take an oath to do their *all* to defend their town. Eventually the merchants succeeded in establishing their right of control over systematic manner of developmental pattern followed by the Sultans of Delhi makes it abundantly clear that they were following a carefully worked out plan of urban growth. The material base of the rising towns was provided by commercial traffic and industrial prosperity.

The newly founded towns passed through three main stages in their developmental process :—

1. local significance 2) regional importance and finally *national importance* (*in* the absence of comparative census figures showing the progress or otherwise of a given town communication links may be treated as an index of its growing importance or otherwise).

The state helped the towns to grow by establishing internal peace and security, maintenance of law and order providing *for* a smooth administrative organism, urbanisation of industries, and improvement in communication system. In agricultural sectors the Sultans worked for improvement in cropping pattern and maximisation of agricultural produce.

The Sultans expended the necessary outlay

the town and acquired a charter of autonony. This Charter (not unoften bought by the merchants) narrated the merchant patricians with the defence, executive, judicial and financial regulations of the town on the payment of a stipulated sum of money to the monarch. The terms of agreement between the merchant patricians and the sovereign were determined by the wealth and organizational strength of the merchants and the financial and political status of the kings. In France though the affluence of merchants was in no way of lower order, the highly centralised state suppressed their efforts towards the formation of powerful bodies. In decentralised states of Germany the merchant patricians banded themselves in powerful bodies (e.g. in G. Swabian, Hanseatic league or League of Rhinesh cities) which could defy even the Emperor. The impecunious rulers of England chose a middle course. While using the merchant patricians as a political lever against the powerful barons, they considered the merchants as a source of wealth and encouraged and promoted their interests. The merchants with the aid of their fast growing wealth were at times able to force their decisions in political and economic matters on the king. As in England, in Lowlands and Italy, too, the decentralised nature of State was helpful in promoting the cause of merchants :

needed from time to time for urban growth by way of repairs, extensions, or introduction of new constructions etc. But while the town acquired size and populousness. the inhabitants as a body were excluded from urban administration, the imperial deputies were entrusted with the task of running and regulating the urban structure. This resulted in a communication gap between the State and the urban dwellers.

Economic activities :

In the European merchant towns the principal economic activity was trade, whether carrying trade as of earlier period when Italian towns e.g. Venice, Florence, Milan and Gonoa, towns of Lowland, e.g., Ghent, Bruges, Antwerp, or of Germany such as Nuremberg, Lubeck, Cologne, or English towns such as London, Bristol and York flourished; or of somewhat later period when traders began carrying goods from place to place on their own account. After the acquisition of the autonomy of their towns the merchants were able to gear the entire urban setup with focus on trade. Thus they had easily amplified and diversified their intercourse including, subsequent to the geographical discoveries of the 15th century, the distant non-European lands in the radius of their operations.

Industrial progress in these towns passed mainly through two distinct phases : before and after c. 1500. In the 13th and 14th centuries the emergent towns procured raw materials from the vicinity or other European countries and converted them into finished goods to be marketed again in Europe. Their technique and method still followed the age-worn system. The volume of production was delimited both by the available quantity of raw material and the aggregate size of the European market.

In Hindustani towns the focus was on the commercialization craft for which running supply of raw material from the hinterland and market within the empire was ensured. Since c. 13th century several new industries had been introduced e.g. paper, and old ones revived and stimulated, e.g. silk, wool or leather; but in all cases the technique of production was as of old, except perhaps in spinning, weaving and production of cotton goods. From amongst the purely producing centres Samana, Sultanpur (Punjab) Saharanpur Sirohi, Nagor, Jaunpur, Sarkhej or Sehwan may be mentioned where one or more than one (as in Jaunpur) commodity was manufactured. Such producing centres were small in size, and quite often belonged to the category of *qasbah*. These towns simply traded their surplus wares which kept them going as their margin of profits was small. Some urban centres emerge as carrying on the industrial production side by side with brisk commercial traffic. Though much less in number than the producing centres, these had been pushed into prominence because of their dual economic activities. Lahore, Multan, Agra, Benares Burhanpur, Ahmadabd, Cambay and Broach were

The geographical discoveries of the 15th century set the ground for large scale industrial production as it was aided and accompanied, amongst others. by the following factors: 1) Oceanic superiority rendering easier accessibility to foreign countries, 2) capital accumulated by the earlier mercantile activities proved a useful asset for investment purposes, 3) plentiful supply of raw materials from and marketing potentialities in the colonies, 4) keen competition amongst the European nations, spurring such to improve upon the other, and 5) autonomy of the towns enabling the merchant patricians a free hand in shifting over or adding industrial dimensions to their trading activities.

Population :

Available census figures reflect the relatively thin population of European merchant towns; indeed, even the largest city, Paris, in 1328 is reported to have had a population of 80.000.[1]

Town	Year	Census	Source
London[2]	1377	35 to 40,000	Cam. III, 39
Milan	c. 1340	over 50,000	Cam. III, 38 Pix. 170.
Florence	c. 1340	,,	Cam. III, 38; Pix. 170.
	1280	45,000	Pixenne. ned. Eur. 171.

some such towns. By virtue of their commercial character these towns had acquired much more wealth, resilience and even endurance. Still another set of towns had developed primarily as trading centres., e g , Bhakkar. the lesser Gujarati ports, Hugli or Benares. While the western exit points were hampered in their development by political exigencies, the eastern port of Hugli could not endure for long because of natural reasons.

Demographic information for the contemporary Indian towns is not available. But descriptive evidence would suggest that at least in the leading towns the number of inhabitants ran into lacs, such as Ahmadabad,[1] Lahore,[2] and Agra.[3] Thus in the contemporary world they were the most densely populated towns. Again, in c. 1590 the number of 'big towns' is noticed as being 120, and that of 'small towns' (*qasbah*) as 3.200.[4] The total numerical strength of the urban population would thus be very high indeed. The urban percentage achieved

Genoa	1340	over 50,000	*Ibid.*
Venice	1340	c. 100,000	*Ibid* Cam. T. 44.
Ghent[3]	1340	app. 50,000	Pix. 170; T. 44.
		weavers 4,000	Cam. Eur. III, 39.
Burges	,,	35,000	Cam. III, 39.
	,,	40,000	Thomsen. 44.
Brussels	c. 1450	40,000	Pix. 170. Cam. III, 39.
Ypres	1412	10,736	Pix 170. Camb. III, 39.
	1430	11,000	Thomson, 44
Antwerp[4]	1374	19,000	Camb. III, 39.
	1526	100,000	
Nuremberg	1450	20,000	Pix. 170; Cam. III, 30
Strasburg	1450	20,000	Cam. III, 39
,,	1475	26,198	Pix, 170
Lubeck	1450	20,000	Cam. III, 39
Cologne[5]	c. 1450	40,000	*Ibid.*

These figures clearly demonstrate that in Europe by c. 1500 the urban percentage had attained only a modest level. And yet the concentration of a few lacs of inhabitants in so many urban centres had, from, all accounts, profoundly affected the prevailing social and economic

during the period is assessed by Moreland at above 10%.

framework. It may therefore be assumed that it was their character rather than numerical strength that contained catalytic dimensions within their infrastructure.

Impact :

The emergence of the merchants' towns further weakened the authority of decadent feudalism by absorbing serfs—both free and absconding—and younger sons of the aristocracy into their growing mercantile and industrial activities. Every advancement made by the urban dwellers acted as a counterweight to the feudal order. However, as the pace of progress of urban mercantile renaissance varied from country to country, the impact on feudal control too was of proportionate degree, (deepest in Holland, least in France), though other factors, too, determined the scale of weakening of the feudal elements in any given society, such as the nature of the country's State, whether it was centralised or not.

The outward looking character instiled in the dwellers of merchant towns since the commercial renaissance of the 13th century assumed a global range after the geographical discoveries of the 15th century. Finally, the merchants towns, busily engaged in their commercial and industrial activities, soon transcended religious or sectorial

The impact of the introduction of the commercialised craft and urban growth on the Indian society is, at the present stage of our knowledge, uncertain. Circumstantially, however, it may be suggested that the above economic approaches had contributed largely to relaxing caste stringency. With the opening up of over so many avenues in the nearby towns where the villagers kept on converging, occupational mobility would be natural, which in turn would lead to process of easing caste inhibitions. At least two clear indications of this process may be found : 1) in the absence of complaints of the dearth of working hands; and 2) in the religious reformers, during the 15th and 16th centuries. (Such as Kabir or Nanak), preaching the doctrine of the removal of caste barriers and stressing the benefits to be derived from adopting craftsmen's life.

Also clear is the co-existing of the cross-currents of advanced commercialised craft economy in an urban setting with the backward pull of ruralised

considerations that had exercised an inhibiting effect on individuals or groups of individuals. The emergent urban society was thus moving fast towards secularism. production in the *jagirdari* framework. These parallel trends may best be adjudged from Akbar's efforts to carry commercialization forward while the so-called religious revivalists and their adherents gained strength day by day with the implicit aim of forcing the *jagirdari* system back in its place. Under Jahangir the commercialised crafts are seldom mentioned.

Finally, urban growth in India, being politically inspired, was intricately tied up with and subjeet to political vicissitudes. Thus Gujarat, though geographically and economically so admirably suited to develop the commercialised crafts and clusters of urban concentration, fell a prey, in the first decades of the 16th century, to the establishment of the Portuguese monopolistic power. Though the vital comparable figures have not yet been brought to light, we may reasonably infer that this foreign blockade of the free flow of the Gujarati maritime commerce must have set the clock back by several decades both in the production and distribution spheres, which in turn adversely affected urban growths in Ahmadabad, for example, there were 360 thriving puras in the early 15th century,[5] which about 175 years later were reduced to 80 only.[6]

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3. In Ghent the municipal boundaries were enlarged in 1163, 1213, 1254 and 1299 indicating the rapid progress of the town. *Ibid.*
4. In the second half of 15th century Antwerp became "the greatest commercial entreport in the world". Pirenne, *Medieval Europe*, 218.
   It was the greatest city of Germany.
5. About 200 towns of average size had a population range of 2,000 to 10,000.

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SECTION III

MODERN INDIA

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

K. S. Singh

I thank the members of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for electing me to preside over its section on Modern Indian History. That they have so generously chosen a person who cannot be called a professional in the strict sense of the term is probably a recognition of the fact that many streams have contributed to the development of historical knowledge and are capable of enriching it in our country. It will be idle to pretend that a public servant today has the leisure, the opportunity and the resources to cultivate the disciplines like the administrators in the expansive pre-1920 phase of modern Indian history, when they collected basic information about the country and its people, when they made use of their long grass-roots level experience and familiarity with local conditions to write local histories and accounts,[1] and when a furlough would enable the more enterprising among them to visit the centres of learning in their home country to keep themselves abreast of the theoretical developments in the fields of their disciplines, many of which were in their infancy. Times have changed a great deal, the cultivation of a discipline requires a single-minded application, and the rapidity with which each discipline is generating and discarding its theoretical models makes one a little confused. And yet participant observation provides an insight into the working of a system and constitutes an element in the passage from the present to the past, which is complementary, in the words of E. H. Carr,[2] to the historical method, the movement from the past to the present, both being essential to the study of a social system.

Over the past few years, I have worked intermittingly in a rather remote area of historical research, the tribal society, mainly because I spent a good many years of the formative phase of my career serving the tribal people in a part of middle India, Chotanagpur. I have chosen for the theme of my address, the colonial transformation of the tribal society. Colonialism is being increasingly recognised as distinct historical phenomenon, a social system, which is intimately related to the post-colonial formations in the developing world. The tribal society

which has been studied, consisted of the communities, which were listed as tribes and were sought to be enclaved by the colonial system, as will be described later, because they rebelled very often or were prone to "give trouble" in certain regions considered strategic to the colonial interests.The tribal communities lived in relative isolation and were sensitive to extraneous influences. Their society has generally been described as peripheral to the larger society, but, in many ways, the first is the matrix of the Indian social system and its study provides valuable insight into evolution of social formations. I have chosen middle India because it has been the area of my study and activities, and it has witnessd probably the most radical transformation of the tribal society during the colonial period.

I will, first, discuss the conceptual framework which has governed the study of tribal society in general and deal with the relationship of history and anthropology and of colonialism and anthropology. I will then proceed to describe the colonial transformtion of the nature of the tribal society in relation to the political system, social structure, economic and agrarian institutions and movements. I will endeavour to show how the processes of colonial transfomation in the tribal and the peasant society in the country ran parallel and diverged and how they related to the over-arching colonial system. I will particularly address myself to the issue whether the tribal society could be considered a separate system relatively autonomous of the developments at the higher level or as a sub-system subject like the system to the operation of the macro-historical processes. In the course of this presentation, I will also try to identify the areas where anthropologists and historians may explore the possibilities of collaboration in the investigation of the tribal society.

Two sets of assumptions have generally governed the historical writings on the tribes. The first could be set forth as follows :

> The conceptual framework developed by the British administrators-turned-enthnographers and by anthropologists was inspired by the then prevailing model in anthropology. Tribal communities were treated as isolates, tribals as Noble Savages, and the primitive condition was described as a state of Arcadian simplicity. The deterioration of tribal communities wos attributed to the sanskritisation of the semi-tribal chiefs and to the vulnerability of tribal character. History, as we understand it today, was not a strong point of these scholars though some of them were sensitive to historical

dimension, and economics has never been the strong point of the scholarship in this area. These scholars overlooked the operation of the historical processes that led to the formation of state, the emergence of a complex regional system in the wake of the migration of non-tribal communities and functional castes and the penetration of cultural influences. It is evident that in the semi-exposed tribal regions the protrayal of a tribal as a Noble Savage, innocent of the operation of the historical processes, was both naive and untenable, but this led to the build up a myth that has bedevilled all historical writings on Chotanagpur and inspired all tribal movements. This simplistic model also served to justify the presence of the *raj* and the role of the missionaries as the protectors of the tribals against non-tribals.[3]

The second set of assumptions postulated that the tribes were a subsystem of the Hindu system and that they were being absorbed into the Hindu society.[4] The Hindu mode of absorption was spelt out by an anthropologist[5] in terms of their integration into the economic organization of the caste. There was very little Hindu about this mode of absorption. The tribes were, in fact, getting integrated into a secular system of production, a market system, as it was extended to the tribal region.

History and Anthropology

These assumptions raise the question of the relationship of history and anthropology. On the face of it, history and anthropology are opposite disciplines. History is one of the oldest disciplines, while anthropology is a child of the Age of Reason. History is a dialogue with the past while anthropology is concerned with the immediate present, existing institutions, values and ideas and their inter-relationships. A measure of historical bias could be discerned in the works of the two schools of anthropologists, the Evolutionists who regarded mankind as one, used the comparative method, underlined the process of unilinear evolution from savagery to civilization ; and the Diffusionists who stressed the transmission of cultural elements as the most important factor in cultural development. The historians dismissed the historical content of their writings as much too speculative. The functionalists who followed, studied society as a whole at a point of time. They were a historical and dismissed history as irrelevant.

In our country, the dichotomy between history and anthropology was not much seen in the beginning. Indology and ethnology or even ethnography developed hand in hand. Some historians used ethographic data. Sarat Chandra Roy was the first secretary of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, and his association with it as such was as symbolic as was his break with it a few years later. Roy continued to display a keen historical sense in his contributions to the study of agrarian system and tribal movements. He was the first and the only anthropologist to have recognised the usefulness of the archival material as a source of ethnography. Later, he turned to functionalism, and Indian anthropology since has not, generally, been able to overcome the functionalists' hostility to history.

From the early 1960's there has developed a wide awareness of the limitations of the functionalist's approach to the study of the society. The social anthropologist in the West, Africa and Latin America have moved back in time to study process of change into the arena of contemporary and even modern history, analysing and examining archival data, family history, census reports etc. In a perceptive paper on the relationship of social anthropology and social history, Evans-Pritchard, one of the foremost social anthropologists of our time, has observed :

> So, I may as well oblige my critics by confessing that I can see no vital difference between sociological history and what some anthropologists like to call social dynamics or diachronic sociology or the study of social change or processual (sic) analysis. Indeed, in a broad sense, I would say that social anthropology and history are both branches of social sciences, or social studies, and that consequently there is an overlap of relevance between them and each can learn much from the other....anthropology must choose between being history and being nothing...history must choose between being social anthropology or being nothing.[6]

If social anthropology is moving closer to history, social history is also moving closer to social history, albeit slowly. The social historians have once again turned to the study of regional and local systems and institutions, simple and complex communities. They are using the archival data at the district and village level, studying family history and even interviewing people who are either directly involved in historical movements or remotely associated with them. An oral history project is under way.[7] The researches being conducted now differ from the

ethnographic and historical studies of castes, regions and villages in the past. It is heartening to see young scholars engaged in writing history of local institutions, movements and processes of social change at the micro-level in terms of ecology, demography, settlement patterns, interaction of groups and communities etc. This shows the profound influence that social sciences are exercising over historical studies. From this vantage point, it is only another step to participant observation. There is no reason why a field study should not be undertaken by all researchers and why an historian, particularly a town-based one, should shy away from using the living material, critically exploiting the oral tradition and participating in some aspects of folk/rural life, and thus gain an insight into the contemporary situation and institutions, which may help him in understanding the past. An historian should take note of another strong point of anthropology, its conceptual framework, the holistic concept which stresses not only wholeness but the inter-relatedness of the aspects of social formation, ecology, economy, legal and political system, kinship organization, religion etc.

Many developments in recent times have helped anthropology transcend its traditional boundaries and move closer to history and other disciplines. One which deserves to be mentioned particularly is the rise of the school of Marxist anthropology in the West.[8] So far, most of the social anthropologists had held the view that Marxist anthropology was irrelevant to the history of anthropological theory, and that cultural anthropology had developed independently of the ideas of Karl Marx. The larger availability of the Manuscript of 1857-8 dealing with pre-capitalist formations of many types in the process of transition of feudalism kindled interest in the possibilities of the application of Marxist theories to the primitive societies. While it is admitted that the ethnographic data available at the time of Karl Marx was inadequate and fragmentary and that his treatment of evolution of the primitive societies to feudalism was superficial, it is nevertheless recognised that his studies provide a brilliant insight into the transformation of the communal mode of production and the processes of transition from status to contract. These seminal ideas seeped through the writings of H. S. Maine and B. H. Baden-Powell. Nor could Marx's influence on the school of cultural materialism be underestimated. All this is history.

The rise of the school of Marxist's anthropology, which has been recognised as one of the four contemporary schools[9] stems from the recog-

nition of the limitations of traditional economic anthropology and even social anthropology. The traditional economic anthropology concerned itself with the organization of production, distribution and consumption; with market capital formation, land ownership, circulation of goods, etc. It did not recognise the relevance of production relations. The traditional description of the primitive societies as non-acquisitive, non-monetary and non-machine is no longer accepted. A new merit has thus been discovered in Marxist theories.

> What Marx's theories offer to social anthropology is a set of hypotheses about social relations and especially about social change. Marx's insights—about the basic significance of economic factors, especially production relations; their relation to structure of power : the formation of classes and the opposition of their interest ; the socially relative character of ideologies ; the conditioning force of a system upon individual members of it—embody propositions which must be taken for critical scrutiny into the body of our science.[10]

The French Marxist anthropologists go a step further. They seek a return not to Marx and resumption and defence of his ideas about primitive society and the beginning of class society, they go even beyond the literal Marx.

> Unlike the Marxism which is usually practised, a Marxism which soon turns to vulgar materialism, we maintain that Marx—in characterising infrastructure and superstructure and stating that the profound logic of societies and their history depended in the last analysis on changes in their infrastructure—did nothing less than bring to light for the first time a hierarchy of functional distinctions and structural causalties, without in any way prejudicing the nature of structures, which in every case perform these functions (kinship, politics, religion..., nor the number of functions which a structure may support. In order to arrive at this profound logic we must go further than a structural analysis of forms of social relations and modes of thought and try to descipher the 'effects' of structures on each other through the various processes of social practice and place them in the hierarchy of causes determining the functioning and reproduction of economic and social formations.[10a]

It is not necessary at this stage to go into the various aspects of the debate concerning the infrastructure and superstructure, primacy of relation of production against relation of exchange, mode of production

against mode of exploitation, unilinear versus multilineal processes of development etc. and whether the primitive society should be labelled feudal or precapitalist or whether it had its own mode of production. Suffice it to say that caution is required in the collection and processing of data, and the temptation to fit them to certain stereotypes must be resisted as much as the reluctance to see them in perspective and to generalize from them.

We may consider another concept, development of under-development,[11] based on the Latin American experience, which is now being extended to Africa and other parts of the developing world and which has great possibilities for the study of social formation in the tribal regions. Briefly stated, it assumes that development and under-development are inter-related, that under-development is a result of the historical process of the capitalist development over the past centuries, and that there is a continuing trend towards evergrowing development and growing under-development. Of late, a number of models have been generated by economists to explicate the pattern of development in many parts of the developing world.[12] What interests us in these exercises is the fact that some of these theoretical models are being extrapolated backward in time to explain historical situations.

Anthropology and Colonialism :

I will now like to touch upon some aspects of the inter-relationship of anthropology and colonialism. As the colonial system has distegrated, an acrimonious debate is developing over the nature and function of anthropological research in the former colonial societies and the extent of collaboration between anthropologists and colonial administrators.[13] On the one hand, anthropology has been labelled a child of imperialism,[14] while on the other it has been stated that anthropology is not "a bastard of imperialism but the legitimate child of the Enlightenment,[15] a full-fledged discipline which has developed its own autonomy and is now an art and a science. No doubt, enthnography had its roots in the administration's need to collect information about the people, which made for efficient governance. In this sense, anthropology developed as a part of the colonial system. Some of the anthropologists turned out to be the apologists of the colonial regime, which was projected as the protector of the minorities, while others criticised the disruptive effects of the colonial system on the small, encysted communities which they were allowed to study in some countries. The anthropologists were also charged by

the nationalists with having destroyed national identity, created a social category called a tribe for which there was no word in many native languages, introduced alien concepts, and supported the obscurantist chiefs and indirect rule. There was also the other side of the picture. The collection of data at the grass-root level resulted in a radical orientation of politics. Certain ideological trends in anthropology supported anti-colonial movements. Anthropology also stressed the role and function of ethnicity and diversity in the formation of a nation-state.

In India,[16] most of those trends could be witnessed. There was, however, one difference. It was not the anthropologists but the colonial officers who played the key role as an adviser, researcher and administrator in tribal affairs. There was one exception to this. Sarat Chandra Roy became the spokesman of the tribal interests in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council, and later emerged as the ideologue of the separatist movement in Chotanagpur. The colonial administrators working in the tribal regions sought to influence the debates proceeding the drafting of the Government of India Bill of 1935, and argued in favour of the total exclusion of the tribal regions from the ambit of constitutional reforms. They even suggested that if this was not done, the Congress movement would sweep the tribal regions like wild fire.

Precolonial situation : State-formation

The precolonial situation has, generally, been described by ethnographers as static. Historical evidence, however, suggests at least three major trends. First, there was colonization and establishment of settlements *(bhums)* by peasant castes, who were encouraged by the Mughal rulers and zamindars to reclaim lands and offered various incentives for this purpose, or by other categories of immigrants. Trade or strategic routes passing through the jungle regions acquired a new significance. The Jharkhand[17] and Gondwana emerged as historical regions in the medieval period. Secondly, many tribes, such as the Bhils, Minas, Kolis and Gonds were recognised as dominant communities by the Mughal empire. Thirdly, and most important of all, we witness the rise of state either out of the tribal matrix as in the case of the Gonds and Cheros or as a result of the imposition on the tribal system of the authority of the Rajputs and other castes which established their power, in the highlands of Orissa, central India, Gujarat and Rajasthan.

The phenomenon of state-formation has been extensively investigated in the two Americas by anthropologists, archaeologists and historians

and has emerged as a major theoretical concern. Karl Wittfogel's theory that large-scale protective irrigation works led to the rise of state has now been questioned. Two supplementary hypotheses have been postulated concerning growth of population and multi-variable emphasis in regard to state-formation based on recent anthropological and reinterpreted ethnohistorical evidence. In our country, the interest in this phenomenon has developed only recently.[18]

A crucial pre-condition of the formation of state in middle India was the extention of cultivation through the reclamation of land and the introduction of a new agricultural technology by the peasantry from plains. The Gond, Nagbansi and Chero chiefs encouraged the settlement of non-tribal peasant communities such as the Kurmis, Koeris and Kunbis, who with their superior agricultural technology, alone could generate the agricultural surpluses that the new states required. A new mode of production thus emerged. A consequence of the imposition of the feudal superstructure on the tribal society was its breakdown and its fragmentation into distinct social strata based on corresponding distribution of power and economic interest in land and defined in terms of ritual status. The new states acted as the agents of sanskritisation but they also strengthened the sense of tribal identity. State-formation also stimulated commercial activities, developed trade routes and promoted small-scale urbanism. A variety of castes ranging from the Brahmins who were tempted by generous grants of land to the artisan communities flocked to the new fort cities. All in all, a complex social economic system had emerged in certain parts of tribal middle India even before the colonial system was established there.

Political system and the concept of protection:

The political system of tribal India was based on the concept of direct rule. Unlike Africa which adopted the system of indirect rule, namely, the rule through the traditional chiefs in many territories, a large part of the tribal region and most of tribal population were integrated within the administration of the provinces of British India or within that of the Indian states where the British Resident kept a watch on the tribal situation and, in some cases, even acted as the agent for the tribal regions. However, there were areas of tribal concentration which were enclaved to 'reclaim to civilization' the tribes who had often rebelled or were difficult to pacify. It was in these enclaves that the

concept of protection of the tribes as an ethnic community developed in stages. Its main features were (a) the paternalistic rule of the district officers—the tribes needed a government by men and not by a system, (b) keeping tribal areas out of the operation of the regulations, laws etc., which were alien to tribal ethos and undermined it (c) laying down a set of simple rules to settle dispute and restriction of the jurisdiction of the courts which enforced normal laws and exclusion of the lawyers from courts (d) special agrarian laws, which will be described later (e) regulation of the entry of the aliens into tribal areas, and (f) strengthening tribal institutions and traditional leadership.

The Agency system established with the objective of quelling rebellions was the earliest mode of protective administration. One agency was set up to pacify the Bhils (1825), another in Chotanagpur, the South-West Frontier Agency (1833), a third in the Meriah tract (1839-65) to abolish the practice of human sacrifice, and the fourth one in Ganjam (1839), which has survived longest. The first three were wound up as soon as the objective for which they were formed was achieved. The Agency settled tribes, opened up the tribal world, laid lines of communication, established *chatties* along highways to supply the army which brought in merchants, traders and peddlers and developed into market later, and set up cantonments and centres of administration and trade : the pace of urbanisation gradually went up. The British historians built up the "founders" Augustus Cleveland, James Outram and Thomas Wiknson into legends. However, within a few decades, Cleveland's Paharias were impoverished and decimated, and the Bhils and Chotanagpur tribes repeatedly rose in rebellions. Another result of the establishment of regular administration may be noted. The pace of the colonisation of the tribal regions which had begun in the medieval period, as mentioned earlier, was accelerated. In Chotanagpur alone, for instance, between 1871 and 1931, the incidence of immigration rose from 96,000 to 307,000.

Thus the colonial system ended the relative isolation of the tribal society, brought it into the main-stream of the new administrative set up, policy and programmes ; put an end to the political dominance of the tribes in the region ; roped the tribal communities which had been spared the strain of surplus generation by their states into a new system of production relations. The colonial system, as elsewhere, followed the dual policy of strengthening the feudal crust of tribal societies, formed

by the rajas, chiefs and zamindars and simultaneously creating conditions in which their economy and political system were undermined by the rampaging market forces.

The principle that the normal laws should not automatically apply to tribal areas underlay the passage of the Scheduled Districts Act (1874) and the concept of the backward areas in the Government of India Act of 1919. Whether or not this principle should continue to be applied was a matter that figured in a most lively debate in the early 1930s. While one school contended that the aborigines formed a distinct element and should be placed in charge of the British Government, the nationalist saw in this proposition the continuation of the imperial policy of divide and rule. However, the tribal and non-tribal areas were both 'partly' and fully 'excluded' in the Government of India Act of 1935. The need to provide adequate safeguards for the tribal was again extensively discussed in the Constituent Assembly, and the nationalist opinion favoured incorporation of far more radical provisions for the safeguard of the tribals' interests in the form of the V and VI schedules of the Indian Constitution. This was an index of the profound change that had come over the nationalists' opinion in regard to the tribal question owing to the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi, Thakkar Bapa[19] and Rajendra Prasad, the unfolding of the humanism of the freedom movement, and the liberalism of the tribal leaders themselves. This appreciations of the uniqueness of tribal factor within the framework of Indian nationalism and the extension of political rights to tribals were beyond the expectations of the colonial administrators and anthropologists.

Agrarian restructuring, eeonomic transformation and mode of axploitation

It is only now that anthropologists have taken up the study of the agrarian processes of social change that cut across the traditional boundaries of kinship and ethnicity. It is an area in which the historians have been more active, and the scope of collaboration between the two streams is wide.

The land system in the tribal area was integrated within the two broad systems of land tenure, the zamindari and the ryotwari system. The tribal regions in Bihar, Bengal and eastern parts of the Central Provinces belonged to the first, and those in Bombay, Gujarat and the western parts of the Central Provinces to the second category. Tribal or non-tribal chiefs in the tribal regions were recognised is zamindars/

malgujars, ghatwals, the guardians of passes and wardens of marches (Bengal, Bihar, Berar) and bissoyies and muttadars, and the other classes of the tribal landowners as occupancy tenants or sub-tenants. In both systems there were primeval survivals of the communal mode of production : the *khuntkatti* tenure in Chotanagpur and Angul, and the special tenures related to communal ownership of land in the Bombay Presidency. The institution of village headman who was the representative of the relatively intact tribal village community and of the Munda-Manki system of Chotanagpur and the Manjhi-Parganait system of the Santal Parganas were strengthened, and written into the laws.

The tribal land laws, framed in the background of the rebellions, incorporated new agrarian concepts. For instance, the idea of the prevention of alienation of tenure/land could be traced to the Wilkinson Rules (1833). The provision against usury appeared in the Santal Paraganas Regulation of 1873, and this was further strengthened through a series of acts to regulate moneylending. The Chotanagpur Tenancy Act (1908) innovated many provisions to give protection to the aborignial tenants and became a piece of model legislation. The Punjab land Alienation Act (1900) inspired the Central Provinces' legislation (1916), even though the region was contiguous to Chotanagpur. While these laws did give a measure of protection, they could not prevent, as a Chotanagpur survey in the 1920s showed, either alienation or usury on a large scale.

The most striking feature of this period was the breakdown of the communal mode of production and the emergence of private right in land.[20] The first was generally related to the technology of hunting and food-gathering, the slash-and burn cultivation and swidden agriculture, which were, again, associated with the system of communal ownership/control of land and use of collective labour. To facilitate commercial exploitation of the forest shifting cultivation was forbidden in many areas. The pressure of population increased and the carrying capacity of land diminished. The peasantry coming up from the plains introduced, as mentioned above, the concept of agricultural season and new crops, implements and practices[21] related to both wet and dryland farming. The tribes had already taken to terrace and wet cultivation, and developed a excellent indigenous technology suited for them on both communal and private family land. The new technology helped them to extend cultivation. Thus they were transformed from the reclaimers of land into peasant cultivators, largely living off the land. Multi-caste

and-ethnic village settlements came into existence underlining the co-operation among peasants and artisans and other functional castes in the process of production.[22] The transition from the tribal to the peasant system was however neither uniform nor complete. Dependence on forest as a source of food shelter and occupation was still crucial in many ways. By and large, all tribes in the nineteenth century were emerging as a community of peasants while the minor tribes still depended on forest.

A further stage in the development of the peasant system was the penetration of tribal economy by market. The colonial system created a demand for money in non-money economies to pay land revenue and other levies, to defray expenditure of various kinds, and to buy necessities. The traditional form of barter died away. There was some exchange evidence that sections of the tribes took to commodity production on a limited scale. It was not so much the grain as the minor forest produce such as lac that brought the tribals into contact with the market. The fluctuations in the international price of lac impoverished them and boosted their income by turn. Even the most primitive economies came gradually within the operation of the market system. There is evidence that coerced cash cropping in cotton and sugarcane was resorted to in parts of western India, and the tribals were evicted from their lands which were brought under it.

With the market came the middle men. merchants and moneylenders. The concept of *diku*, the aliens, becomes crucial to the understanding of agrarian relations. A *diku* was the creature of the colonial system who performed a variety of functions as a middle man in administrative matters, as a moneylender, as a trader who controlled production of foodgrain through the system of advance credit, and as a landgrabber.

The processes of peasantisation and depeasantisation were at work simultaneously. The latter could be seen in large-scale incidence of alienation of land from tribals to non-tribals. The tribal handicrafts declined. Out-migration from Chotanagpur alone was 330,000 in 1891, 707,000 in 1911 and 947,000 in 1921 Tribals went out to work in the tea gardeners, on plantations, as industrial labour, and as share-cropper and labourers in the regions peripheral to their homeland. Had this vast number remained at home, the process of depeasantisation would have been much faster in Chotanagpur and other tribal areas. This may be seen

in the context of land as an example of the development of underdevelopment at the micro-level, while the development of the industries based on forest and minerals made tribal areas forge ahead in terms of the indicators of modern development.

Social stratification, sanskritisation and Christianity :

Few tribes remained homogeneous and egalitarian during the period under study. There always existed within a tribe a measure of distinction between the high and the low in terms of social and physical distance, notion of purity and pollution, prestige and status, habits and customs etc. The colonial system created and strengthened a threefold division with the feudatory chief/zamindars at the top, the well-to-do headmen, in the middle and the general mass at the bottom. A class of insider *diku* and professional tribal moneylender also grew up as the unintended result of the anti-land alienation laws, which restricted transfer from tribals to non-tribals. A rich stratum of tribal buyers of land emerged as suggested by the data on transactions in land and moneylending in the district settlement reports. The conflict between the secular and religious leadership was also reported through it did not seem to have any enduring consequence.

But this internal differentiation did not grow to a point of complete alienation of one stratum from another. The bonds of kinship and ethnicity and the appreciation of the political advantages of the continuation of the tribe as an entity after 1920 became stronger. This inhibited the development of intra-tribe contradiction, which was also overshadowed by the confrontation between tribals and non-tribals.

The foregoing analysis shows that the tribal society was moving closer to the peasant/caste system. This brings us to sanskritisation, the process of upward mobility, which had been restricted to a family or a group of persons in the precolonial situation. Under the colonial impact sanskritisation became a movement encompassing tribes and sub tribes. The Santals put on the sacred thread and claimed the status of the kshatriya; the Mahatos of Chotanagpur got themselves descheduled as a tribe in 1931 and tried to establish a pan-Indian identity. A Gond chief in the 1930s requested the Rajput Mahasabha to confer the status of a kshatriya on him, which was refused ; he took recourse to the traditional method of seeking elevation; he married into a Rajput family and got a family history written; he was finally accepted as a Nagbansi kshatriya. A rigorous analysis of the census reports of the

pre-1941 period at the district level-unfortunately most of them have perished—would show the extent of the success achieved by various communities seeking higher *varna* status, and the reflection of it in the accretion of strength to higher castes.

We may now turn to an evaluation of the role of Christianity as an ideology in the colonial context, particularly in the tribal regions.[23] Such an evaluation has necessarily to base itself on the missionary records made available to the researchers so far and the study of the impact of Christianity on the tribal population; it will not be appropriate here to consider the modernising role of the christian missions and the participation of the christians alongside other sections of our people in the freedom struggle.

There always existed a close link between Christianity and colonialism. As the colonies were conquerred, Christianity moved in to "civilize" the aboriginal races. The Aborigines' Protection Society, established in 1836, exercised a powerful influence on the colonial policy and administration. It should, however, be noted that the christian missions in India did not emerge as an agrarian institution, though they did engage in the activities of an economic nature such as the introduction of trade, new arts and method of agriculture on a small scale, and employment of labour on extensive building activities, which made them an economic asset. This was in contrast to the developments of a radical nature that occurred in Latin America, where the missionaries were transformed from the apostles who had earlier preached the tenets of racial equality and defended the Indians against the settlers into builders of great estates from the 16th century onwards.[24] The temporal power of the church was eventually equalled only by its spiritual power. In India the missions did acquire land or small zamindaris by way of gift or purchase, but they tended to depend more on the contributions raised for their support and the annual subventions from the central funds released by their parent organizations situated abroad, which in size were probably next only to the direct investment of foreign capital in India.

At the political level, the missionaries, in close collaboration with the colonial administrators, rationalised the *raj*, and sought to create a new bastion of support for it among the backward communities of India. The christians, they contended, were loyal subjects, the *bhai-bahen* (the brothers and sisters) of the British crown, and, as such, they

were entitled to receive certain privileges. The Indian Mutiny constituted a set-back to evangelization but after 1860 it was taken up with renewed vigour. The official policy of social neutrality and non-interference in religious matter as proclaimed on November 1, 1858, was not always acted upon. Many of the district officers felt that this policy did not apply to the non-Aryan population of India, and, therefore, they supported the missionaries in their activities. A distinguished administrator, Sir Richard Temple, observed:

> I may remind you of the fortunate fact that in India out of 200 million British subjects (exclusive of native stock) 18 million are of aboriginal races, and 9 million are no caste at all. Thus 27 million are beyond the pale of the principal oriental religions and their minds present a tabula rasa on which Christianity may work.[25]

Sir Richard was not alone. They were others who were more vocal and active in their support. Some of them even endowed the missions.

In the initial phases, the missionary activities were disruptive of the tribal system. Evangelisation was inherently ethnocentric. The missionary imposed a puritanical ethic on the permassive tribal society, though the the approaches of various denominations to social questions markedly varied depending on the exigencies of the situation. The strategy of proselytization was carefully worked out to cover the distant and sensitive regions, major tribal communities and particularly their upper strata. Elsewhere outside middle India, the missionaries concentrated on the communities other than the tribes.

The missionary also produced an ideology for the peasant system that was emerging in the tribal region. They grafted the notion of private property in land into the communal mode of production, articulated the demands of tribals as peasant proprietors for the restoration of land, regulation of rent, and abolition of feudal dues, led and guided peasant struggles against the indigo planters in Bengal and the zamindars of Chotanagpur, worked for the passage of agrarain laws, and set up peasant organizations. They gave a new sense of self-respect to the tribal peasant and sought to create a separate identity for them. Here is a piece of the mission histriography dealing with the origin of the tribes of India.

> Now after the event of the Tower of Babel or confusion of speech, the descendants of Japeth settled in western and central Asia .. The descendants of Cham or Ham also on receiving diverse tongues scatt-

ered, and they occupied better and warmer parts of the old world... of whom came the Negroes and other aboriginals of Africa... The descendants of Chanann... were known by the names of the Minoans, the Pelasgians and the Etruscans. The ancestors of the Dravidians belonged to Chanaanites. The proto-Austroloids, who came to India after the Austrics or the Kherwars belonged to the Chanaanites of palestine... The present Munda spearing Adibasis, such as the Santals, the Mundas, the Hos and others are the descendants of these Austrics or Kherwars.[26]

Having established the Biblical origin of the Mundas, the problem was how to bring them through Persia and Afganisthan to India. Sarat Chandra Roy noted the local christian historical tradition introduced by the missionaries, which traced the migration of the tribes from the northwest to their present habitat.

> If we follow the order indicated in this tradition the Mundas would have appeared to have migrated from Northern India southwards to modern Bundelkhand and Central India, thence across eastern Rajputana, thence again to northwestern India and thence through modern Rohilkhand and to Bihar and finally to Chotanagpur.[27]

Roy was inclined to accept this local tradition even though he admitted that the circuitous route appeared to be "strange and perplexing". It went against all history and logic, but it served to generate a sense of pon-christian solidarity.

Tribal movements :

The colonial system bore harshly on the tribal communities who with a sensitivity born out of isolation and with a relatively intact social mechanism of control revolted more often and far more violentely than any other community including peasants in India.

The official records, scattered over a vast spectrum, refer to acts of depredations, disturbances, outbreaks of violence and riots, rebellions, and uprisings, raids and expeditions of pacification—the character of which has yet to be ascertained. These are generally described as incidents and episodes, whereas they have to be studied as movements, as a part of the social system.

Since the Second World War, there has been an upsurge of interest in tribal movements.[28] The movements in Africa, Oceana and in the Americas has inspired new conceptual and methodological leads by the

French, Italian and German historians, by historians of religion and anthropologists. Comprehensive studies of the messianic movements have been brought out. Vittorio Lanternari's *The Religions of the Oppressed* (1963) is a masterly study of modern messianic cults by a historian, but it excludes from its purview the Indian movements. Peasant movements have been also intensively and critically studied. An attempt has been made to formulate the laws and process of tribal revitalization movements and the pattern of their leadership in terms of the concepts envolved in the context of the study of Amerindian and African movements and their applicability to the Indian situation has to be critically examined.

In our country historians and social workers took a lead in the study of tribal movements. In 1945, a descriptive account of some of the movements appeared.[29] The Santal, Kol and Bhumij, and Munda movements have been studied.[30] The officially-sponsored studies in the freedom movement and the Indian Mutiny dealt with tribal movements as a part of the national struggle.

It is only recently that a determined effort is being made by historians, archivists, anthropologists and sociologists to study the rich Indian material on tribal and peasant movements in their contemporary and historical setting.[31] This underlines the need for inter-disciplinary co-operation. An historian has not only to draw on the archival material particularly that lying in the mission archives but also the private papers and documents devoutly preserved by many tribal people, and study in collaboration with the anthropologists the social structure of the movement, the sects thrown up by it, and its oral traditions consisting of the magical formulae, incantations and folklore, which reflect people's perception and involvement. He has also to keep in mind the time-frame of the movements because there is a tendency not only to regard all tribal movements as of a piece but also to see the shadow of a movement behind every act of conflict or incident of excitement. As the structure of the tribal society has changed, so, too, has the character of the tribal movement. I will, therefore attempt, briefly, a periodisation of tribal movements, while stressing the fact that the choronological frame has to be kept flexible in view of the wide range of variations in local situation and social structure, and the fact that many movements tend to overlap.

The first phase (1795-1860) of the tribal movements coincided with the rise, expansion and the establishment of the British Empire. It saw the rise of what we may call the primary resistance movements. Resistance is inherent in all movements but during this phase it was spontaneous, elemental and wide-spread involving not only one tribe but many. They played a dominant but by no means an exclusive role in it; they were large sections of the non-tribals who also joined hands, lending the movements the character of a regional upsurge. It was led by the traditional chiefs and their subordinates, who had been dispossessed of their property and thrown out of their occupation by the new system. It was resistance to the new system and to the new classes of the people who were inducted by it, namely, the system of local administration and taxation, evangelisation and humanitarian measures, the new landlords, moneylenders and government officials, all of whom were to be thrown out in a violent upsurge. This formulation generally applies to all the movements of this period, the Chuar rebellions (1795-1800), the risings of Chero zamindars and disturbances in Chotanagpur in 1820, the Kol and Bhumij insurrections, the resistance offered by Gond zamindars in 1819 and 1842, and the Khonds' resistance to the abolition of Meriah sacrifice from the mid-1830s. This phase culminated in the Indian Mutiny of 1857, which saw the Chero and Gond zamindars revolt, while other tribes kept out of it.

We have deliberately excluded from this scheme the Santal Insurrection (1855-6) about which much fresh material has been discovered making its restudy necessary. It represented a transitional phase and partook of the characteristics of both resistance and agrarian-cum-revivalistic movements of the second phase.

The second phase (1860-1920) coincided with the intensive phase of colonialism, which saw a much deeper penetration of tribal and peasant economies by merchant capital, higher incidence of rent etc. All gains registered during the first phase of the movements were washed away. Not only those who had been expelled came back but many more also came, thus intensifying the exploitation of tribes. As a result of this, there were not only a larger number of movements, represented by such evocative native terms as *mulkui larai*, *fituri*, *meli*, *ulgulan* and *bhumakal*, involving many tribes but also a far more complex type of movements, a curious mix of agrarian, religious and political issues.

Let us, first, untangle the agrarian strand. The basic issues were high incidence of rent, commutation of rent, abolition of forced labour and praedial condition, the issues that affected the peasants, who were particularly aggrieved against the zamindars and favourably inclined towards the distant government. There were complaints regarding erosion of traditional rights in forest, restriction on shifting cultivation, and exploitation by the local functionaries. In this respect the agrarian movements among the tribes and peasants had many points of similarity. There was a typical ambivalence towards the money lender : his records could be burnt but his life was spared. In fact, there was little blood spilling in the agrarian movement, though the covert acts of violence were many.

Unlike the peasant the tribal movements developed a religious and political overtone. The failure of the first phase of the movements had made them look inward. They sought to restructure the entire social system ; this was the beginning of revitalisation movements. All major uprisings of the first phase were followed by the socio-cultural movements; the Santal insurrection by the Kharwar movement (1871-80) and the Munda-Oraon Sardar movement (1869-1895) by Birsa Munda's and Tana Bhagats' reformative movements (1895-1921). These movements also threw up the charismatic and "divinely-inspired" brand of leadership. Birsa Munda among the Mundas (1895-1901) Sidhu, Kanhu, Bhagirath and Dubu Gossain among Santals (1856-57, 1871-90) Jatra Oraon among the Oraons (1915-22). Gobind Giri among the Bhils, organised and led social and political action for the restoration of their rights and 'kingdom', founded cults and expressed thorough borrowed Hindu and Christian idioms their people's urge for freedom. All ended in violent clashes with the authorities. A few rebellions during this period also resulted from the disturbance of the traditional relationship of the tribes with their rulers in Keonjhar and Bastar. However, behind this ostensible cause there was the set of factors mentioned above.

The leadership of the movement emerged from the ranks of the peasants, educated tribals or was offered by those outsiders who had gained a footing among the tribes. The tribes most involved were the Bhils, Santals, Mundas, Oraon and Khonds, all settled communities.

The third phase (1920-1947) saw the rise of the movement of a secular and political nature even though movements of the type mentioned above continued to occur on a smaller scale. They involved (a)

participation of the tribes in the national and agrarian movements and (b) emergence of a separatist movement in Chotanagpur.

The influence of Mahatma Gandhi in the process of the mobilisation of the tribals during the freedom struggle[32] could be seen at two levels. First, the Mahatma, his personality and his massage seemed to carry forward and deepen the process of sanskritisation started by the tribal *bhagats* in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In fact, it is among the members of the bhagat sects, already sensitised to Vaishnavism, that Gandhiji made the greatest impact. '*Chelas*' of the Mahatma sprung up among the Bhils, Gonds and Hos.

> The Bhil Bhagats, the Tana Bhagats, and the Sapha Hors among Santals, the Haribaba movement...saw in the freedom movement led by Gandhiji an opportunity for the recovery of their *Raj* and their rights as agrarian communities which they had lost, for continuing social reforms such as temperance and purification and education, and for seeking social uplift and establishing an equation with peasant castes. Most of these Bhagats sects in their origin antedated the freedom *movement*. They received a fresh lease of life through Gandhiji's reconstruction programme.[33]

At another level, the Gandhian reconstruction programme started the process of the politicisation of the tribals, nurtured a generation of tribal leaders, and provided a common political platform for the tribals and non-tribals, thus bringing the first into the mainstrem of national politics. Evidence of tribals' participation in the local level action organised by the Congress came in from Bihar, the Central Provinces and Bombay.

The Koyas and Jatapus participated in the guerilla warfare waged by Sitaram Raju in the Rampa country (1922-24) for the attainment of a political goal : the independence of the country with the support of the upper crust of the tribal society : the *Doras*. There were not many agrarian issues involved, and the targets of attack were the British officers.

The Prajamandal and Kisansabha also mobilised tribals over agrarian issues. The agrarian struggle in Bengal, 1946-47 was marked by the participation of the Santal peasants.[34] The Warlis of Thana were very effectively organised to demand the redress of their grievances in the mid-1940s.[35] However, the efforts of Swami Sahajanand

Saraswati to extend the Kisan movement of Chotanagpur did not succeed because the payment of rent in kind *(bhaoli)* was not a burning issue, the peasants enjoyed far more rights than elsewhere in Bihar, and a movement of political separatism was developing, which put the agrarian issues in the shade.

Behind the separatist movement in Chotanagpur there were many influences : a high level of literacy and political consciousness, the role of the christian mission, Bengali-Bihari controversy over employment and the Muslim League politics. The Chotanagpur Improvement Society formed in 1916 demanded employment for educated tribals, reservations in the services aud legislative bodies and the formation of a sub-state joined to Bengal or Orissa. In 1938, a militant phase started with the formation of the Adivasi Mahasabha, which demanded not the formation of a sub-state but complete separation from Bihar. But by 1947 militancy had failed. The Sabha was routed by the Congress in the first elections held in 1946. The link with the Muslim League was broken, and the Bengali-Bihari controversy tapered off. This movement also stimulated a mini renaissance among the Chotanagpur tribes; discovering or inventing scripts, revival of the forms of art and literature were all part of a movement to define and assert tribal identity.

To conclude, the tribal society lost its unique character. Like other segments of the Indian society, it, too, was transformed by colonialism but in a far more profound sense than has been known so far. The uneven impact of colonialism could be understood with reference to the specificities of the local situations and structures including the tribal. There is a whole range of possibilities of research in the tribal history of modern India, which is relatively little researched, in collaboration with the anthropologists. Inter-disciplinary collaboration of this nature does not imply that history should cease to be history but that it should imbibe the insights offered by other disciplines. It means that while fully and critically exploiting the documentary materials, an historian should not hesitate to go beyond the written word and use other source materials to reconstruct the history of non-literate societies. After all, the function of an historian is to illuminate the understanding of the process of social transformation, and to aid it.

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(i) Political and Administrative History :

GENESIS OF THE TRAVANCORE STATE CONGRESS

P. T. Haridas

This paper intends to analyse the various causes that led to the emergence of the Travancore State Congress against the political, social and economic background in Travancore. The State Congress was a party formed on political lines in Travancore in 1938, to fight against the autocracy of the Dewan and Prince. While the British Indian provinces were under the direct control and administration of the British, the Princely states were suffering under an autocratic system of administration sheltered by the paramount power. The history of the Indian National Congress has been studied by many historians.[1] But the agitation that took place in the Princely States under the banner of independent political organisations with sympathy and active support from the Indian National Congress has not received detailed examination by scholars.[2] The upsurge that took place in the princely states which comprised about 45% of the total area of pre-partition India and accounted for no less than one fourth of its population, forms an integral part of the larger struggle for freedom and was bound with the happenings elsewhere in an action-reaction relationship.[3]

Public life in Travancore had been dominated for long by caste Hindus like Tamil and Telugu Brahmins and the Nairs. As beneficiaries of English education they were practically monopolising the civil service of the state. The backward communities were denied admission to government schools and colleges. The wave of nationalism which swept through British India had its effect in the Indian states as well and with the spread of western education and growth of social democratic ideals they began to claim their legitimate share in the public service and representation in the government of the state.

The genesis of the Travancore State Congress can be traced back to the Malayali or Travancore Memorial of 1891. The first outward expression of the grievances of the backward communities, this constituted the first spark of political consciousness among the people of

the state. The memorialists highlighted the "denial to them of a fair share in the government of the country and their systematic exclusion from the higher grades of its service", and pointed out that "their country which used from time immemorial to be administered by a number of native Prime Ministers, was ruled from 1817 to 1872, for about half a century by a series of foreign Dewans. Regularly and systematically these Dewans without exception introduced their relations, castemen and friends into the state".[4] The signatories to this memorial included Nairs, Christians, Muslims and Ezhavas. In 1896 the Ezhavas, under the leadership of Dr. Palpu, submitted another memorial to the Maharaja and prayed that government schools be opened to their children.

The Malayali memorial marked the beginning of a great change in the political life of Travancore. It was the first of a series of agitations which ultimately resulted in the establishment of responsible government in the state. It was "the first movement organised and led by educated class and the first occasion on which the people united themselves in spite of their communal and caste differences on a political issue."[5] It was also the first political expression of the emergence of a new middle class in Travancore.

The state administration was aware of the need for a social and political change. It was the first Indian state to create a Legislative Council in 1888 on British Indian lines. In 1904 was established the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly consisting of "the representatives of the landlords and merchants in the country".[6] By the year 1932 all the previous regulations were replaced by the Travancore Legislative Reforms Regulation II of 1108. Promulgated by the Maharaja on 28 October 1932 it came into effect on I January 1933. It provided for a bicameral legislature, the Lower House being called Sri Mulam Assembly and the upper House the Sri Chitra State Council. But due to restrictions of franchise only 2.5% of the total population enjoyed the right to vote.[7] In the four general elections in Travancore from 1921 to 1933 caste Hindus got thumping majority in the legislature.[8] This demonstrated "beyond doubt that the reforms of 1921 were thoroughly inadequate to protect the interests of all communities alike and maintain their balance in the state."[9]

By the year 1932 the aggrieved communities had formed their own separate organisations.[10] C. V. Funjuraman, General Secretary of the

S.N.D.P. yogam submitted to the Simon Commission a memorandum enumerating the various grievances and disabilities of the Ezhavas, he asked for the retention of communal representation and its extension to the Ezhavas.[11] A memorial was also submitted to the Dewan by the Ezhava Members of the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly on 18 March, 1932. They pleaded for an enlarged franchise with reservation of seats for the Ezhavas without affecting their right to contest from general constituencies.

The Ezhavas felt that it was due to caste prejudices that they were not elected to the legislature at the general elections. They wanted representation in the legislature in proportion to their numerical strength. This would suggest that communal feeling was at its height among the lower communities, especially the Ezhavas, and that they would not seek redress by attempting to establish responsible government in the State with the active support of the people, irrespective of their communal differences.

The government was aware that the existing constitutional reforms were inadequate.[12] And yet the new reforms it announced on 28 October 1932 violated practically all its promises. This meant that mere representation would not persuade the government. Consequently, Christian,Ezhava and Muslim organisations met together on 17 December 1932, in the L.M.S. Hall, Trivandrum, to take measures for achieving their political goal. Thus came into being the all Travancore Joint Political Conference.

The Joint Political Conference was communal in character. Large sections of people, especially the Nair and Brahmin population of Travancore, were left out of it. Aware of their sectional representation, the organisers of the Conference tried to turn it to their advantage. They warned the government that the proposed electoral rules would accentuate communal bitterness and prevent the formation of parties on secular political lines. On 25 January 1933 the Conference passed a resolution on Abstention.[13]

The government, however, decided to put down the agitation with an iron hand, and made it clear that "population could not be treated as the deciding factor for fixing the number of seats for the various communities as long as franchise was mainly based on property qualifications and adult franchise was not granted".[14] Innumerable meetings

were held by the Abstentionists in various parts of the state to explain the pros and cons of the agitation.

By June 1933 the elections, conducted under prohibitory orders, were over. The results showed that Nairs had been returned with a decisive majority. When the inaugural meeting of the re-constituted legislature was held on 31 March. 1933, the Abstentionists recorded their protest and demanded the dissolution of the Assembly. However the Government's policy of repression continued. A show-cause notice was served on the *Malayala Manorama* which had supported the movement. Most of the prominent leaders of the Joint Political Conference like N.V. Joseph, P. K. Kunju, and C. Kesavan were placed under gagging orders.

Signs of reconciliation were also shown by the government. It was prepared to drop proceedings initiated against individuals and institutions. The leaders of the Joint Political Conference agreed to the terms and conditions stated by the government, and E.J. John, president of the Conference, announced the cessation of the agitation to create a proper atmosphere for a satisfactory and peaceful settlement. The government had already reconstituted the electorate to meet the demands of the aggrieved communities. A remarkable achievement of the movement was that the government, in June 1935, for the first time in the history of civil service in the state, made provision for communal reservation.

The Abstention Movement began to show signs of weakness. Two veteran leaders of the movement N.V. Joseph and E.P. Varghese resigned and withdrew their membership from the organisation. The Abstentionist realised that agitation for communal representation in the Legislature and Civil Service would not help them to end the autocracy of the Dewan. Moreover, communal rivalry had reached its climax by that time. No initiative was taken either by the Nairs or by the Ezhavas (Abstentionists) to bridge the gap. Barring a few Nair leaders like Changanacherry K. Parameswaran Pillai, Pattom A. Thanu Pillai, who sympathised with the movement, the Nair community in general was opposed to the movement.

The fight for freedom under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi was going on in British India at that time. Though the Indian National Congress followed a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of, and agitation for responsible Government in, the Princely States it had

promised its full sympathy and support towards such efforts in the states. Following the decision to reorganise the Pradesh Congress Committees on linguistic lines, taken at the 1920 Nagpur session, the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee was established in 1921. Its jurisdiction included British Malabar, Cochin and Travancore.[15] But the organisation was rather ineffective in the two princely states in Kerala perhaps for lack of encouragement from the central organisation or for want of enthusiastic local leaders.

In 1929, establishment of responsible government in the State was demanded in no uncertain terms.[16] "An Organisation called the Travancore State Congress was formed for the same purpose in 1930"[17] under the leadership of Kuzhikala Kumar, G. Raman Menon and V.R. Nanu.[18] But nothing effective was done[19] as communalism occupied a dominant position in the political arena of Travancore. The question of responsible government again came up after a period of 8 years in the Third Travancore Political Conference held in Trivandrum on November 27, 1937 under the presidentship of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.[20] The All Travancore Joint Political Conference strongly pleaded in the Sri Mulam Assembly for the establishment of responsible government through an adjournment motion moved by Shri T.M. Varghese in 1938.[21]

The important decision on Princely States taken at the Haripura session of the Indian National Congress[22] served as a source of inspiration for the formation of a political party by the leaders of Travancore, who had so far been pre-occupied with communal interests. The resolution of the Congress denied the opportunity to the people of Travancore to fight for responsible government under the banner of the Indian National Congress, and they were left with no alternative except to form a political party in the State.

In pursuance of this object a large number of popular leaders[24] of the State assembled in the office of A. Narayana Pillai, a famous lawyer, in Trivandrum. The meeting was presided over by Madhava Warrier. The Conference decided to form a political party with the definite object of establishing responsible government on the basis of adult franchise and a sub-committee was appointed to draft the bye-laws and regulations of the proposed party. The second Conference held in the office of a Narayana Pillai on 24 February 1938 accepted the regulations submitted by the Sub-Committee. Thus was born the Travancore State

Congress. Pattom A. Thanu Pillai was unanimously elected its president.

Clearly the background of the genesis of the Travancore State Congress was communal. Nevertheless, it acquired in course of time all the characteristics of a secular political party. Running parallel to similar organisations aimed at similar objectives in other princely states, the Travancore State Congress went a long way in achieving responsible government for Travancore. It also contributed its mite to the national struggle for freedom.

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2. R. L. Handa, *History of Freedom Movement in Princely States.* (1968). This, too, does not give us a detailed picture of the agitation led by these independent organisations.
3. R. L. Handa, n. 2, Introduction, p. 2.
4. Malayali Memorial, page 1, para 2.
5. R. Ramakrishnan Nair, *Constitutional Experiments in Kerala* (Trivandrum, 1964) p. 5.
6. *The Travancore Government Gazette*, 4 October 1904.
7. K. K. Kusuman, *The Abstention Movement*, (Trivandrum, 1976), p. 23.
8. It may be noted that Regulation II of 1921 granted franchise only to those who paid Rs. 5/- and above as land tax and Rs. 3/- as house tax in municipal areas. All graduates of recognised universities residing within the territorial jurisdiction of Travancore and retired officers of the Nair Brigade were also enfranchised.
9. Quoted by K. K. Kusuman, n. 7, p. 23.
10 The Ezhavas had already their organisation called the S. N. D. P. Yogam, and the All-Travancore Ezhava Political League. The Muslims had the Lijanathul Muhammadiya Association.
11. P. K. K. Menon, *History of Freedom Movement in Kerala*, II (Trivandrum, 1972), p. 334.
12. The government, in a press communique dated 2.6.32, admitted that "there are anomalies in the constitution and function of these two bodies". They further made it clear that "in remodelling the Legislative institutions in Travancore special attention will be paid to the general trend of reforms in India as well as the constitutional machinery in countries possessing a representative system of government. The aim of government will be to secure adequate representation

of all interests and points of view and to fit the institutions into the scheme of Federation now under contemplation in India." File No. 914 of 1932/Confidential, English Records, Kerala Government Secretariat, Trivandrum.

13. The resolution on Abstention stated : "Whereas the reformed Legislative Bodies in Travancore......notwithstanding the promise of wide franchise and adequate representation of the various interests in the state made in the communique that has announced these reforms and in spite of the definite demands of the different communities represented in this Conference for a reform safeguarding the interests of all these communities in the matter of representation in the Legislature have made the position of all these communities worse and have created in the state an unjust and undue class predominance of one Community", and therefore "this conference of the delegates of the various political organisations of the Christian, Ezhava and the Muslim communities and of the members of these communities should abstain from taking part either by voting or by standing as candidates in the elections or by accepting nominations to the reformed Legislative Bodies as long as the government do not make provision for the representation by election of all considerable communities proportionate to their population in the Legislature." See P. K. K. Menon, n. 11, p. 343.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 345.
15. K. P. Kesava Menon, *Kazhinja Kalam* (Mal.), Kozhikode, 1969, pp. 74-75.
16. The South Indian States People's Conference was held at Trivandrum in 1929 under the presidentship of Sri. M. Viswaswerayya in which the demand for responsible government first came up.
17. Statement issued by Pattom A. Thanu Pillai, President of the Travancore State Congress, to the press on 4th May, 1938. See M. J. Koshy, *Last Days of Monarchy in Kerala*, Trivandrum, 1973, Appendices, Part II, No. 27, p. 148.
18. C. Kesavan, *Jeevithasamaram*, (Mal) II, Kottayam, 1971, pp. 54-55.
19. The Ezhavas and other unrepresented communities did not co-operate with them on the ground that the leaders were caste Hindus. The leaders of these communities were more interested to fight for the achievement of communal representation in the legislature and civil service of the state rather than the establishment of responsible government in the State. For details see *Ibid.*, p. 55.
20. M. J. Koshy, n. 17, p. 1.
21. Sri Mulam Assembly Proceeding. Vol. XI, pp. 306-307.
22. The resolution stated : "Congress Committees in the States shall function under the direction and control of the Congress working committee and shall not engage in parliamentary activity nor launch or direct action in the name and under the auspices of the Congress. Internal struggle of the people of the states must not be undertaken in the name of the Congress. For this purpose independent organisations should be started and continued where they existed already within the states". For details see *Harijan*, February, 26, 1938.
23. The meeting was attended by prominent leaders like Pattom A. Thanu Pillai, C. Kesavan, A. J. John, C. V. Kunjuraman, E. John Philepose etc. It is to be noted that most of them were advocates of the Abstention Movement.

ENLIGHTENED POLICY OF MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE

M. D. David

The Bombay Presidency was singularly fortunate to have Mountstuart Elphinstone as the first Governor after the annexation of the Deccan to Bombay on lst November, 1819. As a Deccan Commissioner in Poona and then as the Governor of Bombay from 1819 to 1827 he gave to the British administration a spirit of benevolence. Mountstuart Elphinstone, youngest of eight children of a Scottish peer, came to India in 1779 after schooling in Edinburgh and Kensington. Through out his career in India he remained a voracious reader of European and Indian classics. In addition to writing a number of valuable minutes, diaries, treaties and letters which throw a flood of light on the life and history of the times, he also wrote *History of India* in two volumes that includes the Hindu and the Mughal periods.

He landed at Calcutta in February 1796 at the age of 16 and spent here 32 best years of his life. His first appointment was at Benaras and in 1801, he was appointed assistant to the Resident at the Court of Poona. He spent the rest of his career in Western India in different capacities except for a brief spell (from 1808 to 1810) when he headed the Kabul Mission. From 1811 to 1817 he was the British Resident at Poona before he took over as the Deccan Commissioner (from 1818 to 1819) and was incharge of the Settlement of the Deccan after the fall of the Maratha kingdom. Then he took over as Governor of the newly enlarged Bombay Presidency.

This brief sketch of his career makes it clear that he was in Western India from 1801 to 1827 except for a brief spell of two years. He knew the people of Western India more closely than any other British administrator. During his governorship, he visited every district twice. He had learnt the language, customs, manners and habits of the people of the Deccan which included Maharashtra, northern district of Karnataka and southern districts of Gujarat.

Elphinstone, a confirmed bachelor, spent his time between scholarly reading and administration. He knew intimately the problems of the ryots. He saw to it that the burden of taxation was minimum and he insisted that the rights of the landlords and the ryots should be defined and especially the rights of the ryots be effectively defended.[1] He ordered the

Collectors to take great care and avoid over-assessment of the land revenue from the ryots.[2]

His success as an administrator was especially due to his realisation that the political institutions and social usages which had been in vogue for ages possessed some innate merit. These could not be broken up all at once and new ones imposed, however, beneficial they may appear to be. He was careful to show to the people of the Deccan that the new rulers respected their laws, privileges and prejudices as well. In support of this policy he wrote Governor General: "It is however to be remembered that even just government will not be a blessing if at variance with the habits and character of the people.[3] It was his intention to see that the yoke of the British pressed as softly as possible and hurted at as few places as possible. He wanted minimum disturbance of existing ways. While he wanted purification, he desired no basic change.

These attitudes of Elphinstone were responsible for the formation of his noted education minute, codification of laws, and the employment of Indians in the civil service. Elphinstone belonged to that set of early British Indian administrators who evinced keen interest in things Indian and admiration for the early Hindu civilisation. At the same time he was also influenced by the utilitarian philosophy of Bentham and Mill. Himself an enlightened man because of his upbringing and wide learning, he brought the utilitarian idea of the happiness of the governed to bear on his administration of Bombay Presidency. His sympathetic approach to Indians and to Indian problems is obvious in his administrative measures. His *History of India* and his sympathetic approach to the subject stands in clear contrast to James Mill's *History of India* where James Mill looks down upon things Indian.

His concern for the welfare of the peasants can be seen in his instructions to the Collectors to go about granting "easy access to all comers, and a ready ear to all complaints".[4] Similarly, in relying greatly on the village *panchayats* to deal with civil justice, his idea was to take justice to the doors of the common folk, as the Company's courts were remote from the people. The *panchayats*, moreover, continued to respect popular traditions and customs. He allowed the *panchayats* to deal with criminal cases wherever possible. May be *panchayats* did not provide complete remedy. But their utility was obvious in "disputes of castes, cultures, points of religion and marriages."[5] Hoping that panchayats could be "our principal instrument" of civil justice, he

wanted them to be free from rules of procedure common to English law so that their free functioning was not hampered.

In the same spirit he took up the codification of laws. He wrote to Strachey, "What we call Hindoo law applies in fact to the Brahmins only; each caste has separate laws and customs of its own, and even they vary according to the part of the country in which the different portion of a caste is settled. There is a good deal of truth in one assertion, but it only shows how much a general code is wanted." He argued that even though it might take long, "you would then have a code of laws—a very imperfect one, but one known to the judges and the people—capable of comparison and improvement by the legislature."[6]

Elphinstone's views with regard to codification of laws were quite in advance of his age. In 1823 he advocated the necessity of codification of laws of the Hindus on a scientific basis. What he proposed in 1823 was taken up in 1833 when Macaulay was appointed the Law Member of the Governor General's Council. After Elphinstone became Governor he appointed a committee at Bombay with twin aims (a) to revise and reduce to system the existing Regulations or Statutes passed by the Bombay Council; and (b) to investigate thoroughly the legal customs and usages of the people. The first task was accomplished and the revised Bombay Regulations came into force in 1827.[7] Elphinstone's project of reducing to intelligible form the entire body of Hindu law and custom, both written and unwritten, had to wait for a long time.

His enlightened approach was evident in his educational policy for the Bombay Presidency. He stressed that spread of education should be the duty of the government, a view contrary to that of the Court of Directors, and advanced at a time when education was not considered a State responsibility even in England.

In 1825, he laid down the duties of the government in order of priority as follows : (a) repression of violence, (b) fixing of moderate and equal assessments of land revenue, (c) administration of justice, (d) establishment of freedom of trade, (e) promotion of education. He summed up the whole by adding that education was the best means of promoting all the rest.[8] While explaining judicial administration, he said, "I shall think that I have done a great service to this country, if I can prevent people making laws for it until they see whether it wants them". His dictum was : "In all cases you will endeavour to enforce

the existing laws and customs unless where they are clearly repugnant to reason and natural equity."[9]

In his judgment the education of peasants occupied as important a place as that of the learned class. For the diffusion of knowledge among peasants would not only remove superstition, it would also enable them to follow the declarations of the government, work out their own accounts, and read their own revenue certificates.[10] Such education, he believed, would make the ryotwari system more effective. In planning for literacy among peasant, he was far ahead of his time. Even after 150 years, this dream of Elphinstone remains unfulfilled. His aim was not "to provide clerks for offices but to diffuse knowledge among all orders of people of this country."[11] His approach to Indian education was thus different from the general British policy in this regard.

This policy was in consonance with the felt needs of the people. There were demands from Bombay and surrounding areas for the opening of schools.[12] It is not necessary here to go into the details of the encouragement he gave to the Native Education Society, the Konkan Education Society in Ratnagiri, and the Hindu College in Poona. In 1822, the Bombay Native School Book and School Society was formed as the first non-official body to promote education among Indians in the Bombay Presidency. Elphinstone was himself its president. The society submitted a report to the Bombay Government, pointing out the defects of the indigenous system, and asked the government to give generous financial assistance to remove these defects and promote the diffusion of knowledge.[13]

Through education Elphinstone was envisaging a comprehensive reform within Indian society. He catalogued some of the problems: "we have all heard of the ills of early marriages and overflowing population; of the savings of a life squandered on some occasion of festivity; of the helplessness of the ryots which rendered them a prey to moneylenders; of their indifference to good clothes and houses which has been urged on some occasions as an argument against lowering the public demands on them; and finally of the variety of all laws to protect them when no individual can be found who has spirit enough to take advantage of those enacted in their favour." His prescription was: "there is but one remedy—which is education." If the government wanted to remove sati, infanticide and superstition it could be done

successfully only through education. Even for bringing about racial harmony he suggested the teaching of European principles and ideas by the diffusion of rational education.[14]

But it should be clear that Elphinstone was motivated not by altruism but by enlightened self-interest. It would be a contradiction within itself to imagine that he was planning for the liquidation of the empire he had helped to build. But he was planning within a long-term perspective. He admitted that an enlightened educational and employment policy might wheat the appetite of Indians and make them clamour impatiently for more. But, he added, "I do not see that we end at all more secure on any other plan. If one endeavours to depress the Natives, our Government may be overthrown by their resistance and such a catastrophe would be more disastrous and more disgraceful than that first supposed."[15] Elphinstone was more pragmatic than enlightened.

As in the spread of education, Elphinstone foresaw in the development of the Press an obvious danger to British imperialism. Yet he supported it as a beneficial agency. He argued : "That the press may in a long succession of ages cause the natives to throw off our yoke is possible and even probable, but it will in the first place destroy the superstitions and the prejudices of the natives and remove the pressing dangers created by the entire and marked separation between them and their conquerors and this effect is certain while the other is problematical."[16] But he wanted the press to function under restrictions imposed by the government.[17]

Elphinstone's enlightenment stemmed from his belief in utilitarianism. However, he never allowed the basic interests of the empire to be subordinated. His efforts were directed towards propping up the empire, a direction from which he did not deviate in desiring that the burden of British yoke should not unduly hurt Indians. His success in this explains why it is he was twice offered the Governor Generalship of India.

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JAINTIA REBELLION : (1862-1863)

P. N. Dutta

The Jaintia rebellion of 1862, coming as it did after the outbreak of 1860, caused a great stir in the dovecotes of the British Government engaged in consolidating their rule in the North East Frontier of Bengal. British writers such as Hunter, Buckland and Alexander Mackenzie devoted considerable space in their works to the delineation of events leading to this rebellion. The incident was considered important because virtually all the Jaintia chiefs called *Doloi* took up arms against the government and the rebellion assumed the character of a popular movement.[1] Considerable forces had to be deployed to suppress the prolonged resistance which lasted two years. In the wake of the rebellion, the plan of government for the hill tribal tracts had to be thoroughly modified and a new system of administration was adopted.[2]

Contemporary British officials seemed to have been bewildered by recurrent disturbances in the Jaintia hills, especially as to the real causes of the outbreak of 1862.[3] The Government of Bengal finally accepted

the view of Major Haughton, officiating Agent to the Governor General, that "the introduction of taxation, followed as it was rapidly by an increase in the shape of income tax and certain other vaxatious acts of police are the causes that led immediately to the rebellion."[4] This view has been accepted by almost all subsequent writers. It is proposed to examine here the evidence on the question and point out whether the conclusions of the government were at all tenable.

Unlike some other hill tribes of North East Frontier, such as the Garos, the Nagas and Mikirs, the Jaintias were comparatively advanced enough to organise a distinctive polity. They extended their sway even to the plains beyond their hills. The historic Jaintia Kingdom included a large slice of the plains of sylhet district of Bengal and Assam's Nowgong district.[5] In 1835 the Government proclaimed annextion of the plains belonging to the Raja of Jaintia on the alleged ground of prevalence of human sacrifice in his state.[6] But on Raja's refusal to retain his hill territory without its appendage of the plains, the government was left with no other alternative but to annex it as well. As a result, the government asked its local official, Capt. Lister, Political Agent of the Khasi Hills to annex the Jaintia Hills, A few months after the annexation of the Raja's plains territories, Lister marched with a force into the hills to assert the claim of the government.[7] Meanwhile some of the Jaintia chiefs were contemplating to invade the plains of Sylhet to expel the British from their kingdom. They were however surprised by Lister and, after a brief resistance, compelled to submit. Capt. Lister on his part treated the chiefs leniently. After establishing a token claim, he left the country without setting up any administration.[8]

Thus the first phase of Jaintia resistance ended. The government moved cautiously lest further interference might lead to increased opposition. For a quarter of a century (1835-1860), barring substituting British supremacy for Raja's authority, virtually no change was introduced in the local administration of the Jaintia Hills. The Jaintias went on their traditional way without any tax to the government except an annual goat tribute which they used to pay to their former Raja. The almost semi-independent status of the Jaintias and their chiefs did not escape the attention of the local officials who proposed a slight tax on them as "a token of their submission." But the government turned down this recommendation,[9] to demand any payment from the "Semi-independent chiefs."

The matter rested there when the question of imposing a tax on the Jaintias was revived in 1858 by Allen, a member of the Board of Revenue. Allen proposed that they should pay a tax, however trifling, "in acknowledgement of the supremacy of the Government."[10] In accordance with his recommendation, a house tax was imposed on the Jaintias in 1860. It was immediately followed by the rebellion of some of the chiefs headed again by the *Doloi* of the largest village of these hills Jowai and its confederates.[11] There was, however, no general resistance. A large British force was at hand and the rebellion of 1860 was crushed easily in a few months.

As to the causes of this rebellion of 1860 Jenkins, agent to the Governor-General fancied that it was the result of the intrigues of the former Raja of Jaintia.[12] But Rowlatt, who was then Deputy Commissioner of these hills, held that the rebellion was caused by the first tax imposed on the Jaintias.[13] It may as well be argued that the Jaintia resistance on this occasion was intended to preserve as much of independence, including immunity from taxation, as they were able to retain after the annexation of their country.

The ease with which the rebellion of 1860 had been suppressed seemed to have convinced the local officials that the submission of the Jaintias had been thoroughly effected. Rowlatt disarmed the people of Jowai and the neighbouring villages with great harshness, confiscating even weapons considered as heirlooms, and caused "excessive annoyance"[14] to them.

Meanwhile the government instructed the officials to enforce the income tax in the Jaintia Hills. Rowlatt raised the question of expediency of imposing a fresh levy on the hillmen after their known objection to taxation.[15] But the government insisted on its introduction in the belief that it would be practically "inoperative in the hills".[16] Though Rowlatt enforced the tax in the "widest" possible manner, it could cover only 310 persons, The largest number of assessees came from Jowai (73 only), the village which had hitherto spearheaded all opposition to the government. But none were assessed for more than Rs. 9. There was no resistance this time, though there were constant "murmurings" against the impost.[17]

However, the people of Jowai expressed their resentment against the activities of the Christian Mission and the new converts and against Rowlatt's order to shift the traditional cremation ground of the village

to a remote location.[18] As for the Mission, it was complained that the converts committed sacrilegious acts.[19] Though the sacrilegious acts were not entirely denied by the mission they however pointed out that these were committed by the "enlightened" i.e., those educated in their schools but not by the converts.[20] The discontent on this score at this stage was however confined chiefly to Jowai.

In November 1861 one of the big religious festivals of these hills was arranged in Jalong, a neighbouring village of Jowai. It included worship of arms accompanied by war dance. While the *poojah* was on, the police intervened, siezed the arms and, as a result, the entire religious ceremony had to be abandoned. This flagrant interference with religious freedom caused profound discontent among the Jaintias. U. Kiang Nongbah, the supreme leader of the rebels, said before his execution that "although the income tax was distasteful to them all...yet the immediate cause of the rebellion was the interference with their religious rites".[21] Whether the rebel leader stated the whole truth is doubtful because there is a persistent tradition among the Jaintias that U. Kiang and his followers, all men of Jowai *Doloiship*, had taken in 1860 a vow to drive away the British from their land. This was before the introduction of income tax and the Jalong incident [22]

Be that as it may, a general uprising took place, more than two months after the Jalong incident, on 17 January, 1862 when the signal was given by a surprise attack on the military guard, police station and the Mission premises by the people of Jowai led by U. Kiang.[23] A remarkable feature of the resistance to the British authority was the lead which Jowai gave during every uprising since 1835 including the rebellion of 1862.

When the government asked for a report on the causes of the rising, the local officials, somewhat taken aback, expressed diverse views. Rowlatt ascribed the rebellion partly to "impatience of taxation" and partly to the suspicion that "their religion was in danger".[24] General Showers believed that it was due only to the "interference with religious ceremony at Jalong".[25] Capt. Morton felt that not the income tax as such but the manner of its introduction caused the rebellion. He attached little importance to complaints about religious interference.[26] The government of Bengal rejected these views as based on "hearsay and rumour", and accepted the view of Haughton that the "introduction of

taxation" coupled with the levy of incom tax and police excesses had caused the rebellion.[27] It held Rowlatt responsible for the outbreak.

It may be observed that while assessing the causes of the rebellion of 1862 the government virtually ignored non-official opinion, including the views of the Chrishan missionaries on the spot and of the Jaintias who were directly affected. It believed that the rebellion could have been averted if taxation, especially the income tax had not been introduced and if the local officials had been more tactful.

Had the income tax been the cause, the rebellion would have ended when the tax was virtually withdrawn from the Jaintia Hills and an assurance to that effect was actally given to the rebels.[28] U Kiang also denied that it was the cause of the rebellion. Still the income tax was "distasteful" in as much as it denoted the loss of tribal independence. Similarly, the Jalong incident cannot be regarded as the real cause in spite of having been considered by the tribe as "unsurpassed in insult": The government had given solemn assurance on this score also to the rebels.

To get to the basic causes of the rebellion, we have to understand the attitude of the Jaintias toward the "dykhai", i.e., the foreigner. The Jaintias had never submitted to the British rule completely. Ever since 1835 the annexation of their kingdom had rankled in their minds. As Rev. Jones observed, "The Jaintias had never reconciled to the way in which their country was taken possession of by the British Government Many of them look up on this as a piece of treachery......as a thing to be avenged whenever the opportunity offered itself."[29] The testimony of Jones was corroborated by U Kiang himself.[30]

The Jaintias had waited all along for a favourable opportunity to recover their independence. The events of 1857 seemed to have echoed even in the hills. Shortly after this the government imposed a house tax on the Jaintias. This led them to conclude that the government was "short of means" and in difficulty.[31] Some of the chiefs, led by the *Doloi* of Jowai, resisted the imposition of house tax and were worsted in 1860. We have already mentioned the vow taken by U Kiang and his followers to expel the British from their land.[32] After the abortive uprising of that year, certain Administrative reforms gave comfort to those chiefs who had harboured a yearning for independence But then came the income tax. The Jaintia belief that financial stringency had compelled the government, into 1860, to withdraw troops and that it was not in a

position to crush any fresh revolt was confirmed. At once their mind was made up for a new bid for independence. After the Jalong incident which appeared as a serious attack on their religion, they had no difficulty in rallying the entire population including the waverers.

But the lesson of failure in 1860 was still fresh. So a few months were spent in preparation for the rising.[33] Hence the lag of more than two months between Jalong and the outbreak of rebellion in 1862.

The income tax or administrative lapses, including police excesses, merely aggravated the situation in the hills. The real cause of the Jaintia rebellion was the determination of the hillmen to recover their traditional independence from the *dykhai* British.

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KING BALARAMA VARMA OF TRAVANCORE (1798-1810)

A. P. Ibrahim Kunju

It is usually claimed that Kerala Varma Palassi Raja and Dewan Velu Tampi were the earliest anti-British agitators of Kerala. But a close scrutiny of the contemporary records will reveal that both of them were originally supporters of the British cause, and that they revolted only on personal grounds.

It may be recalled that Kerala Varma Palassi Raja had supported the English against the Mysorean invasion of Malabar. When Sardar Khan invested the English Factory at Tellicherry in 1781 A. D., the Palassi Raja sent "the head people of this country and 2000 armed men who remained with the Company's people and made their endeavours",[1]

The soldiers of the Raja continued to serve the Fort for many months. Again in 965 M.E. (1789-90 A. D.), the Raja's troops were sent to Tellicherry and "they served along with Maj. Dow, for the expulsion of the Sultan's troops from the country".[2]

In the course of the preparations for the Third Anglo—Mysore War, the Tellicherry Factors had called upon the Malabar rulers to assist the Company's authorities to expel the Mysoreans from the country, in return for which they promised to free them from the clutches of the Mysore Sultan.[3] Palassi Raja was one of the rulers, who had exerted on behalf of the Company. When *Cowls* were granted to the northern Rajas by the Chief of Tellicherry in 1790, Palassi Raja was granted a cowl, and he was authorised to collect the revenue of the district of Kottayam. But when the settlement was made in 1793 with Vira Varma, the Raja of Kurumbranad, Kerala Varma quarrelled with the English and retired into the jungles of the Kottayam Country.[4] The Company's authorities, who found the collection of revenue and pepper in the Kottayam country slipping from their hands, pillaged his palace and stationed troops in the country. It was only then that Kerala Varma raised the standard of revolt against the British.

Similarly Velu Tampi, the Dewan of Travancore, was a close associate of Col. Macaulay, the Political Resident at the Travancore court. Though he had come up on account of the Kuttam revolt that he had organised, he strived hard to promote the interests of the Company in his counsels with the Raja. This role of the Dewan may be expressed in the words of the Resident himself: "This man clearly discerned the advancement of the mutual interests of the Rajah and of the Company by the means of closer connection between the two states and he therefore gave it his support, but what chiefly swayed him was the conviction that his own power would thereby be placed beyond the reach accident. He therefore took a decided line, in consonance to which he pledged himself to lose no opportunity that might offer for the removal of his adversaries and he promised to unite with me in using his best endeavours to bring all the pending questions to a successful termination.[5]

Cajoled by the Resident and applauded by the Governer General, the Dewan took it upon himself to persuade the Raja for the revision of the Treaty of Perpetual Friendship of 1795. The revolt of the Nayar Brigade in November 1804, was a godsend for the Dewan and the Resi-

dent to compel the reluctant Raja to acquiesce in the revision of the Treaty. Communicating the immense services of the Dewan in the suppression of the revolt, the Resident commented on the "high sense of his firmness, integrity and unabated attachment to the united interests of his masters and of the Honorable Company".[6] It was only when the Resident quarrelled with him that the Dewan resolved upon organising a revolt against the Resident and the Company, who by that time had tightened their stranglehold on the country.

All this while, Balarama Varma, King of Travancore, continued to thwart the attempts of the Resident and the Dewan to have the treaty of Perpetual Friendship (1795) with Travancore so revised as to bring Travancore in line with other native states under the subsidiary Alliance In this opposition to the king was working policy of his Dewan, the king was supported by a host of loyal officers.

From the day of his accession to the throne, Balarama Varma had been opposed to growing British interference in the affairs of the state. Dewan Kesava Das was banished from the court for his continued and close relations with the East India company. A cabal headed by Samprati Kuncunilan Pilla was out to break the close relations between Travancore and the company.[7] The Dewan was confined to his own house and later poisoned at the instance of the cabal. Col. Macaulay tried to find out the truth and have the culprits punished. But he failed on account of the intervention of the Raja. Even the relatives of the late Dewan, Gen. Kumaran Tampi, the commander-in-chief, Irayimman Tampi, the Valiya Sarvadhi Karyakkar of Paravur, and several others had to suffer simply because they were related to the late Dewan. According to Shungoonny Menon, "on a certain night they were taken by the palace guards and dragged quietly to the sea-beach where they were butchered in cold blood. A detailed account of this bloody act was obtained from an old horse-keeper who had accompanied the party on that night to the scene of massacre".[8] The agitated people were pacified by the palace group who stated that the murdered men" were actually engaged in the treacherous act to give up the country to the English".

After the death of Raja Kesava Das, the Governor-General recommended to the Raja that he should select a man for the post of the Dewan, in consultation with Major Bannerman, Resident at the Travancore.[9] But the Maharaja appointed Jayantan Sankaran Nambudiri

as Valiya Sarvadhi Karyakkar, without consulting the Resident. The Nambudiri inherited an empty treasury. Therefore he set about collecting arrears of taxes. Defaulters were severely dealt with. New imposts were forced on wealthy persons, which made them organise against the new ministry. Velu Tampi, who had resigned his post of Karyakkar on account of his differences with the previous regime, organised the Nayars of the Sothern Kuttams and proceeded to Trivendrum to demand the dismissal of the new Ministry. An English army under Maj. Bannerman also arrived from Palayamkottai.[10] The Maharaja was forced to accede to all the demands of Nayars, backed as they were by British force.

The Nambudiri Ministry was dismissed and the new duties on salt, coconut, cotton, groundnut, etc. were reduced to one half. The leaders of the revolt, including Velu Tampi, were put in charge of the different office of the state with the approval of the Resident. Before the Kuttam dispersed, the Maharaja requested the people to assist him in discharging the huge debt incurred by the late Dewan Raja Kesava Das.[11] But it was clear that the leaders of the Kuttam revolt were not interested in meeting the extremely critical financial situation the state was facing. Ayyapan Cempakaraman who had been appointed Dewan, following the Revolt, amassed, within six months, nearly six lakhs of rupees through corrupt and fraudulent means. He was dismissed from service in December, 1799 and imprisoned at Alleppey.

On Marquis Wellesley's assumption of office, he deputed to Travancore Col. Macauly as Resident to persuade the Travancore Durbar to accept the Subsidiary Alliance scheme. Col. Macaulay, from the time of his arrival in Travancore as Resident, continued to harp on this theme. He declared the unilateral abrogation of the Treaty of 1795 and insisted on the conclusion of a subsidiary treaty. But Balarama Varma was not prepared to accept a new treaty or agree to any kind of revision in the existing treaty. As the Dewan was supporting the Resident, the palace cabal opposed him and insisted that the Resident should stop interfering with the internal affairs of the State.[12] The Maharaja, too, detested the arrogance and the intriguing tactics of the Resident.[13]

In December 1801, Col. Macaulay ordered the return of the Travancore troops serving in Calicut and Palayamkotta in conformity with the Treaty of 1795. He informed the Raja that the Company would not require the aid of the Raja's troops in future. He further proposed

that the Raja should subsidize another regiment, in addition to the two battalions stipulated for in the treaty. This was a shocking revelation to the king, who remonstrated with the Resident as well as the Governor-General. He pointed out that according to the 4th article of the Treaty, the Company had no right to propose an augmentation of the subsidiary force. The Governor-General, however, urged the Raja the necessity to revise the Treaty of 1795. And the Resident threatened him with ill consequences if he remained recalcitrant.

But the Raja, after protracted discussions, declared his intention to abide by the existing engagements. He was strongly supported in this move by the palace faction. When the Resident failed to make the Raja agree to the proposals, he started circulating stories of an impending French invasion in support of the Raja. Wellesley, on the other hand, forwarded to the Raja costly presents to win his good-will. The Dewan also was presented with a Khelaut, jewels and other gifts. But the acceptance of the presents by the Raja did not mean that he had agreed to the revision of the Treaty.

Soon after an abortive conspiracy against the Dewan, an open mutiny burst forth among the Nayar Brigade in November 1804. All the Nayar troops stationed in different parts broke into revolt. The Resident and the Dewan saved themselves by flight to Cochin. But the non-participation of the Carnatic Brigade and the arrival of fresh English contingents, enabled the Resident and the Dewan to suppress the revolt easily. The palace faction that had planned and guided the revolt was slaughtered in cold blood. Several conspirators were either hanged or blown off.[15]

The revolt was not directed against the Resident in person. It was intended to overthrow the Dewan's rule for being in league with the company's government. Still it provided the Company's government a rare opportunity to impose the Subsidiary Alliance on Travancore. The failure of the Revolt increased the authority and influence of the Dewan in the affairs of the State. The palace factions was completely wiped out. The Governor-General insisted on the conclusion of a subsidiary treaty, and moved three battalions of the Company's troops to the borders of the state to enforce compliance. The Raja was left with no option but to put his signature to the subsidiary treaty.

The Raja now found himself alone. Yet, in spite of having signed the revised treaty, he continued his protest against its provisions. He

submitted that he had been coerced into signing the treaty and that the state's finances would not stand the strain of the additional subsidy.

The differences of opinion between the Company's government and Travancore were inexorably moving toward a confrontation. The Company's officers adopted an uncompromising attitude. Moreover, Velu Tampi had by this time turned out to be the most vehement opponent of the Company's government.

The Dewan had realised that the only way out of the impasse was rebellion. The Maharaja also concurred with this view. Orders were issued to the principal officers to recruit soldiers and train them in the use of bows and arrows and firelocks. Immense quantities of weapons of offence were manufactured everywhere. The Dewan now sought the assistance of powers, both native and foreign, which were hostile to the British in India. It was widely circulated that the French and the Marathas would come to the assistance of the Maharaja. It was expected that the Mappilas in Malabar and the Poligars in Tinnevelly would simultaneously rise in revolt. The Chief Minister of Cochin, Paliyatt Accan, joined Velu Tampi on account of his differences with Col. Macaulay.

The rebellion started on 28 December, 1808 with a night attack on the Residency at Cochin. But the Resident providentially escaped by concealing himself in a recess in a lower chamber of the house. On sighting a British ship in the harbour, the rebels withdrew in the morning. A surprise attack made on the subsidiary force stationed at quilon also did not succeed. By this time the Madras Goverment had authorised a general mobilisation in support of the Resident. Several contingents of British troops moved into Tranvancore through Aruvamoli, Senkotta and the north. Though Velu Tampi was able to rouse the masses against the Company, his preparations were not complete and his hopes of outside help did not materialise. In these circumstances, the revolt was bound to fail. To rouse the failing spirit of his countrymen, Velu Tampi issued his famous Kundara Proclamation on 16 January 1809. But nothing availed in the face of British advance through Travancore. Whan Velu Tampi realised that all his moves had failed, he sought safety in Flight. Finally at the Mannadi Bhagavati Temple, he committed suicide when the search party surrounded his hide out.

Following the failure of Velu Tampi's revolt, Company authorities tightened their grip over the state. The state forces, the Carnatic

Brigade, were disbanded. The Raja was compelled to recongise the Treaty of 1805 and carry it into execution.

During the course of the rebellion, the British authorities had considered it solely as the work of the Dewan. The Raja's role was simply ignored. But in reality, Velu Tampi was solidly backed by the Raja. As Col. Munro, who succeeded Col. Macaulay as Resident, later assessed the situation, "The fullest evidence exists of the war having been authorised by the Rajah and supported by the mass of the people."[17] This view was supportd by the elaborate military preparations that had preceded the revolt. The Madras government, in their report to the Secret committee of the Court of Directors, estimated that the quantity of the ordinance, arms and military stores captured during the military operations in Travancore was "equal to the quantity captured in the dominions of Tippu Sultan."[18] It was later concluded even by the Supreme Government that "the cause of the Rajah and that of the Dewan cannot be practically separated...The spirit of hostility on the part of Travancore appears to have been deeply rooted and to have originated, not in the pecuriary burden of the subsidy, nor in personal enmity towards the resident, but in a system designed to shake off its connection, formerly courted by itself, with the British Government."[19] Even after the suppression of the Revolt, the Raja continued the intransigent attitude in his relations with the Company's government. He declined to pay the additional subsidy. He disliked the arrogance and machinations of the Dewan, Ummini Tampi and wanted to dismiss him. When it was found that this was not possible without the concurrence of the Company authorities, he arranged for his assassination. The Raja disregarded the suggestions of the Governor-General regarding normalisation of relations between the two governments. The Resident, on the other hand, was all the time manoeuvring to take over the adminstration of the state; he had even drafted rules and regulations for internal administration after the take-over. But the resignation of Col. Macaulay in March 1810 put an end to all thoughts of assumption of the adminstration of the state.

But the change of Residents did not mollify the King. Even one year after the arrival of the new Resident the Travancore Government failed to discharge any part of the arrears of the subsidy. In the midst of all this uncertainty Balarama Varma died on 8 Novemeber 1810.

Throughout his reign, Balarama Varma had tried his utmost to limit British interference in the affairs of Travancore. It was true that before the powerful British, his opposition proved weak and unavailing. None the less he continued to defy British authority even at the risk of losing his throne.

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'GANDHI'S SATYAGRAHA FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AT' VYKOM, 1924.

Anima Bose

As early as the second decade of this century Gandhi stated: "If we are to make progress we must not repeat history but make new history."[1] The Vykom satyagraha measured upto this statement when he declared firmly that "untouchability is a crime" and championed the cause of "the unapproachables and the untouchables and for the recognition of

the most elementary human right."[2] By the year 1924, Gandhi had come to be known both in India and abroad as a revolutionary who had stirred 300 million people to revolt and who shook the foundation of the British empire. In India Annie Besant said:" It is the queerest revolution that ever was...and has had the queerest leader."[3]

If Gandhi condemned in most unmistakable terms the unjust Raj, he did not spare his countrymen for their inhuman treatment of the so-called untouchables: "I regard untouchability as the greatest blot on Hinduism...we ought to purge ourselves of this pollution. We are no better than brutes until we have purged ourselves of the sins, We have committed against our weaker brethern."[4] Week after week he filled *Young India* with his articles on the curse of untouchability. This was a theme for much comment, heart searching and analysis.

When the opportunity presented itself Gandhi became involved with Vykom satyagraha undertaken on behalf of the untouchables of Travancore in the spring of 1924, and pursued over sixteen months the course of this movement. In point of fact, it was the Vykom satyagraha which for the first time revealed the depth of the evil of untouchability in India.

At the beginning of the 20th century, it is reported, the shudras constituted one-sixth of India's population.

They were segregated from society in every way. They were compelled to live in sordid surroundings outside the habitat of the higher caste Hindus. They were denied the basic human and civic rights such as the use of public wells, schools, temples. They had to take up all kinds of menial jobs. And yet the jobs that they performed were indispensable to society, such as agricultural labourers, artisans, barbers, washermen. They were paid poorly and were constantly in debt as a consequence. Even so often they ended up as bonded slaves (abolished by Law in 1976) economically exploited, socially ostracised, politically deprived, they lived a sub-standard life.

The first major movement for the removal of untouchability in no ambiguous term was the Vykom satyagraha. Vykom is situated on the northern border of Travancore. The occasion arose when the Brahmins and the priests of the temple at Vykom village assented that if the "untouchables" walked on the roads round or converging to the sacred temple, the temple would be polluted. Later, it was postulated that the temple goers, who inevitably belonged to higher castes, would be

polluted by the shadows of the untouchables. These so-called untouchables in Travancore consisted of the "Ezhavas", numbering about one million, cultured and educated even if "lowly born"; the "Pulayas" nearly 300,000 in number, who were agricultural labourers; the "Pariahs" numbering about 300,000 who produced finished goods used in the temples; and finally, the "shanars" who produced jaggery which was used by all people, high caste or low caste.[5] Thus the rights of one-sixth of the entire population of Travancore were assaulted.

As Gandhi said: "The roads in question are public roads. In fact my informants tell me it was some years ago that they were accessible to the unapproachables as to other non-Brahmins. In my opinion, therefore, there is a just cause for the Vykom satyagraha."[6] Gandhi pointed out: "They (the untouchables) do not want anything more than a recognition of the most elementary human rights."[7] The Vykom satyagraha had deeper meaning than was generally recognised.

The immediate goal of the movement was the use by the untouchables of the road to the temple. But in essence the goal was to win the basic human rights of those submerged sections of the community who were subjected to injustice and indignity in the name of a blind tradition and ignorant custom. "It is in fact a movement to purify caste by ridding it of its most pernicious result."[8] Because it was a basic human right that was the central question, Gandhi reiterated:" It is not to be denied that the present movement throughout India is to throw open to the suppressed clàsses all the public roads public schools, public wells and public temples which are accssible to Brahmins."[9] He stressed the word "public" because all human beings were embraced by this word.

Being pragmatic, Gandhi realized: "We can not reach the whole of India at one and the same time...Sound work in a small area is likely to be copied by others and thus lead to an early success."[10] Vykom therefore, became a test case not only for Travancore, but also, for the cause of human rights in a country whose social system contained customs that violated all concepts of human rights and decency.

The satyagraha was lanuched in Vykom when appeals and petitions to the Regent of the then Raja of Travancore and the Brahmins and priests of the temple had failed.[11] Among the initiators of the satyagraha was a Syrian Christian, George Joseph. The "Savarna Jatha", organised

by caste Hindus, supported the satyagraha. They submitted their demands to the Regent, Setu Lakshmi Bai,[12] and effectively influenced public opinion. Gandhi himself did not come to Travancore until late in the movement although he kept in close touch from the beginning.[13] The Sikh community from the Punjab offered direct support by opening a kitchen for the satyagrahis. But Gandhi recommended that the Hindus should do the work:" It is they who have to purify themselves... Untouchability is the sin of the Hindus. They must pay the debt they owe their suppressed brothers and sisters".[14] All reforms to be sincere and lasting must come from within.

The number of volunteers who offered to be satyagrahis began with fifty and in course of time varied from six hundred to "thousands". Their opponents included besides high caste Brahmins and priests and the state of Travancore.

Early during the movement a satyagraha ashram was established. A high degree of self-sufficiency was attained by following a daily routine of productive and disciplined duties by the satyagrahis. Hand spinning, constructive work such as building a school, keeping the environment clean added a positive dimension to the movement. The satyagrahis refused to retaliate when attacked by their opponents and the police, submitted to arrests, and at one point during monsoon when the road was flooded and the police occupied their positions in boats, the satyagrahis stood three hour shifts, in some instances upto shoulders in water. There was a steady replacement of leaders when they were arrested. Gandhi strongly advised against accepting any financial aid from outside: "Acceptance of such help from outside would betray unreadiness on the part of the local Hindus for reform. If the satyagrahis have the sympathy of the local Hindus, they must get locally all the money they need."[15]

There was in the beginning violence against the satyagrahis by the police arrests were made. Four barricades were erected by the police in order to prevent entry to the road. In the Travancore Council on February 18, 1925, 22 against 21 members voted to prevent untouchables from approaching the road. The *Young India* of February 26, 1925 gives the break down of votes. The government majority was made up of 15 officials, 3 nominated members, one Brahmin representative of "vested interest" and 3 elected members. The total membership of the Council

was 50. Out of 35 non-officials, 21 voted for the right of entry, 2 stood neutral, 7 voted against entry rights and the rest were absent. In a letter to Gandhi a satyagrahi wrote: "I am ashamed to say one member of the depressed and prohibited classes himself voted against the entry and sided with the Government."[16]

Clearly, the state government was not neutral and opposed reform. There were threats of ostracism against the satyagrahis. The youth suffered particularly. Gandhi drew attention to the fact that "these young men who are taking part in the movement are not only being denied social amenities but are threatened even with deprivation of their share in family property."[17] Following Gandhi's talk with Travancore state authorities, in the second phase of the satyagraha, the police removed the barricades.

The Brahmins had expected the satyagrahis to enter the roads as soon as the police removed the barricades. They were astonished when this did not happen. Finally, in the autumn of 1925, the Brahmins declared : "We are ready to receive the untouchables" Roads on the three sides of the temple were opened for entry. The Travancore Assembly passed a resolution favouring the reform. The satyagrahis achieved their immediate goal of the right of the roads near and to the temple. Gandhi's faith was vindicated: "If you have faith in the cause and the means, you will not be tired and say 'how long' but pursue the end patiently and without ill will". The satyagrahis gained their point completely. Their quiet suffering was, as Gandhi saw it, "only a portion of your penance for the sin for which Hinduism is responsible."[18] The Vykom settlement was a document between the people and state constituting a big step in the direction of liberty.

At Vykom the issue was clear and the satyagrahis did not compromise at any point for as their immediate objective was concerned. A human right which had been wrongfully taken away was now rightly restored.

This movement acted as a catalyst for the removel of every disability that the untouchables laboured under. This included access to temples, schools, wells, in short every right to which other members of the society normally had access. By 1928, movements were launched and approach roads all temples were thrown open not only in Travancore

but elsewhere also.[19] The effect of the satyagraha at Vykom had begun to tell. Fight for human rights was the key to that satyagraha. From that angle, the Vykom satyagrahis "were fighting a battle of no less consequence than that of swaraj, "Gandhiji believed," they were fighting against irreligion masquerading as religion, ignorance masquerading in the guise of learning.[20] Gandhi had called upon the Vykom satyagrahis in 1924, "to make the way of the authorities smooth by continuing their self restraint and making it clear that they do not want anything more than a recognition of the most elementary human rights for the untouchables."[21]

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BIHAR IN FERMENT (1930-32)

Saradindu Mukherji

Increasing mass mobilization was the most distinctive feature of India's freedom movement. The popular upsurge which first surfaced in anti-partition movement in Bengal became the established form of protest during the Non-Cooperation Movement. In Bihar, however, mass movement on a large scale was seen only during the Civil Disobedience Movement, though it had a history of popular uprising dating back to the 19th century.[1]

I am conscious of the sound principle that generalisations based on the experiences of a limited time span, may not be always a sound method, but the revelations are so striking and at the same time seem to explain so much of the subsequent trends, that an X-Ray of Bihar politics from 1930-32 appears to be justified. In attempting to present the fluid plasma-like reality of Bihar's politics, one is confronted with the problems faced by the leadership in arousing the people, not always on the same cause.[2] There is a continuous attempt to keep alive the embers of discontent and crystallize them so that the pressure from below could be maintained for the struggle ahead.

Opinions differed within Congress between Gandhi and Rajendra Prasad as to the method to be adopted to stir up the somnolent people and channelise their resentment against the British. Gandhi preferred an attack on the salt-law "to dramatize" the movement which Prasad opposed on the valid ground that "it was not fair to incite these poor and backward people and involve them in the Satyagraha" and urged an attack on the Chowkidari tax[3] which every one had to pay and which even government conceded was ' always unpopular."[4] He proved correct in the choice of strategy as the popular-outburst against Chowkidari tax spread rapidly and became the symbol of a serious challenge to the authorities. This became Bihar's most characteristic mode of protest. It was not the amount of tax involved, which was very small, but the "defiance of law involved which was very real."[5] Incitement to withhold chowkidari tax assumed dangerous proportions in Hazaribagh and Manbhum.[6] Non-payment of the tax was reported from various and 9 chowkidars resigned in Buxar. In Champaran the Sub-Divisional Officer and the police were attacked, while supervising the

collection of the tax.[7] It kept on spreading all over the State.[8] Definance of salt law, on the other hand, was lukewarm, spasmodic and of limited value in arousing mass participation. Was Gandi still haunted by the spectre of mass movement of 1920-21 and devising ways and means to contain and control it according to the specific needs of the bourgeoisie.[9]

However, there were centres already seething with discontent like Jamshedpur and Giridih, which were left untapped, one assumes, for obvious reasons by the Congress leadership. The steel city had an added advantage, which other parts of Bihar lack even now. Because "in places like Jameshedpur where work is done under modern conditions, men of all castes and races work side by side in the mill without any misgiving regarding the caste of their neighbour."[10] A perceptive mind like Rajni Palme Dutt realised its significance.[11] Subhas Bose had been constantly nurturing the labour Association for sometime[12] and continued to do so[13] afterwards without any support from others.[14] The labour situation at Jameshedpur was reported to be "continuously fluctuating" and "entirely uncertain,[15] and arrest of Subhas Bose came as a relief to the government.[16] The rival trade union leader, Homi, who controlled the Labour Federation (initially hostile to the Congress) with his policy of keeping out politicians,[17] had been modifying his stand by endeavouring to get control of all sweepers in Jameshedpur and organise a hartal.[18] Some Sikh volunteers spreading revolutionary propaganda inspite of warning had to be dispersed by the mounted police.[19] Efforts were continued at Jameshedpur for amalgamation of Labour Association and Labour Federation.[20] When Subhas Bose left Jamshedpur for Calcutta, the place became "consequently quiet,"[21] since he had been fomenting strike by bringing agitators from outside like Gurdil Singh of Calcutta and other Punjabi leaders of Youth League.[22]

Jameshedpur thus had potentialities for developing as a focal point of a strong movement but that depended on support coming from above. That this was not around with Nehru dominating the trade union front looks somewhat curious. This was, however, not a solitary example of escapism on Nehru's part. Afterwards when Sahajanand was urging Nehru to come down to Bihar and enthuse the hard-hit sugar-cane growers, Nehru however declined to visit Bihar and stated

that "he disapproves of the Kisans boycotting the sugar mills..[23] This was typical of Nehru.[24]

Nor was any attempt made to get involved in the strike in the colleries of the East India Railways in Giridih.[25] Another chance of amalgamating the two associations failed in Jameshedpur as both Homi and V.V. Giri wanted to be its President.[26] Homi, however was toying with the idea of a strike amongst the menials and workers in Jameshedpur and even contemplated joining Congress.[27] Congress workers engineered a short strike in Kargali Colliery.[28] Giri subsequently attempted to organise the railway workers at Tatanagar and Chakradharpur.[29] Even Gandhi's magic name evoked a brief strike in a mica factory in Hazaribagh.[30] Incidentally Gandhi's hypnotic name was also adopted by Sri Krishna Singh to rally the Kisan support in Gaya.[31] Naturally under the application of Gandhi's teaching "the landlords lost nothing and the peasants gained nothing."[32] Jamalpur however remained dorment in the absence of a leader even when seven hundred workers were discharged,[33] from the railways. It was only after a few years that the working class of Jamalpur got its first leader in Nirapada Mukherji.[34]

Aboriginals in the Santhal Parganas were being roused through seditious speeches and lantern lectures.[35] In Hazaribagh, the Santhal agitation was sought to be checked by binding down Ram Narayan Singh, M.L.A., and K.B, Sahay.[36] In Manbhum two tribes of Bhumij and Kherias in Sadar Sub-division attacked a police party when they arrested three persons for picketing liquor shops.[37] Here the hand of a Bengal agitator was detected. Subsequently a detachment of Mounted military police was sent to control the situation. Theble Oraon a Kisan Sabha Leader of Ranchi was found advising people not to pay settlement costs.[38] It must be said to the credit of Congress and local tribal leaders, that they had really done a splendid piece of work in arousing consciousness among the aboriginals.[39] But the Congress had not developed a consistent policy towards them.[40]

This was in sharp contrast to the attitude of the Muslims who right from the beginning, were keeping themselves "severly aloof."[41] Government took great comfort from the fact that Muslims of Patna under the presidentship of Mr. Aziz, a local barrister and M.L.C., "registered with very few dissentiants the community's wholehearted disapproval of the Civil Disobedience Movement and there is no sign of any weakning of the community in this respect."[42] Though harbouring "anti

British feeling", "they were still not out for Civil Disobedience."[43] Deep Narayan Singh, who took over leadership after Prasad's arrest, was candid enough to say "that Muslims do not take part in it, so it is improper for them to live under the sky of India. They have been born in India so they must fight for the cause of the motherland leaving aside all other thoughts."[44] However Congress followed a policy of appeasement towards them. As for the peasants, the Congress continued to use them without helping them in their struggle for moderate reforms. Disillusionment naturally[45] set in and damaged the friendship between the Kisan Sabha and the Congress, and caused a temporary setback to the movement. Unlike China, peasants movement in India naturally, could not grow within the nationalist movement which explains its halting progress and limited success. In fact, in view of its 'middle' peasant base, even the Kisan Sabha never wanted "a full scale rural revolution."[46]

But rays of hope were seen in two new and very significant developments when a conscious effort was made to establish a socialist party and start the anti-untouchability campaign. In a sense they were complementary to each other since it had been realised by genuine socialists that Congress was not sincere in its handling of the urgent problems of industrial workers and peasants. Gandhi had come to the firm conclusion that the vast section of untouchables must be integrated with the upper layer of society for greater social cohesion and for undoing an atrocious social injustice.

Though the more well known Congress Socialist Party was set up in Patna in 1934, yet it was apparent in July, 1931 that a "Communist or Socialist Party has been formed among the Congress, though the latter officially denies connection with it."[47] A meeting of the Bihar Socialist Party took place at Patna on 6 December 1931[48] It might have been an "ill-defined sentiment"[49] but the advent of this sentiment itself was epoch-making. Anti untouchability campaign also started and it seemed to concentrate on the question of temple entry. As a counterpoise, the Sanatanist held a conference at Sonepur with Maharaj Bahadur of Hatwa in the Chair.[50] Congress leadership wanted to separate anti-untouchability from the Civil Disobedience Movement.

An innovation was introduced when police was sought to be incited to disaffection. Rajendra Prasad, in a public meeting urged "that Government servants must in the long run join with the Congress

movement" and went on to narrate a Russian revolution incident.[51] In various places calls were made by the leaders in a similar vein. These had some impact. R.B. Lal, Secretary, Bhagalpur D.C.C. wrote to Prasad "that constables behaved admirably and did not beat the volunteers even when ordered to do so."[52] One head constable in Purnea and one Rajput constable in Muzaffarpur resigned.[53] Even the Inspector General of Police admitted that "men (police) not standing up as well to Civil Disobedience as they did to non-co-operation.[54] At Patna Hasan Imam, a leading Barrister and a Judge of Calcutta High Court was canvassing cloth-boycott[55] which took place in other areas also.

In Bihpur a regular camp of volunteers had been started and "this was" "in an area unenviable notorious for a spirit of lawlesness."[56] Volunteers had to undergo training in drill and lathi-play,[57] which was subsequently declared unlawful and police seized it.[58] Subsequently a sustained satyagrah was carried on with the spontaneous support of the local people. Rajendra Prasad, accompanied by other top Bihar leaders visited it. There was a police charge injuring some of them, which led to the resignation of 130 out of 250 chowkidars in that police station. Five newly elected members of the legislative assembly too, resigned their seats.[59] Here, it would not be out of place to point out the frequent references in government reports to happenings in Bengal and their influence on developments in Bihar. The movement in Manbhum (considered a storm-centre) was attributed to the influence of Congress Workers coming from Bengal.[60] In the light of the presence of the 'Bengal' factor even in Bihar it is difficult to accept Gallaghar's contention about the Congress movement declining in Bengal.[61]

C.D.M. unfolded itself in various forms. One such was the wide-spread damage to the toddy trees in order to damage the tari revenue and with the result that many tari vendors were trying to return their licences and others claiming a reduction of the licence fees.[62] In Bhagalpur district alone the consumption fell within three weeks from 1785 gallons in the corresponding period of the previous year to 325.[63] The state excise receipts declinad from Rs. 14,20,00,00 in 1930-31 to Rs. 12,00,00,00 in 1933-34.[64] Moreover, C.D.M. in Bihar was predominantly rural in character. "People who have no idea even of the map of Hindustan are heard saying that they are fighting the battle of Bharat."[65]

The movement often showed a tendency to wither away, but the Congress was not going to sit idle on the fence and allow the situation to drift and peter away. It had to keep alive the spirit of challenge and rally people around some or other issue. So when in Chota Nagpur the popular resentment was not much in evidence, it had to encourage illicit distillation by Congresmen specially in Dhanbad and Hazaribagh.[66] Census operation was interrupted in Muzaffarpur and Saran.[67] In Shahabad 60 villages were reported to have been grouped together each with its own panchayat, with a so-called Raja as President.[68] In Saran District one sub-Inspector some constables and Daffadars were appointed with a view to establish in the village "Some form of parallel organisation as soon as hostilities are resumed."[69] Panchayats were set up in Champaran, Saran, Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Monghyr, Patna and in several villages and mobilised for carrying on propaganda against the use of foreign cloth, British goods, liquor and ganja : The panchayats even imposed penalties on those who were refusing to behave. This also reduced recourse to law courts. It was pointed out that in October/November about 2000 cases, both civil and criminal, had been settled by panchayats. In Dharha Circle of Monghyr not a single case went to the law courts.[70] People using foreign cloth were prevented from having *darshan* of the Mother Goddess and the Puja at Sangrampur was bycotted because the image there was clothed in foreign cloth.[71]

No-rent campaign, often seen in U P., was always frowned upon by the Bihar Congress, dominated as it was by landlord interests, Nothing illustrated this better than the B.P.C.C.'s choice of Deep Narayan Singh as the new provincial 'Dictator'. Described as a "big Zamindar and an old nationalist",[72] he was chosen to lead a movement which, on its own admission, was predominantly peasant in character.[73] The only serious no-rent campaign supported by Congress was in the Bettiah Estate, which was managed by the Court of Wards.[74] Government realised that Congress was "getting hold of some small grievances, getting it rectified and then posing as the protectors of the raiyats and inciting them to put in further demands".[75]

There were several strands in the movement. One very clearly discernible was the scrupulous avoidance of attack on private property, though government taxes were frequently withheld. The same attitude is also reflected in the attitude towards the movement of the aboriginals

and towards Subhas Bose's attempts to organise industrial labour in Jamshedpur. Discontent and agitation regarding economic problems stayed on the periphery.[76] What is significant is that the opposition to the government had been widespread and unprecedented. The Congress was bent upon exploiting whatever opportunities were available to discredit and weaken the government. To the extent that the Congress wanted the creation of a deadlock in India which would force the British to recognise its claim to be taken as the sole representative of Indian opinion,[77] it had succeeded eminently. There were weaknesses and perhaps avoidable short-comings. But that was inevitable in a society like ours.

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RELEVANT DATA ON DUPLEIX

M. P. Sridharan

A number of biographies and studies on Dupleix have been published by English and French historians of repute and yet the legends that have circulated around his name have not been dispelled. He has been presented as something of a Greek tragic hero fighting manfully against elemental forces which finally engulf him; he has been lamented as a great French strategist and administrator undeservingly disavowed by his King and country. The picture of Dupleix's death in a Parisian pauper grave contrasted with the worldly gains of his adversary Robert Clive, who became a national monument in Britain even in his lifetime, has won many sympathetic and sentimental references to his memory.

The earliest study of Dupleix, published in France in 1756, was Le Mascrier's *History of the Recent Revolution in East India.* Dupleix was in France at the time and it is now established beyond doubt that Le Mascrier was only a nom-de-plume which Dupleix had assumed.[1] The undependability of this publication was pinpointed with ample details in a "Memoire Contre Dupleix" published in 1763 by admirers of Godeheu who had superseded Dupleix in Pondicherry.[2]

Robert Orme was at Chandernagore in Bengal in 1748 and was only 20 years old when Dupleix was sponsoring Nizams in the Deccan. He returned to England on the same vessel as Clive but it was only ten years later that he started on his *History of Indostan.*[3] When he had to gather material on Dupleix, he got it from Le Mascrier or, rather, Dupleix's own version of l'Affaire Dupleix. Orme's work was published

in 1763 and it is from this year on that the legend of Dupleix took shape—a genius who wasted his youth and his fortunes in the service of his king and country only to be repudiated and reviled in the end by them. Orme's enthusiasm for Dupleix remained undimmed in historical circles for more than a century as is seen from Malleson's work on Dupleix which was published in 1867.[4] Could it be that the victor's greatness became undeniable when the greatness of the vanquished was established ? In 1908 Guerin published a serious study of Dupleix.[5] But this, too, what was an unadulterated adulation of Dupleix.

Around 1900, Cultru, a young student at Sorbonne University, presented his doctoral thesis on Dupleix.[6] But in attempting to cut Dupleix to size, Cultru became a polemicist. Virginia Thompson published her "Dupleix and his letters" in 1933[7] as part of a determined effort to undo the harm that Cultru had done with the help of nothing else than the letters that Dupleix had written in his active period. A little earlier, in 1930, Martineau, who was for sometime the Governor of French India, published a four-volume history of French India in Dupleix's time.[8] It gathered together much of the source material but could not escape listing Dupleix among the French immortals.

Born on New Year's Day in 1697, second son of a wholesale tobacco licensee of the French India Company, Dupleix arrived in Pondicherry on 16 August 1722 with an order appointing him Premier Conseiller ond Commissaire General des Troupes. This justifiably created quite a storm among the factors at Pondicherry who could not understand how such an inexperienced young tyro of 25 could have wangled such a post except through favouritism and corruption at the royal court. Within three weeks the orders were set aside and on 9 September 1722 Dupleix was asked to take over as a junior Conseiller at Masulipatam.[9] Soon afthr, he left for China on a commercial voyage on behalf of the Company. After his return he functioned for seven years as a Conseiller at Pondicherry till 1731 when he was posted to Chandernagore as Directeur.[10]

During ten years at Chandernagore, Dupleix built a vast personal fortune through private trade. "He sent ships laden with merchandise to Masulapatam, Pondicherry, Mahe, Surat, Maldives, Basrah, Persia, Malacca, Manilla and China. 72 ships owned by Dupleix and his partners sailed the seas of Asia."[11] Among the raw materials in which Dupleix traded for personal advantage were slave and opium; slaves he

sent to the French plantations in the Indian Ocean islands like Reunion and Bourbon; opium he despatched to China, taking the first steps on the ignominous path that led to the Opium Wars against China. With these diverse enterprises, Dupleix had turned into a Nabob. In his marriage contract, registered at Chandernagore on 17 April 1741, he declared "a considerable fortune" as his personal assets.[12]

Dupleix married Madame Vincent, a widow with six encumbrances. He had been almost a member of the Vincent family even before the marriage. Dupleix and Jacques Vincent had been not only members of the Pondicherry Conseil Superieur but also partners in private trade.[13] Vincent had married the second of three daughters of Albert, a French physician in the service of the company at Pondicherry. In 1733 Vincent and his family shifted to Chandernagore upon the invitation of Dupleix. Five years later, in 1737, Vincent died at Chandernagore leaving his wife and six children under the protection of his friend and trading partner. A long-lasting clandestine attachment for Madame Vincent was publicly avowed by Dupleix with the solemnisation of his marriage. Madame Vincent, now Madame Dupleix, assisted her second husband in commerce and political life through her easy ability to converse in Tamil, Bengali and Hindustani apart from French, Portuguese and English.

A private diary written in Tamil and maintained over the years from 1735 to 1760 by Ananda Ranga Pillai who was the Dubash (Dwibashi or interpreter) at the Company almost throughout the time of Dupleix came to light in 1846 and has now become a very valuable source material for the appraisal of Dupleix[14] Ananda Ranga Pillai, an unabashed admirer of Dupleix, had little good to say of the Madame. It has been suggested that Pillai's oriental dislike for enfranchised women was the root of his allergy for Madame Dupleix. But the fact is that she was corrupt and was "Like a Hindu goddess with a multitude of hands, ready, to receive offerings."[15]

Dupleix took office as President of the Conseil Superieur and as Governor of French India at Pondichery on 14 January 1742. Ten days later, in a letter written to the Directors in the name of the Conseil Superieur, he informed them that "amidst the sound of drums and other instruments, Mon. Dupleix has accepted at Chandernagore itself, the status of Mansabdar accorded by the Mughal Emperors to the Governors of Pondicherry".[16] Dupleix made much of his mansabdari status from

time to time and ended up by arguing that his position as a mansabdar of the Mughal Empire gave him a status different from and above his position as employee of the French Company.[17]

The decade of Dupleix (1742-54) was a golden age for his relatives and those of Madame Dupleix. Those not thus related were overlooked and cast aside, whatever their abilities and contributions. Combault D' Auteuil, whom Dupleix retained as a field commander inspite of his gout and rheumatism, was the second husband of Madame Dupleix's sister Marie Madeleine; another sister, Ursule Suzanne, had married Louis d' Arboulin who was a member of the Conseil Superieur; her daughter Anne Christine was married to Jacques d' Espremenil whom Dupleix made Conseiller at Madras during those three years that the French were in occupation of it; the fourth daughter of Madame Dupleix was Chonchon who was affianced to Marquis de Bussy of whom Dupleix thought no end and to whom he gave the choicest bits of power; a son of Madame Dupleix, Jean Baptiste Vincent was sent along with Bussy to the Deccan where he made a large fortune.[18] Marie Rene, the daughter of Madame Dupleix's sister, Marie Madeleine, was married to Friell whom Dupleix made the Chef at Masulipatam; Leon Moracin who was sent there as Chef in 1752 was also, like Friell, a nephew-in-law of Madame Dupleix; Choisy who married Mademoiselle Kerjean was made the Chef at Yanom and his brother-in-law Kerjean was Dupleix's most trusted officer; Noronha who became chief of the Portuguese Corps in Pondicherry was related to Madame Dupleix.[19]

It was a government of nepotism where political power was converted into hard cash Madame Dupleix's son Jean left behind a large fortune for his mother when he died in 1752: Kerjean made two lakhs of rupees in liquid cash; Bussy made crores. Guillard stored three lakhs and Delarche four. Barthelemy, who was known for his "personal integrity", made only two lakhs; but he also had houses of his own and a personal estate. According to Ananda Ranga Pillai, Dupleix's wealth was limitless like that of Salar Jung. His jewels alone were worth ten lakhs of rupeess.[20]

There was no love lost between Ananda Ranga Pillai and Madame Dupleix. Madame Dupleix was so fanatically devoted to her religion that she allowed herself to be exploited by the Jesuits against the Hindus and Muslims. Her opposition to Ananda Ranga Pillai derived from her opposition to his religion. It was at her instance that during the

siege of Pondicherry Dupleix gave orders to pull down the Siva temple that stood next door to the Jesuit Church on grounds of "strategic importance".[21] The temple destroyed by Dupleix was the 12th century temple of Thiruvagatiswara.[22] The government of Dupleix also prohibited the construction of new Hindu temples.[23] The Muslim mosque "situated west of the Capuchin Church" was saved only after the Muslim chiefs has made it known in no unmistakable terms that the demolition squad would be cut down to pieces by the worshippers.[24]

In 1751 Dupleix brought down to Pondicherry the captured columns of a Gingee temple built by Ramappa Naick and with them he tried to beautify his headquarters.[25] The Government of Dupleix was as much committed to proselytisation as were the missionaries. On 17 January 1747, the Conseil Superieur issued an ordinance which made it obligatory on the part of those employing slaves "to instruct them in the Roman Catholic faith and to get the sacrament or baptism administered to them within a year".[26] The administration was only too willing to accommodate the missionaries as an arm of the colonial government. But there was resistance from the inhabitants. Proceedings were initiated by the Procureur General du Roi at the instance of Jesuit Superieur Coeurdoux against an anonymous "seditious libel" which was being circulated in Pondicherry pinpointing attacking the partition erected inside the Jesuit Church to separate the "pariah" Christian converts from the rest of the congregation. Both governmental and ecclesiastical documents of the period show that conversion to Christianity did not permit "pariah" or low caste people to enjoy normal social status.[27]

Moreover, it was a government of slave-owners. Judde, a clerk in the service of the Company, augmented his salary of 600 livres per year with profits from the export of slaves to Mauritius and Bourbon islands. His recruiting agent, Arlanden, travelled to villages in the hinterland and farther away to catch naive and gullible people who could be brought to Pondicherry with false promises and then shipped out. Ananda Ranga Pillai and Pedre Mudaliar were approached by some local people to use their influence to prevent the nefarious trade of Judde. But both of them refused to have anything to do with the matter because they suspected that powerful persons were backing Judde. But the demand was so insistent that finally criminal proceedings were instituted against Judde's recruiting agent Arlanden. On 28 June 1743, Guiliard the Procureur General visited the Judde establishment and

interrogated 32 persons of whom 9 were men, 10 women and 4 children. Three days later, 21 of them were set free because Judde could not produce "the formal documents of slavery" in respect of them. No punishment was meted out to Arlanden; as for Judde he did not even figure in the proceedings.[28]

When the slaves rose against their masters, and took the law into their own hands, the State retaliated with great cruelty. Parent, a slave who had killed his master was sentenced by the Conseil Superieur "to be dragged upto the Grand Bazaar with his face to the ground and his legs chained to a chariot"[29], after which he was to be suspended by his legs till he died. If the murder of the master by the slave was a heinous crime, the murder of the slave by the master was not much of an offense.[30]

The Directors of the Company sent a lengthy letter to Dupleix on 15 July 1750 which should have served as a signpost to him : "Will not Mahomet Ali in flight seek the help of the Mahrattas? Will not the Nawabi which Chanda Saheb has received from the new Souba of Golkonda be subject to the upheaval if the Soubah himself in spite of the sanction he holds from the Mughal have some rival claimant among the descendants of the Nizam whom he has succeeded? Finally the always numerous and always ready to act in favour of those who approach them, more for plunder and reparations on their routes, have they promised a dependable neutrality which is necessary so that the firman of the Mughal which we are supposed to have obtained may permit us the enjoyment of the villages which have been ceded to us? You will perhaps tell us that these suspicions arise at a distance from a lack of more intimate knowledge of affairs; but we should insist that peace always necessary for our commerce should prevail over great ideas of victory and conquest".[31]

Dupleix received equally valuable advice from St. Priest, King's Commissioner for the Company, in a letter written early in 1751 : "Nothing is more contrary to commerce than war; and because commerce is the soul of the Company, the unique aim of its formation, that which is of greater interest to the State, if follows as a necessary consequence that we can go to war only when it is absolutely impossible to do anything else. All news that we receive from India speak only of the flight of the weavers, of the desertion of merchants, of the desolation of the country; how can commerce develop thus?".[32] On 5 May 1751,

the Directors again wrote to Dupleix: "But we cannot regard these advantages as perfectly real so long as you do not proceed to a durable peace which alone is capable of improving commerce which the Minister and the Company desire to be your essential occupation."[33] Perhaps repeated instructions from home did an have effect on Dupleix and persuaded him to suggest terms of peace to Saunders in September 1752; but Dupleix's insistence was that his status as Nawab and Mansabdar should be recognised.[34] These abortive truce proposals on which Dupleix dragged his feet forced the Directors to think of negotiating with London directly from Paris over the hostilities in India. A Conference started in London in May 1753 with Clive, Hume Fawke and Holderness in the British delegation and with Duvalier and de Lude in the French.[35] The work of the Conference was still proceeding when Godeheu landed in Pondicherry to replace Dupleix.

Godeheu reached Pondicherry on 1 August 1754. He was no stranger to the French establishments in India or to Dupleix for he had stayed with Dupleix at Chandernagore in 1738 and had maintained correspondence with him as a Director of the Company in Paris. But now he carried secret instructions drawn up by Machault and the Secret Committee of the Company: "The role that the Company had played in the wars of the Moors and the immense profits and possessions which some individuals have obtained from them are the cause and source of the impoverished conditions to which the Company is reduced The recall of Dupleix as well as some persons who have taken part in the turmoils in India has become indispensable. It is necessary to arm Mr. Godeheu with orders to supersede Dupleix and to ship him home with his family. It is also necessary to provide orders to arrest him if he disobeys. Mr. Godeheu is instructed to take measures to obtain the Company's documents from Mr. Dupleix and to get his clarifications and explanations about the disburements of large sums of money which reached Pondicherry the benefits of which Dupleix and many other officers and employees have drawn to the detriment of the Company."[36] The King's orders carried by Godeheu named him Commandant General in India. A second order called upon Dupleix to surrender all functions and embark for home with his wife and step-daughter Chonchon. A third order was for the arrest of Dupleix.[37]

Godeheu disembarked in the afternoon of 2 August 1754 and handed over to Dupleix the royal order of supersession along with the

second order asking him to submit clarifications and explanations about financial transactions. The following afternoon Godeheu took over command of the troops although he had been requested by Dupleix to put it off for a couple of days. There arose no occasion for Godeheu to issue the royal order of arrest.[38]

In his clarifications and explanations submitted to Godeheu, Dupleix claimed that he had received Rs. 25,14,064 as income from the Company while the expenses incurred by him for the Company totalled Rs. 58,48,621. But when Dupleix's Dubash of 1753, Papiya Pillai was arrested, his vouchers showed that he had received 33 lakhs of rupees by way of revenue of the villages of Bahour Villenour and Eightyone villages in Karikal which Dupleix held as personal property and which he had not remitted to the Company. Dupleix embarked for France on 15 October 1754. That he was not an impoverished man then is clear from the inventories of the boat by which he sailed. His goods, comprising precious stones, silver cutlery, and personal possessions, were worth 11.15 lakhs.[39] Neither his king nor his Company could acknowledge any indebtedness to an employee who had used his official position for personal ends with singular lack of scruples.

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RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY-LIMITATIONS AND POTENTIALITIES.

Mariam Dossal

The quality of historical writing in journals can be considered as indicative of the quality of historiography in general. In this paper, I propose to examine the nature of research being presented in some of the more prestigious journals in India, such as the *Indian Economic and Social History Review* and *The Indian Historical Review*, in order to bring out their limitations and, by comparison with some of the most influential works produced in the west, detail the potentialities which exist for historical research in India.

One of the major preoccupations in the *Indian Economic and Social History Review* is with a detailed study and breakdown of the structure of landholdings in different parts of the country. In India, where land relations have before colonial capitalism determined the economy and the life-styles of people, such an emphasis may be justified. But major articles by historians of the calibre of Binay Bhushan Chaudhari[1] limit themselves to the conditions which led to the creation of a land market, the movement of land prices and the complex developments which made this possible. A detailed study is also made of the manner in which some of the leading zamindars acquired their zamindaris.[2] Ratnalekha Ray[3] distinguishes the political situation in Bengal from the rest of Hindustan and asserts, 'A Zamindari was not like an English estate of the 18th century, a unit of production. Zamindari was a pyramidal revenue-collecting and tribute sharing structure'.

As individual studies go, precision and attempts at unravelling the complex processes involved are both useful and important. The limitation however, manifests itself most obviously when such articles form a trend or tendency in historical research. It is then that the study appears too narrow. Dharma Kumar's article[4] is yet another instance of this. She uses economic models effectively to understand land transfers over a period of hundred years, but remains content with percentaging the changes in landholding patterns. By not probing the changes which affected the every day lives of the people and made for the reconstruction of society in this region, the study remains incomplete.

In the above mentioned and other similar studies, no serious attempt is made at analysing different classes and thereby arriving at a class structure of the societies in question. Only such an attempt would put the zamindar class into perspective, make its reactions to the permanent settlement more meaningful, and be able to analyse the nature of inter and intra-class struggles. In fact, no mention is made of the other classes, much less an attempt to trace their evolution, their responses, and their defining the limits of the zamindar's actual control. Allowing for the fact that expositions in journals are necessarily limited, it is still important to state the outer limits of the study and detail the connecting links between the work undertaken and the new research yet to be done.

The origins of factory labour in India and the importance of India entering into international trade are two other areas which have received

considerable attention in these journals. The importance of such research is not in question. However, these studies are aften not put within a theoretical framework, such as the article by M.J. Mehta.[5]

Such a theoretical framework would have to account for the different characteristics of the artisans and the other labouring classes and could be usefully compared to their counterpart in Europe. It would have to include forms of struggle and organisations forged by the labouring classes as well as the forms of control of the ruling classes, and their relations with the British. One such framework, with emphasis on the world capitalist system, identifying the nature of dependent capitalism in colonised countries such as India, seen in terms of metropole-periphery relations, with the peripherys development blocked and disarticulated by unequal exchange, has been worked out by A.G. Frank[6] 'Samir Amin[7] and Immanuel Wallerstein.[8] Whether we think fit to use or discard this one in particular, the necessity of a theoretical construct remains. It is this which is often ignored; consequently what emerges are very valuable pieces of empirical work, which by themselves do not take historical research forward, for they afford it no direction.

R. S. Sharma[9] is at pains to use a theoretical framework in his understanding of feudalism. But even he remains vague by stating that 'the rise of the quasi-feudal mode of production modified the varna-divided society. Nor does he give adequate weight to peasant movements the crucial factor in determining the relationship beween master and serf which provides the dynamics of that society. However, R.S. Sharma himself along with a small but growing body of historians advocates greater stress on inter-disciplinary approach; and also adds rightly, that 'new approaches and dimensions can make historical investigation more meaningful and refreshing, but they cannot be a substitute for a proficiency in sources.'

Others who do work within a theoretical framework and recognise its importance tend to focus most clearly on the nature of economic developments, as does Bipan Chandra in his sectional presidential address at the Indian History Congress (Jabbalpur session, 1970). Yet, no serious attempt has been made to analyse and integrate for instance colonial capitalism's distortions of the economy, with its effect on culture, social psychology and the environment. The result is that some of our best historians end up as 'economic', 'political' or 'ideological' historians. The Marxists among them may at least find it difficult to

admit this. For it is precisely Marx's heuristic method which insist that it is not merely necessary to look at a phenomenon from different points of view, but to relate all its aspects together and see the whole through the parts. But their researches are too limited in their scope, too abashed, too unprovocative, too afraid of 'Great History'.[11]

It is the French historian, Fernand Braudel, of the Annales school who has most successfully attempted this heuristic method. He has devoted his life's work to recreating 'Total History', influenced deeply by the 19th century French historian Jules Michelet. 'Total history' is a definitely polemical science which responded strongly to the challenges posed by the other social sciences. To survive, historical research the Annal-lists believed, had to transform itself radically. It had to begin by knocking down all the doors that isolated it from the other sciences. It had to learn to operate their tools, make use of the laboratory, statistics, demography, cartography Sociology, Economics, Geography, all these had much to teach the historian and unless historians 'incorporated all the sciences of man as auxiliaries to our profession, by mastering their methods, results and even points of view, history would be condemned to remain superficial and useless'.[12]

This global, all-embracing perspective has yielded stimulating results, especially in Braudel's own work. For him the problem is 'how to simultaneously convey both that *conspicuous history* that holds our attention by its continued and dramatic changes and that other *submerged history* almost silent and always discreet, virtually unsuspected by its observers or its participants, a history that is little touched by the obstacle erosion of time'.[13] Braudel's work is thus 'organised simultaneously on different temporal scales moving from the unchanging to the fleeting occurence.'

Indian historiography, in spite of the fact that Braudel's work first appeared more than twenty-five years ago, has yet to begin to take serious cognisance of the temporal and spatial scales suggested by him. Once we do that our understanding of the caste system, religious forms, myths, location of places of worship, trade routes and towns will be the richer and more precise for it.

Edward Thompson's *The Making of the English working Class*[17] a keen willingness to experiment with new forms of historical research. It is a vividly synthesised socio-psychological, study of 18th century England. Craftsmanlike attention is paid to the 'deep rooted patterns

of behaviour and belief', the old paternalist 'moral economy' of the artisans, as well as to their changing social and economic conditions. As great a care is taken to understand men's psychic world as their social world.

The book appears an intellectual tapestry. Thompson, like Braudel, stresses the significance of long term 'structures', which in his case is the continuity of political and cultural traditions that were responsible for the making of the English working class. He suggests the need of what might be a rewarding journey into crime, folklore and superstition in order to glimpse the mind of the inarticulate.

The book itself is a political experience. Its illumination brings a truly radicalisation process and changes the very perceptions of the reader. By its critical exposure of the underbelly of 18th century England, it arouses one's interest in the underbellies of every society. It is 'history from below', and it is history at its best.

Finally, I should like to suggest the exploration of certain dark spaces which is necessary if we are to deepen our understanding of the complex reality that is India.

The specific character of the Indian state and the ruling classes are vital areas of study. The origins of these classes, their functions, the means by which they command dependence and the varied forms of exploitation, the importance to the state of taxation, the military and control of food supplies would have to be studied in this connection. Related to this is the role of the bureaucracy and the intelligentsia in the functioning of any given system. In the case of the intelligentsia its place in propagating ruling class ideology would have to be analysed as thoroughly as its revolutionary potential.

The significance of towns in the development of capitalism, the distinction between capitalist and pre-capitalist towns, the exploitative and dependent relationship of town to country could also be probed more closely than is being done today. A study of towns would also profitably include the varied use of streets, the logic in the location of the houses, the meaning, significance and histories of dress and costume.

Geography is yet another major area of research which has been ignored to our own cost by our scholars. Famines, demographic changes and in turn political movements can all be traced or how to be affected by climate and its fluctuations. This along with the study of the

mental life of different peoples which would include the world views of the poor, women and children, are all exciting areas of research just waiting to be investigated.

It may be argued that it is idealistic to try and marshall today historians who are sociologists, geographers, and economists simultaneously, though increasingly social scientists are working towards a single social science and one seed faint glimmerings of this in the journals mentioned in the paper as well. One way of circumventing this problem immediately is to encourage group research, by researchers from different disciplines.

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VIDURASWATHA TRAGEDY AND ITS AFTERMATH 1938

H. Raghunath

'The problem of the states vis-a-vis the Congress had attained considerable importance in the princely state of Mysore because. with their rapidly growing political consciousness the people of this advanced state had begun to realise that it would be wrong to confine attention to the political movement only in British India.'[1]

The government of Mysore had popular representation already and contained the beginning of democratic set up. But it did not want the political struggle of British India to spread into the state and for that purpose tried by all means in its power to surpress what were campendiously called the "Subversive activities". Repression was rampant in the state and the culmination of this policy came in April 1938 at Viduraswatha (Kolar district). The occasion was a religious fair or jatra at which people from distant places gathered in thousands for worship. The Mysore congress had decided to carry on same propaganda at that place. The District Magistrate and the Tahsildar seem to have been fightened at the prospect of a few non-violent congressman gathering in the place and conducting a flag salute and procession. The procession started however, and immediately without 'any provocation firing was resorted, resulting in the death of 32 persons and a large number of people being injured'.[2]

The first Mysore Congress Committee as an adjunct of the Indian National Congress was started in 1921, with Sri Setlur, a retired judge of the then chief court of Mysore, as President This Committee endeavoured to instil a love for national causes in this state. Every important national demonstration in British India was followed up here as well. The Tilak day was observed and when the students got rubbed the first national school was started in the cantonment. Some took part in the Nagpur flag satyagraha also. Khadi centres and Hindi classes were started. By 1928 there were workers ready to participate in the salt satyagraha in British India. In 1931 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru hoisted the National flag at Bangalore. Until 1936 enthusiasm was kept up by picketing of liquor shops, the spread of khadi and Hindi and generally adhering to the constructive programme. In that year the Mysore congress parliamentary board was formed, by the delegates to the

Karnataka Provincial Conference at Rannebennur. Deputations waited upon Nehru, Rajendra Prassad, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and others. In the March of 1937, however, a Congress board on Provincial basis was formed with the encouragement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

On the other hand, there was originally a political Association called Praja Mitra Mandali in Mysore state which in or about the year 1930, came to be reconstitued as the People's Party. About the year 1935, there was a further transformation, and the peoples party was changed to people federation, but the political outlook remained fundamentally the same. In the March, 1937 elections, some members of the People's federation even opposed the Congress candidates to the Representative Assembly and Legislative Council.

The coming into power of the Congress Ministries in many British Indian provinces in July 1937 seems to have changed the attitude of the leaders of the people's federation towards the Congress Party, and this resulted in a merger of these two bodies under the name of Mysore Congress owing allegiance to and working as a branch of the Indian National Congress. The Government of Mysore grew nervous and in the wake of its opposition came the fusion of the two wings and the 16th October 1937 emerged a united political party in the state under the leadership of Shri K. Chengalaraya Reddy. The first demonstration of this united party was the memorable walk-out from the Representative assembly. Members vied with one another to register their protest against the repressive policy of the government and the mid-night arrest of Shri K. T. Bashyam was also responsible for the success. A resolution censuring its government in the sharpest termes was carried at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee in October 1937.

"This meeting sends its fraternal greeting to the people of Mysore and wishes them all success in their legitimate non-violent struggle. It appeals to the people of Indian states and British India to give all support and encouragement to the people of Mysore in their struggle against the state for the right of self-determination."[8]

But the Haripura Resolution (February 1938) of the Indian National Congress, redefining the policy towards the state as one of non-interference in the political field led to a fundamental change in the constitution of the Mysore Congress party. The latter began to function as independent organisation. On the Sivaratri day (28-2-1938) the

Mysore Congress was accordingly founded, its continuation being given to it at Sivapura on 16 April 1938.

This new babe was ordained through an ordeal of fire and it emerged out of it purer and stronger. But on the eve of the Sinepura session an order was promulgated under sec. 39 of the Mysore Police Regulation prohibiting the hoisting of the tri-coloured national flag. Thousands flocked to the flag stand. A posse of armed police did not deter any one. As leader after leader was arrested and taken away from the Satyagraha front, a gathering of thirty thousand people sat like true and staunch satyagrahis. Throughout the state there was the same demonstration. The climax was staged at a holy place called Viduraswatha in Kolar district on 25-4-1938, where the tragedy of defenceless and innocent persons being fired at and injured took place.

"An annual 'Jatra' or 'fair' was to be held at Viduraswatha. Originally, the jatra was to be purely religious festival which lasted for nine days beginning with Sri Ram Navami, a day held sacred all over India which fell on the 8th of April that year (1938). A cattle fair was also held as an adjunct to the jatra, and prizes were distributed to the best cattle on April 18. As per the programme of the festival the jatra was to be closed on the 21."[5]

"On the 18th of April, 1938, the Amildar-Magistrate of Goribidnur issued on order under Section 144 of the code of criminal procedure, prohibiting the holding of meetings, delivering of speeches and hoisting of Congress flags within a radius of two miles from Viduraswatha.[6] On the 23rd of April 1938 printed notices issued by the Goribidnur taluk Congress Committee were freely distributed :

"Now that an order under Section 144 is promulgated at Viduraswatha from the 18th for a period of 15 days, it is our sacred duty to disobey that order and vindicate our right to freedom of speech and protact the honour of the national flag which is dearer than our lives. The leading citizens of Goribidnur have already gone to jail by defying that order. The Amildar and the Police Inspector, though they were not concerned with it, have boasted that Congress work in Goribidnur is at an end. It is our sacred duty at this juncture not only to show our sympathies to our brethren who are in jail but to fling back, in a fitting way, the insult which the Amildar and others have heaped on us. We have therefore resolved to offer 'satyagraha' so long as the order

remain in force. Such of the satyagrahis as are prepared to go to jail, are requested to kindly come to the Congress office and register their names."[7]

On the morning of 25 April 1938, a number of processions under the leadership of T. Ramachar the Secretary of the Kolar District Congress Committee, who was an advocate and a member of Legislative Council started from Goribidnur for Viduraswartha. Their main intention was to defy the order. The procession reached Viduraswatha at 11 A.M. and as soon as they reached the 'tope or platform, there were two to three thousand already there. Soon the crowd in that place had swelled to 8000-10,000. At the platform were posted about 80 revenue police men, police Inspector and Deputy Suprintendent of police.

The proceeding then commenced with a volunteer getting upto the platform, with a view to defying the order. When the authorities declared the assembly unlawful and directed it to dispense, four persons including T. Ramachar who defied the order by conducting flag salute. They were arrested. This infuriated the mob which became unruly and riotous.

According to the government communique which was published on 27 April 38, repeated requests and warnings of the officer and the local magistrate to the mob were of no avail and the situation became worse and assumed a riotous aspect. A mild lathi charge was ordered. It proved ineffective. The mob grew more violent and indulged in stone throwing. Police officers and magistrates on duty were injured. Firing this stage ordered. Some rounds were fired to cover the retreat of the officers and men. The mob was infuriated and surrounded the police on all sides and resorted to stone throwing. Again, the District Magistrate, realising the dangerous situation, ordered fire. When the firing ceased, it was about 12-15 p. m. According to official version.

"The two firings together lasted far 7 to 8 minutes and the interval separating them was so short that it would not be inapproiate to describe the two firings as practically continuous.[8]

Again at 4 p. m. in the evening, when the mob become uncontrollable, the District Magistrate ordered fire.

Regarding the casualties from the firings there were different versions. The Government was of the view that there were in all ten to twelve

deaths, and the Congress claiming that 32 people had died and 48 were injured.

Commenting editorially under the caption 'police Firing in Mysore Village, "The Hindu", wrote in its issue of 27 April :

"The news of the firing on a big crowd which had collected at a religious fair in a village in Kolar district, resulting in the death of a number of people variously estimated at between 14 and 32, will have come as a great shock to the public .. It is not clear why an order in these terms should have been promulgated in a locality where a big crowed was expected to gather for a perfectly lawful purpose and with no intention whatever of committing violence. Even if, as one version has it that the crowd was swelled by large numbers whom the announcement of the Congress intention to disobey the Magistrate's order had brought there, it should have been clear to the local authorities that it would be all but impossible to discriminate between holiday makers and pilgrimes on the one hand and an organised political gethering on the other and to enforce any prohibitory order on the latter without coming into collision with the former."[10]

A special issue of Navajeevana, a Kannada daily wrote :

"32 People dead : 48 injured at Viduraswatha, Police opened fire. Viduraswathakshetra became Kurukshetra. Great tragic incident took place at Viduraswatha."[11] Samvukta Kamataka, wrote : Jallianwalahbaghada Punarauritha'; meaning a miniature Jallianwala Bagh in the princily state of Mysore.

The news of this firing sent a thrill of horror throughout the country. The working committee of the Mysore state congress passed a resolution condemning the indiscriminate firing and giving liberty to congressmen to disobey the prohibitory order to vindicate their fundamental rights and maintain self-respect. The Mysore government issued communique giving the official version of the facts surrounding the tragedy. It justified firing as a measure of self-defence against mob violence. It also appointed an enquiry committee of three judges. They were Sir Vepa Ramesan who was the chairman of the committee. Mr. Justice Nagesvara Iyer, and Dr. F. X. D' Souza were the other members.[13] The Mysore state congress also appointed a committee of enquiry. Mahatma Gandhi in a course of a press statement made an appeal to the Mysore Government to read the symptoms of popular awakening in Mysore and divest itself of its autocracy.

To study the situation at close quarters and also if possible to bring about a settlement between the Mysore Congress and the Mysore Government Vallabhai Patel and J. B. Kripalani proceeded to Banglore. They had several cosultations with the leaders of the Mysore Congress and also interviews with the Diwan, Sir Mirza Ismail and brought a settlement known as Patel-Mirza pact on 17 May 1938. As a result of this pact, a compromise formula was evolved, the terms of which are stated below. The terms of the settlement comprised all the demands made by the state congress.

(1) Recognition of Mysore Congress. (2) Declaration by the Mysore Government that it is open to the reforms committee to discuss and recommend responsible government for Mysore state (3) Four Congressmen who resigned from the Reforms Committee to be renominated with three additional congressmen to be selected by the state congress. (4) The Satyagraha to be called off by the state congress (5) General amnesty to political prisoners and withdrawal of the repressive orders, and (6) Flag salute to be settled on the lines suggested by Mahatma Gandhi, namely that the Congress flag should be flown along with the state flag on all ceremonial occasions. But at purely party functions of the Congress only the national flag is to be flown.

The 'partial success' of the people of Mysore, said Gandhi a few months later, had inspired 'a new vision of liberty in other states; and, aided, no doubt, by individual congressmen the agitation for political reform spread widely throughout the state in the summer and autumn of 1938.[14]

The Viduraswatha enquiry committee lasted over a period of five and a half months. No less than one hundred and forty-seven witnesses were examined. In the report submitted to the government of Mysore,[15] there were some differences of opinion between Dr. Desouza, and the chairman on the question of the officer under whose orders fire was opened. The government agreed with the opinion of the majority that a campaign of unparalleled virulence, which was conducted without any regard to truth, was responsible for the gathering of the crowd which had nothing to do with the Viduraswatha festival, that the District Officers had at their disposal a force that was inadequate for dealing with so large a crowd, that in these circumstances, once the

crowd had attacked them, it was inevitable that they should resort to firing in self-defence, and that the firing was not excessive.

On the other hand, Congress was of the opinion that this was an attempt to tear the Congress and lay the blame at its door. The whole state resented it in a telling manner. Viduraswatha Day was observed at all important centres and thousands condemned the report and the government ordered thereon.

To sum up, the tragedy which occurred at Viduraswatha is an epoch in the popoular awakening in the princely state of Mysore. It also paved the way for certain significant events like forest satyagraha, Hamilton building satyagraha etc.

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S. No.	"Navajeevana" dated 27th April 1938.		"Viswakarnataka" dated 28th April 1938.		The "Hindu" dated 26th April 1938.		The "Madras Mail" dated 26th April 1938.		"Kumudvati" of Hindupur dated 29th April 1938.	
	No.	Name	No.	Name	No.	Name	No.	Name	No.	Name
1	2	N.C. Aswaathanarayana Setty.	10	M.G. Aswaathanarayana Setty.	1	N.C. Aswaathanarayana Setty (25)	8	N.P. Aswaathanarayana Setty (25)	5	Aswaathanarayan of Goribidnur.
2	7	Aswaathanarayana Ayya	7	Aswaathanarayana	10	Aswaathanarayana	5	Achappa Narayana	...	....
3	8	Venkatagiriappa	11	Goribidnur Venkatagiriappa	2	Venkatagiriappa	9	Venkatagiriappa	...	....
4	6	S. Lakshmayya	4	Shivapur Lakshmayya	12	S. Lakshmayya	3	S. Lakshmayya	6	Lakshminarayana Ayya
5	14	M.G. Narasappa	9	N.G. Narasappa	14	N.G. Narasappa	7	N.G. Narasappa	1	Narasappa of Gollahalli
6	13	Chikthimayya	8	Chikthimayya	11	Chikthimayya	6	P. Thillaya	2	A. Boya of Badamarlur
7	11	M. Manumanthappa	14	Narasur Hanumanthayya	...	....	12	M. Hanumanthayya	4	Kummara of Hampasundram (?)
8	9	Y. Bhimanna	12	Idagur Sajjan Bhimanna	6	Y. Bhimanna (40)	10	Y. Bhima (40)	3	Washerman of Udugur
9	12	Chowdappa*	15	K. Chowdappa	4	Chowdappa (30)	13	P.V. Chowdappa (30)	...	....
10	10	Y. Ramayya*	13	Idagur Sagre Ramayya	5	Y. Ramayya	11	V. Ramayya	...	....
11	5	H. Karianna*	3	Sadagur Karianna	8	K. Karianna	2	H. Karianna	...	....
12	...	....	6	Chelur Narasappa	9	C. Narasu	...	....	...	....
13	3	C. Narasappa	5	Sagalur Narasappa	13	C. Narasappa	4	C. Narasappa	7	Narasappa†
14	4	B. Nallavenkataraya	2	Malla Venkatayya	7	K. Nalla Venkataraya	1	B. Nalla Venkataraya	8	Mallayya†
15	1	Gowramma	16	Gowramma	3	Gowramma	14	Gowramma	9	Gowramma†

* Mentioned as seen at the Hospital in the issue of 28th.

† Of Chowlur Hospital in Hindupur Taluk of Madras Presidency.

THE IRWIN DECLARATION OF 1929—ITS BACKGROUND AND IMPLICATIONS

R. P. Singh

On 31 October 1929 Lord Irwin made an announcement to the effect that it was "implicit in the declaration af 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated was the attainment of Dominion status".

This announcement set at rest the controversy raised since February 1924, when in response to a resolution in the Legislative Assembly, Sir Malcom Hailey, the then Home Member, had sought to make a distinction between the commitment of August 1917, and the attainment of Dominion status by saying that "though full dominion self-government may be the logical outcome of responsible government, nay it may be historical development of responsible government but it is a further and final step.[1]

This paper seeks to discuss the evolution of British constitutional policy from the early years of the present century to 1929, and the fierce opposition which the Irwin Declaration provoked in British political circles especially among the politicians of the variety of Austen Chamberlain and Lord Reading. 1905 the year in which Bengal was partitioned transformed the character of the Indian National congress which adopted as its creed the "attainment of a system of Government for India similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing Dominions of the Empire". It facilitated the reforms associated with the names of Morley and Minto who attributed the reforms to "the changing condition which surrounded" the Indian administration.[2] Then, in connection with the proposed transfer of capital from Calcutta to Delhi, the government of India foreshadowed, in its despatch of August 1911, that the only possible solution of the difficulty of ruling a country of India's dimension would be "gradually to give the provinces a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial spheres with the Government of India above them all... ordinarily restricting their actions to matters of imperial concern".[3]

This produced a "lively discussion of constitutional policy", and created a controversy in British political circles about the objectives of British rule in India. Curzon saw in it the establishment of a federation

of "self-governing and quasi-independent states" in India with the "Governor-General-in Council existing at the top interfering only in case of misgovernment".[4] Crewe, the Secretary of State, discounted any such inferences. Lord Crewe's denial, however, did not discourage E. S. Montagu the Under-Secretary of State, from asserting that the proposals indicated the "general lines of our future polity in India......That statement shows the goal, the aim towards which we propose to work, not immediately, not in a hurry but gradually".[5] Montagu provided a fresh opportunity to Curzon to revive the issue of the interpretation of despatch in the House of Lords on June 24, 1912. Lord Crewe, on his part, denied equally vehemently that anything on the lines of Montagu's thinking was being contemplated and repudiated the attempt of conferring "a measure of real self-government with practical freedom from parliamentary control".[6]

The ideal of "self-government" had, however, struck the imagination of political India. Not lagging behind the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League adopted as its creed the ideal of a "system of self-government suitable to India" under the aegis of the crown.[7] The contribution of the 1914 war can hardly be exaggerated. Satyendra P. Sinha, in his presidential address at the Bombay session of the Indian National Congress on December 27, 1915, reiterated the demand of self-government for India. Lord Hardinge, who was watching the movement of political ideas in India in the wake of the war, drafted a memorandum "upon questions likely to arise in India at the end of the war". Recognising the spirit which had been generated because of the war ideals, he felt that the ideal of provincial self-government as set out in the despatch of August 1911 was the "surest and safest policy".[8] Chelmsford, upon his arrival in India found that a definite and a clear-cut British policy towards the constitutional future of India was imperative. In a 'formula' Chelmsford suggested that "advent of British India as an integral part of the Empire with self-government" was the goal to which the Government of India looked forward to.[9] Montagu, who had assumed office in July 1917, as Secretary of State, had suggested in a memorandum that British policy, in view of the constant pressure of the Home Rule movement in India, should be announced as "the gradual development of free institutions in India with a view to ultimate self-government within the Empire".[10] The word "self-government" used in the memorandum was an anathema in the eyes of the British cabinet

and under the impluse of Lord Curzon the word "responsible government" was substituted in place of "self-government".[11] On August 20, 1917, the famous announcement was made by which "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire" was declared to be the British policy in India. The pronouncement, in the words of the Statutory Commission, supplied ' the governing conditions to be observed and satisfied by any and every scheme for India's future constitutional progress.[12]

It would be our endeavour to investigate and examine the march towards the ideal of responsible government after the passage of the Act of 1919, the preamble of which, embodied the announcement of August 1917. The Indian National Congress declared the Act as "unsatisfactory and disappointing", but decided to work it" so as to secure an early establishment of full responsible government".[13] But by the time the Congress met in Nagpur session in 1920 distinct signs of mistrust of British intentions had appeared in the form of the Treaty of Sevres published in May 1920, the Hunter Committee Report and the approval of General Dyer's action by the British public which transformed completely the attitude of the Congress.[14] The creed of the Congress was now declared to be the "attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means". It soon after launched its campaign of non-cooperation movement and chose the path of political wilderness for the next three years.

While the Congress boycotted the first legislature constituted following the election of 1920, the Indian Liberal Federation participated in it. The inadequacy of the Act of 1919, especially in its central aspect, however, was soon felt by the members. Rai Jadunath Mazumdar moved a resolution on September 23, 1921, requesting the Governor-General in Council for the transfer of "all central subjects except Army, Navy, Foreign and Political departments to the administration of Governor-General acting with ministers." The resolution further demanded the "conferment from the beginning of the next term of the legislative Assembly of full Dominion self government on India."[15] This resolution was conveyed to the Secretary of State, who refused to accept the very premise of the resolution on the ground that Parliament would not agree to the revision of the constitution on a mere six months' working.[16]

The demand for the conferment of dominion status acquired a new urgency with the entry of the Swarajists in the Legislative Assembly after the elections of 1923. Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar moved a resolution, on February 8, 1924 in the Legislative Assembly for the revision of the Government of India Act" so as to secure for India full self-governing Dominion Status within the British Empire."[17]

It was in response to this resolution that Sir Malcolm Hailey elaborated the distinction between responsible government as enshrined in the declaration of 1917 and dominion self-government. In the course of his speech he said, "if you analyse the term" full Dominion self-Government" you will see that it is of somewhat wider extent, conveying that not only will the Executive be responsible to the Legislature, but the Legislature will in itself have the full power which are typical of modern Dominion. I say there is some difference of substance because responsible Government is not necessarily incompatible with a Legislature with limited or restricted powers."[18]

Reflecting four years later Malcolm Hailey felt that the term "Dominion status" was so indeterminate that it defied any precise definition. He still claimed that there would be "nothing inconsistent" with the grant of responsible Government if the Crown reserved from the Indian Legislature final authority in such matters as the electoral law, the strength of the legislature itself, the right to impose by legislation any disability on religious communities etc. He further hoped that with the passage of time a convention of non-interference would grow and the Crown would cease to exercise its authority. Only, in the position of having reached that stage, in the view of Malcolm Hailey" by a process of evolution" India would have arrived the point equivalent to that of other major Dominions. But she might be already in enjoyment of responsible Government for many years before that consummation.[19] Lord Irwin termed this interpretation as suggesting a form of 'restricted Responsible Government'[20] while Ramsay Macdonald felt that such an interpretation had reduced the Act of 1919" to meaningless verbiage."[21]

This interpretation of Dominion Status by Sir Malcolm Hailey resulted in the loss of faith in the intentions of government. Symbolising the national political mood, Motilal Nehru moved an amendment to the resolution of Dewan T. Rangachariar, demanding the revision of the Government of India Act with a view to "establish full responsible Government in India" and for this purpose he recommended the calling

forth of a representive Round Table Conference. His amendment was passed by 76 votes to 48.[22]

The sequel to Motilal's resolution was the appointment of the Reforms Enquiry Committee under Sir Alexander Muddiman. When the Muddiman Committee Report was put up in the Legislative Assembly in September 1925, Nehru placed his famous 'National Demand' as an amendment to the Report.[23]

The idea of the Swarajist Parts found its frankest expression in the Report of the All Parties Conference. The very first recommendation of the Nehru Report was that "India shall have the constitutional status in the community of nations known as the British Empire, as the Dominions of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and the Irish Free' State......"[24]

In fact, the Nehru Report made it a point to emphasise that they had "made no distinction between 'responsible government' and the dominion form of government' and throughout presumed that they mean one and the same thing."[25] They based their interpretation on the Royal Proclamation referred to above and the Instrument of Instruction, clause IX of which charged the Governor-General to take steps in regard to the realisation of responsible Government in India "to the end that British India may attain its due place among (the)......Dominions."[26]

Against this background of persistent Indian demand and British policy, the goal of Dominion status, as declared in October 1929, did not herald a new approach or a new policy in regard to India's constitutional progress. It was, at best, a reiteration of the "purpose" of British rule in India. Lord Irwin took upon himself the task of declaring Dominion status as the ultimate "purpose."[27] He strongly felt that by a clear definition of the purpose he would contribute to the strengthening of that section of the nationalist opinion in India which believed in the fullest political development within the empire. Lord Irwin expressed his sense of shocking surprise at the "violent political explosion in Parliament that immediately followed" his declaration. The one reason which he could assign for this behaviour of the Birkenhead-Reading group was that since the Imperial conference of 1926 the term Dominion status had acquired a precise definition and become a "term of art" which nobody, except the legal minds of their calibre, could adequately interpret.'[28]

The series of tortuous negotiations among British Political leaders, the role of Simon in first agreeing to a proposed declaration by Lord Irwin, and his subsequent backing out have been detailed by R J. Moore.[29] Our concern here would be to examine the implication of the Irwin declaration vis-a-vis the Simon Commission, which had, in the eyes of the opponents of the Labour Government's Indian policy, assumed "a super-Parliamentary and almost a super-human stature."[30]

Soon after the intention of the government with regard to the proposed declaration of a goal was known, Sir John Simon raised objections to it in a memorandum on three grounds, though Lord Irwin would have us believe that Simon had approved of it in the beginning.[31] First it would encourage party controversy, secondly, there would be a strong temptation in India "to magnify the declaration into something significant of a new decision," and lastly, it would be asked why the government chose "so invidious a moment, for announcing its own interpretation of the Montagu formula."[32] Similar views were conveyed to the Secretary of State in a letter of Oct. 28, 1929, by Simon. Lord Reading, who was taking keen interest in the situation felt that the selection of that particular time by the Viceroy would lead Indians to believe that the "declaration imports a change of policy and brings the final stage of the constitutional development appreciably nearer in point of time," whereas the general understanding in the British political circles was that questions relating to constitutional development in India' should be postponed until the Commission presented its report."[33] Baldwin impressed upon the Secretary of State that "to anticipate (The Simon) Report by a new Declaration would impair the authority of the Commission, would defeat the intention of Parliament as expressed in the Government of India Act."[34]

The uniformly bad reception of the Simon Report, after its publication in June 1930, in India compelled Lord Irwin to rely much more on the policies of October 1929, especially in view of the suspicion in India that the Simon Report would be treated as a "last word" on Indian affairs in the forthcoming Round Table Conference.[35] In the circumstances he suggested to the Prime-Minister to make an announcement in the House of Commons reassuring the Indian mind by an expression of faith in the ideal of Dominion status and "the desire of His Majesty' Government to lend every assistance in their power to India in such development".[36] The opposition party leaders strongly disapproved

of this move, even though Irwin in a separate telegram had warned that the absence of any mention of the October statement in the Simon Report" coupled with the unfortunate attack on that statement in Parliament...has undoubtedly the effect of casting very grave doubt on British intention".[37]

The declaration of 1929 threatened, in the view of the Chamberlain-Reading combine, not only to jeopardise the working of the Simon Commission itself, but also to sweep aside two of the essential recommendations which it had made in regard to the central constitution : indirect election to the central legislature and absence of any central responsibility.[38] Simon even alleged that the government of India was drawing up an alternative scheme of is own. In their meeting with the Prime-Minister on July 1, 1930, opposition leaders led by Chamberlain warned him that any side tracking of the recommendations of the Report would endanger national unity. They were not prepared to agree with the views of Lord Irwin that "repetition at this stage of words Dominion status" would in any way alter the Indian situation for the Viceroy.[39] The Prime-Minister wondered if the recommendation of the Commission were of a binding character and reminded them that the recommendations of a former royal commission on Public Services, of which he himself was a member, had not been treated as binding. He expressed the fear that treating the Simon Report as sacrosanct would amount to closing the mind against "any suggestion of making the Central Government in India in any degree responsible to the legislature".[40]

Lord Irwin reacted very sharply to the suggestion that "any departure from Simon's recommendations, irrespective of the merits of alternatives advanced" would be treated as breach of all party front, and made it plain that he would prefer to relinquish his office if his declaration was sought to be withdrawn or modified.[41]

Nevertheless the opposition members, convinced of the "rumours emanating from Simla" that the Viceroy was contemplating responsibility to the legislature at the centre, wanted a resolution to be moved in both Houses of Parliament praising the Simon Commission for its work. Ramsay Macdonald saw grave objections to this course of action which was certain to be regarded in India "as the adoption. of the Report."[42] The utmost that he was prepared to go, to meet the wishes of the Opposition, was to make a statement according to the Simon Report "an abiding place among the great state papers of our time," in answer

to a contrived question in the House of Commons. At the same time, he would assure the Indian representatives to the forthcoming R.T.C. that they will be free to be guided "by the declaration made by the Viceroy last November."[43] Lord Reading inferred from this that probably the R.T.C. would be meeting solely for the purpose of framing a dominion status "though it would also consider the Simon Report".

This battle between the recommendations the Simon Report and the Government of India's efforts to depart from them continued until the passing of the Act of 1935. With the installation of the National Government in 1931, Labour support to the Indian Government became ineffectual. No wonder the Joint Select Committee Report (1934) inclined heavily in favour of a central government recommended by Simon.

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DEVELOPMENT OF JUDICIAL SYSTEM IN MYSORE STATE 1881-1920

K. Veerathappa

Mysore was one of the most important princely states and it was called a model state in view of the efficiency of its administration and liberal institutions. British influence was greater on the state as it was directly held by them for half a century. Here an attempt is made to assess the development of its judicial system from 1881 to 1920. The

study is based on the proceedings of the government of Mysore, reports on the administration, contemporary works, besides secondary sources.

When the British assumed the administration of Mysore in 1831, the judiciary consisted of five types of courts which generally combined civil and criminal jurisdictions. They were (i) the Amildars' courts, (ii) Town Munsiff's courts, (iii) Principal Sudder Munsiff's courts, (iv) the Huzur Adalat, and (v) the court of the Commissioner. The decision was always written. The Principal Sudder Munsiff's courts and the courts of European Superintendents were courts of original jurisdiction and appeal. Appeals from them were referred to Superintendents of Divisions or to the Huzur Adalat. The Superintendents exercised control over the Munsiffs. The Huzur Adalat, consisting of three Indian Judges, and the court of the Commissioner were only courts of appeal. From the decisions of the Superintendents and of the Adalat, the Commissioner heard appeals directly or through Feryad. In cases of landed property an appeal decision was deemed final.

The judiciary was reformed and an improved system was established. Six types of courts starting with the Amildars' courts and ending with the Commissioner's court were established. Huzur Adalt court with three Indian judges heard appeals from subordinate courts. The Commissioner's court heard appeals from the decisions of Superintendents and of Huzur Adalat. Thus they were courts of appeal only. This patriarchal system of judicial system continued till 1856 when the judiciary was separated from the executive at least at the highest level. The judicial powers of the Commissioners were transferred to a separate officer called the Judicial Commissioner. The judicial system was reorganised in 1862-63 and it consisted of (i) the Judicial Commissioner who held the powers of the Chief Court, (ii) the Superintendent of Divisions, (iii) the Deputy Superintendents, (iv) the Assistant Superintendents and (v) Amildars.

The Judicial Commissioner was in-charge of judicial, police and jail administration. The remaining officials exercised control over civil, criminal and revenue departments. The Huzur Adalat and Sudder Munsiff's courts were abolished. Two Small Cause courts were started. The Deputy Superintendent in-charge of the district tried all suits, and appeals over his decisons were heard by the Superintendent. A simple code of rules was compiled to aid the Amildars in civil suits. They

were compiled from the Punjab rules and from the Civil Procedure Code. The Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure defined offences and punishments. The system of fees was abolished and stamp rules were introduced. From 1866 appeals from the Judicial Assistants were heard by the Commissioners instead of the Deputy Superintendents. The most important decisions relating to dispensing of equal justice were taken in 1867 when it was decided that (1) 'no decree should ever be passed on appeal without giving the parties an opportunity of appearing on an appointed day; (ii) that the decision should invariably be written by the Judge'. The right of parties to appear through counsel was also recognised from in 1867.[1] As an important first step towards the separation of judicial and executive functions, Judicial Assistants were appointed in 1869, relieving the Assistant Superintendents of their civil work. The appointment of Munsiffs in 1874-75 relieved the Amildars of civil jurisdiction. The executive officers were relieved of all civil work and district judges were appointed in place of Commissioners. Finally the judicial department was separated from the revenue and it consisted of the Judical Commissioner, the District and Sessions Judge, the Subordinate Judge and the Munsiff.

Even after the rendition (1881), the courts in the State were kept free from all executive influences and the government all along attempted to strengthen the independence of the judiciary.

At the time of rendition, the highest court was called the chief court and the judge, chief judge. As early as 1879 James Gordon, in his minute to the Government of India, had pleaded for a High Court with a plurality of judges instead of judges instead of a single judge. But due to financial restrictions, nothing was done. However, in 1883 the government decided to increase the number of judges to 3 with effect from May 1884. At the same time, they also decided to publish a weekly digest of important decisions and rulings of the chief court.[2]

The chief court was the highest court of appeal, reference and revision in Mysore State and had powers to superintend and control all the other courts in the State. The normal jurisdiction was appellate and revisional. But, at times, the government conferred original jurisdiction also. Original jurisdiction was exercised by one of the judges, and from his decision appeal could have been claimed to a bench of one or two judges or to the full court. The procedure followed

in the chief court as well as other courts was that laid down in the Code of Civil Procedure which was similar to the system in British India. There were also powers to withdraw or transfer cases.[3]

There were three district judges' courts located at Mysore, Bangalore and Shimoga, exercising unlimited civil jurisdiction within their areas. They dealt with suits exceeding the value of Rs. 10,000, and had exclusive jurisdiction over probate administration, land acquisition and minors' cases. They exercised overall control and inspected civil courts in their area and heard appeals from lower courts.

Along with the district judges' courts, there were also subordinate judges' courts exercising original civil jurisdiction within the value of Rs. 5,000.

There were 21 Munsiffs' courts which exercised original jurisdiction upto the value of Rs. 1,000 till 1899 and Rs. 2,500 thereafter. They had the powers of small causes courts in respect of money suits not exceeding Rs. 50 from 1883, and the value was raised to Rs. 100 in 1921.

In the Representative Assembly, members representing the rural constituencies frequently demanded the establishment of village courts to help the people in the rural areas. As a result, Village Courts Regulation VII of 1913 was enacted providing for the establishment of village courts under a Village Munsiff appointed by the Deputy Commissioner from among the residents of the village. They exercised exclusive jurisdiction in suits of Rs. 20 and upto Rs. 200 in case of consent in writing of both parties. However, they were barred from dealing with complicated cases and those relating to immovable property. There was provision even to execute their decrees. There were 209 village courts in 1923.[4]

In the early years of British rule, the same, judges administered both civil and criminal justice. The Amildar was the head of the police. In his revenue and magisterial duties he had under him Shekdars. Killedars, Talwars, Hoblidars, Duffedars and Kandachar officials, Killedars and Hoblidars were police officials. The Amildars could fine upto Rs. 7/-or imprison a person for 14 days in criminal cases. The Sadar Munsiff heard appeals and could fine upto Rs. 15/-and imprison for two years. The Superintendent had power to fine upto Rs. 30/-or imprison for 7 years in criminal matters and was a court of civil appeal from the decrees of the Munsiffs. The Huzur Adalat consis-

ting of three Indian judges could impose higher punishment but its decision was open to revision by the Commissioner.[5] The Sadar Munsiffs had no original jurisdiction in criminal matters and referred them to the Superintendent who had the power to review all cases inquired into by the Amildars or decided by the Munsiffs. Such cases which involved capital punishment were referred to the Commissioner who could pass death sentence subject to confirmation by the supreme government.

In criminal investigations the panchayat played an important part. Villagers were empowered to use arms to defend themselves and their property against gang or torch robbers. Penal and Criminal procedure codes were introduced in 1862-63. Deputy Superintendents were named as District Magistrates, and the power of Sessions Judge were exercised by the Superintendents of divisions and the Judicial Commissioners. The Civil powers of the Deputy Commissioners were curtailed and in 1879 the entire separation of civil and criminal functions was completed.

The administration of criminal justice was carried on by the Chief Judge from 1881 to 1884 and by the chief court of three judges afterwards. The classes of magistrates who presided over the criminal courts were Sessions and Assistant Sessions Judges, District Magistrates, first, second and third class magistrates. There were three sessions courts at Mysore, Bangalore and Shimoga. Many times the sessions court at Bangalore was abolished and its power was transferred to the chief court.

There were also Assistant Sessions' courts to try cases transferred to them by the respective sessions judges. To try sensational cases of rioting, additional sessions courts were established. Circuit sessions were also held and there were District Magistrates who heard appeals.

With the intention to separate executive from judicial functions, some Amildars were freed from magisterial duties. An important administrative change effected in the year 1907 was to separate the judicial and executive functions in selected areas. As an experiment, the Amildars of Bangalore, Mysore, Kolar, Hassan, Holenarasipur, Sagar and Modhugiri "were relieved of their magisterial duties, and these were assigned in Bangalore and Mysore to the city Magistrates and in other taluks to the Munsiffs". Some commented that the change retarded the prompt disposal of civil work, but in most of the areas

it worked satisfactorily.[6] Some of them were reinvested with magisterial powers as the civil work of the Munsiffs was heavy.

The government felt that it would be better if the power of trying cases was entrusted to officers who did not have other kind of heavy work and approved a scheme for providing a separate agency for criminal work. To provide for a separate agency a scheme was introduced in May 1918 to dispose of original criminal work. As a result three grades of magistrates' courts were established. The special magistrates courts established in the districts of Bangalore and Shimoga under the scheme for the separation of judicial from executive functions began their work in January 1919. As a result the number of criminal courts excluding the chief court was 135 in 1919 and 130 in 1920 and the reduction was due to the introduction of the separation of judicial and executive functions in Mysore and Kadur districts. There were 3 Sessions Court, Assistant Sessions Court, 8 District Magistrates Courts, 19 First Class Magistrates courts, 34 Second Class Magistrates and 18 Third Class Magistrates courts and 45 Bench Magistrates' courts. However, the number of courts that exercised appellate jurisdiction was 15 including the chief court.[7] The revenue officials continued to be exofficio magistrates but in practice, they ceased to exercise magisterial functions. Though the scheme was at first introduced in Bangalore and Shimoga officially in July 1917, it was implemented in the whole state by 1925.

In 1887 the government permitted the trial of some offences under the Penal Code relating to property by jury in Bangalore. By the introduction of the jury system in 1888, the Maharaja's government had shown 'a sincere desire to maintain the independence of the judges and the impartiality of their decisions'.[8] Early in the present century, representatives of people frequently demanded the extension of the jury system in the trial of sessions cases. As a result, the government introduced the jury system in July 1917 for the trial of sessions cases also in Mysore and Bangalore districts which was later extended to other districts as well.[9]

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EARLY MANIFESTATION OF THE COLONIALIST PREMISE IN THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF BENGAL

Barun De

I. The Issue of Premises :

A close textual survey of some recent books on the evolution of British imperial policy with regard to mid-eighteenth century India would show that a mentality has developed of treating the period as a skeleton in the cupboard of British national honour. They tend to focus on the internal weaknesses of the post-Great Mughal imperial order in India as the cause of disorder in the trading coasts of the sub-continent which invited foreigners, whose rapaciousness appears less important than their almost natural fit into a general scheme of the rapacity of the Indian successor-states of the Empire of Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah. The way in which the earliest British Presidents of the East India Company's Council at Fort William in Bengal and their subordinate merchants, often acting at cross-purposes for individual gain, purposively undertook policies of commercial rapacity which wrecked the indigenous market economy of the Lower Gangetic Delta has been skilfully delineated by Indian and British historians. The role of imperialism in heightening, or even perhaps creating, the circumstances of disorder in which it could flourish need to be stressed.

In 1963, Professor V.T. Harlow's posthumous publication, the Second Volume of *The Founding of the Second British Empire* chose to

see the period from Plassey till 1790 as an interregnum when the British Indian empire builders were seeking to find institutional safeguards against rapacity and chaos within their own policies which were detrimental to British national profit in the era of mercantilist crisis. He implicitly followed an earlier formulation in 1930, by his predecessor as Beit Professor (of Colonial History), Professor R. Coupland, that British imperialism in eighteenth century India was marked by two periods, colonial rapacity till 1784 and noble trusteeship after Pitt's India Act in that year. Harlow, however, saw ideas of administrative reorganisation and efficiency as well as a swing to the East, from America lost to mercantile exploitation in its War of Independence, emerging a few years earlier than 1784. He also played down the premises of exploitation of India for British national profit that Coupland had discerned.

Harlow was followed by Dr. Peter Marshall in 1969 who, in his new characteristic low-keyed and modest vein of under-statement of the darker sides of eighteenth century British imperialism in eighteenth century India, saw the growth of British imperialist responsibility for the control of Indian government in Bengal and Madras, as a process of initial lack of volition for political penetration into the arena of government, and then of meandering and gradual assumption of responsibility in the crisis of 1780-84.

Earlier Abdul Majid Khan, N.K. Sinha, and even earlier the Rev. W.K. Firminger had faced the issues of early colonialist rapacity in Bengal, on the one hand and disintegration of the Mughal revenue system on the other, in a far more straightforward fashion. However, they focussed, according to their interest, on the regional economy, revenue regulation and polity of Bengal. Thus the colonialist permise which runs like a red-white and blue guiding streak through the confusion of the British impact on eighteenth century India has been left uninvestigated by post-colonial British historians and relatively ignored by post-Independence historians of India and Bangladesh.

II. The Data

Measures to demarcate the British state's power and sphere of influence over the autonomy of the East India Company, in its potentially enormous increase of wealth and territorial influence after the battle of Plassey, began soon after that event. Before that, the state had cheerfully accepted the amorphous autonomy of business enterprise,

subject to normal early eighteenth century British rules of excise and taxation, which its charters had conferred on the Company's operations in India and the East Indies.

Wars with French merchants from the 1740s had started as attempts to gain influence over opposing Navaiyat and Gopamau Pathan factions dominating the Mughal Subahdari of the south-eastern coast of India.[1] These local wars had broadened into a generalised conflict wherever English and French Companies traded on the Indian coastline; as well as whetted the appetites of both for increased influence in the highly fertile, and rich in trade, Gangetic Delta. In the Subahdari of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, an internally divided Mughal elite, crippled by Maratha raids and subversion by Afghan mercenaries, was split open by now common provincial factional disputes over the succession to the position of Subahdar.[2] It was here that the English Company hit the jackpot.[3]

Remaining in charge in Bengal in 1758-59, Clive had demolished a Dutch colonialist attempt to help Mir Jafar out of his new shackles, had thrown back an attempt by the heir-apparent to the Mughal throne in Delhi to assert his nominal authority over the Bengal Subahdari, and had sent Forde southwards to Hyderabad to stall a new French thrust north-westwards from the Carnatic. To William Pitt the Elder, one of King George II's Principal Secretaries of State and responsible for all decisions on colonial and East India Company's affairs, he appeared in 1757 as "Clive-that man not born for a desk-that heaven-born general,"[4] bringing indispensable victories in the first global Anglo-French colonial struggle for trade supremacy in the eighteenth century contest for imperialist hegemony.

Immediately after the reconquest of Calcutta, the East India Company's Directors in London applied to Pitt for assistance to gain a "Moiety of the Booty" in the division of the plunder "from Moors" between the Royal Navy Admiral Watson and his officers and the Company's Governor and Council at Fort St. George in Madras (who had despatched Clive and his troops). The matter was for royal decision. Pitt asked the Advocate (G. Ray), Attorney (Pratt, later Lord Camden) and Solicitor-General (Charles Yorke) for their views.[5] In their report (printed by the order of the House of Commons in 1767 when Pitt, then the Earl of Chatham was the First Lord of the Treasury and conducting enquiries for the control of the Company by the State[6]) the law officers

replied that the case did not fall within the provisions of a statute "for the Encouragement of Seamen" since that related to the war with France (the Seven Years' War then going on) but was part of the separate war between the Crown and "the Nabab of Bengal" (i.e. the one started by Siraj-ud-daulah's attack on Calcutta and the Black Hole) and "must be judged by general Rules of Law and His Majesty's Prerogative". On the count, they concurred with the petition, distinguishing between the Company's "Old Dominion" of "the Town and Settlement of Calcutta" which had to be restored to the Company and on the other hand,

> "all such places, as may be newly conquered in this expedition, (which) accrue to the sovereign, and are vested in His Majesty, by right of conquest".

All movable goods belonging to the Company, being retaken, were held to have lapsed to the Crown, and could be restored :

> "by stronger Reason, all moveables and Plunder...from the Enemy, are vested in his Majesty, subject to his power of disposing, by virtue of His known Prerogative".

and by the same logic, they could be disposed to the Company.[7] Thus, on a further request from Pitt to suggest the legal format for the grant, the law officers of the Crown suggested that "Letters Patent under the Great Seal (were)...most conformable to usage in similar cases". Having expressed in terms of Common Law and Prerogative, the royal sovereignty over the new conquests in Bengal made jointly by the Royal Navy and the Company's forces from Madras, the law officers also suggested a special clause in the Letters Patent to except, in terms of Equity, and present royal purpose from the grant to the Company "Recaptures of the Goods of private Persons being His Majesty's Subjects, or others, trading in the East Indies under His Majesty's Protection".[8] The requisite Letters Patent were issued by William Pitt on the 19th September, 1757.[9]

The East India Company subsequently made a humble petition directly to the King, representing that above and beyond the moiety of the spoils of war they had regained in Calcutta, their expenses in the war against Siraj-ud-daulah had been very heavy; and that they hoped that their charter of trade and eventuality of war in the pursuit of business in the Indies would in these terms be increased to include

> "all such Fortresses, Districts and Territories within the limits of their trade, as they have acquired, or may hereafter acquire

from any Nation, State or People by Treaty, Grant or Conquest, with power to restore, give up and dispose of the same, as they shall from time to time occasion; subject nevertheless to your Majesty's disposition and pleasure, as to such Lands as may be acquired by conquest from the subjects of any European power".[10]

The Crown again took the law officers into consultation and on the 24th December, they replied that they had called in some leading Directors of the Company and studied the previous charters. They felt that whatever property was acquired in the Indian soil was according to grants made to the Company by Indian potentates. The question of future accruals could not be pre-empted in the present situation. The overall sovereignty over the Company vested in the Crown, but its activities insofar as was permitted by charter rights, were its own. No further decision was indicated on the question of rights to be granted to the Company.[11] However, Pitt, to relieve the Company's finances, issued letters patent granting them the privilege of retaining all booty gained from native enemies exclusively by their own troops and also of ceding by treaty, with the native powers, fortresses and territories in their possession. These letters patent, though not explicitly admitting the Company's right to administer and draw revenues from Indian territories, went a long way towards implying them.[12]

By the end of 1757 itself, Plassey had settled the issue of British state power over Bengal in its curious coalition of interests between the colonialist metropolitan executive and the Company. The archaic Charter form, which the law officers at no stage questioned, or desired to overturn, was the monitor of all past or future legal relationships in India. There was no question of abrogating it or overhauling it to suit the new germs of Empire, which the Directors discerned in the accruals of territory in the 24 Parganas around Calcutta, or in the influence gained over the Murshidabad Nawabi through the installation of Mir Jafar. The traditions of the first British Empire which had been formulated in the Elizabethan and Stuart periods dominated state policy in 1757 guided as much by the tense fortunes of war in America and Germany, as it was encouraged by the imperialist fillip of the Bengal victories. On the other hand, these traditional parameters of state action in mercantile expansion in the Indies permitted the encouragement of naval initiative in sharing out booty, and also protected the interests of free merchants trading privately under the Company's licence in sectors

where the Company's monopoly or rather local buying power had a slack. The elder Pitt represented these traditional verities of the first British empire, in India, as much as in the Western continent and European diplomatic rivalries.

In the new outpost of Empire, however, at Calcutta, Clive felt a perhaps comprehensible euphoria about the prospects of increasing the revenue of his masters. The diplomatic relations which the Delhi court opened with him, after the repulses of the exiled Mughal heir-apparent induced in him the feeling that following Plassey further walk-overs would attend British efforts in India. Dazzled by the prospects which opened up for national, as well as corporate and private, aggrandizement by Britons in the Ganges plains, he saw a vista of sovereignty in Bengal, sponsored by a grant of authority by the febrile Mughal imperial remnants in Delhi.

This emboldened him to open a direct correspondence with Pitt who represented the British state in the regulation of the Company's affairs. On the 7th January, 1759, without knowing in Calcutta about the letters patent granted to the Company, he sent a letter to the Secretary of State with his Secretary John Walsh who was returning to England to organise an interest group on his behalf in Parliament, and spoke of his, hope that the Company would maintain in India

> "Such a force as will enable them to embrace the first opportunity of first aggrandising themselves...Such an opportunity...will soon offer."

Mir Jafar was faithless: his, son the notorious Miran "is so much worthless a young fellow and so apparently an enemy to the English, that it will be almost unsafe, trusting him with the succession." In case such unworthy minions of the Company dared to be troublesome, a force of two thousand Europeans would

> "enable the Company to take the sovereignty upon themselves."

Clive wrote that this could be accomplished

> "as the natives themselves have no attachment whatever to particular princes, and as under the present Government, they have no security for their lives or properties, they would rejoice in so happy an exchange as that of a mild for a despotic government."[14]

Clive hoped to get "the Moghul's sunnud (or grant)" confirming what he, in a rather flexible use of the term, called the Company's sovereignty, on an annul payment of fifty lacs (Rs. 5, 000, 000) out of Bengal

to the Delhi treasury. The 'Vizier', i. e. Imad-ul-Mulk, had written to him asking him to get Mir Jafar to engage to do this in accord with the practice of Alivardi Khan in the 1740s :

> "Nay further : application has been made to me from the Court of Delhi, to take charge of collecting this payment, the person entrusted which is styled the King's Dewan, and is the next person both in dignity and power to the Subah. But... I am unwilling to occasion any jealousy on the part of the Subah; especially as I see no likelihood of the Company's providing us with a sufficient force to support properly so considerable an employ, and which would open a way for seeking a Subahship for ourselves."[15]

However, Clive did not cast his employers, the Company, or himself, in the role of Governor of Bengal. He was no previsage of Rajah Brooke of Sarawak.

> "But, so large a sovereignty may possibly be an object too extensive for a mercantile Company; and it is to be feared that they are not of themselves able, without the nation's assistance, to maintain so wide a dominion. ... Now I leave you to judge whether an income yearly of upwards of two millions sterling with the possession of three provinces abounding in the most valuable productions of nature and art, be an object deserving the public attention; and whether it be worth the nation's while to take the proper measures to secure such an acquisition -... Add to these advantages the influence we shall thereby acquire over the several European nations engaged in the commerce here, which these could no longer carry on but through our indulgence and under such limitations as we may think fit to prescribe. It is well worthy consideration, that this project may be brought about without draining the mother country, as has been too much the case with our possessions in America."

Clive ended by predicting French defeat in Golconda (i. e. its successor Mughal principality in Hyderabad) and in the Carnatic at the hands of the Company's troops, reinforcements having been sent by him from Bengal, "wholly affecting their ruin in that as well as in every other part of India."[16]

Before that, he had made known his desire to go home, and young Warren Hastings, who had made a mark for himself by helping in negotiations at the Murshidabad court, wrote to him on 17 April 1759,

remonstrating about the prospective retirement, before suspicions of the breakdown of the alliance made between the Company's officials and Mir Jafar had been allayed :

> "I am, and always have been of the opinion that the Nabob is both by interest and inclination, heartily attached to the English; but I think it is certain that the people about him, especially the Mutaseddies in a footnote, the extractor, Sir John Malcolm translates this "the plural term, as here employed describes all the subordinate civil officers of the government and the Seits, who are evidently great sufferers by the large acquisitions of power which the English have obtained in this Government, would gladly use every possible means to alienate his affection from us ... as your absence will encourage these people to throw off the mask, and the Nabob is but of an irresolute and unsettled temper ... I am the more apprehensive of their success, from the expressions, which he has frequently made use of, before the late attempt of the Shahzada, intimating that he knew nobody amongst the English but yourself to whom he has any obligations."

After expatiating on the fears about

> "the dangers we are threatened with from our natural enemies the French, which by your resignation of the service will be doubled upon us",

Hastings continued,

> "I know not in what light you may regard the proposal lately made from Delhi ... of the further advantages that may result from a nearer connection with that Court (in which your intervention appears of indispensable necessity) ... nothing can contribute so much to establish the power of the English in this country on the most solid and lasting foundations as an interest properly established at that Court."[17]

Recent exegetists of the British trade connection in India, and more particularly in Bengal, have found it useful in an age when Britons are apolegetic about the British drive for conquest in the mid eighteenth century, to portray the British conquest as an imperial relationship somewho thrust upon the metropolitan colonialists rather than part of their active volition.[18] It is clear, however, that the junior Hastings, wheeling and dealing in self-aware *realpolitik* with the Bengal bureaucracy, as much as Clive, making imperial policy in Calcutta, had the

same perspective of conscious empire-building as a consequence of the events from 1757 to 1759.

From Clive to Hastings runs a direct imperialist lineage actively thrusting for the direct exploitation of the richest sources of Indian territorial revenue by the assertion of British sovereignty over Bengal by means of competing with other Indian princes for control of the shadow of Mughal sovereignty, with a view to investing it with their own substance. Right at the political beginnings, they were convinced that this would be a walk-over. The only difference within them was that Clive was cautious and had general colonialist perspectives in mind and Hastings was more narrow in his Indian imperialism.

But in Britain, the matter appeared more opaque and chancy though fraught with welcome possibilities to be carefully monitored. Clive's emissary, John Walsh delivered the letter to Pitt in November, 1759, and sent his patron an account of the interview. Walsh.

> "said that I was apprehensive ..that he looked upon the affair as chimerical as he assured me, not at all, but very practicable; but that it was of a very nice nature. He mentioned the Company's charter not expiring these twenty years; that upon some late transactions it had been inquired into, whether the Company's conquests and acquisitions belonged to them or the Crown, and the Judges seemed to think of the Company. He spoke of this matter a little darkly and I cannot write upon it with procision".[19]

Either Chatham did not remember clearly what report the law officers—whom walsh with an inaccuracy, not very common in eighteeth century mercantile affairs called 'The Judges', an inaccuracy since the matter had not arisen in the courts at this time[20]—had given two years before. Or, and this seems more probable he was hedging in face of a proposition that was indecd remarkably innovative, for it would have involved abrogation of Charter rights by Parliamentary action and direct assertion of the royal prerogative over the rights of the Company in the territorial, as well as the fiscal gains which Imad-ul-Mulk had offered Clive, who was after all, still a salaried servant of the East India Company. Basil Williams who reported this account of the conversation, failed to comprehend the very real contradiction between the eagerness, for a revolutionary change in imperial policy, of the men at the Gangetic outposts, and the minister in London conducting war on a global scale with France, and harassed by difficulties in sectors of the war, much

closer to home. He says that "Pitt evidently felt himself in a difficulty. While admitting that the scheme was practicable he put it off for the time on the ground that it involved questions of a very nice nature".[21] Pitt's "not at all" does not appear as positive, as his early biographer would have it. His reasons for speaking "darkly" appear mere specific than Williams' selective quotation would have it. The tension between metropolitan realities and colonialist aspirations was to operate in the State's relations with the Company throughout the rest of the century.

Walsh continues about Pitt's reactions to Clive's preposal :

> "... he said the Company were not proper to have it; nor the Crown; for such a revenue would endanger our liberties; and that you had shown good sense by your application of it to the public".[22]

Here we have a typical mid-eighteenth century Whig magnate politician speaking privately, what was unsaid in most of the contemporary debates, about the status of the imperial conquests in India, his fear about the balance of the English Constitution—so nicely poised by the 1688 Revelution Settlement—being overset by accrual of excessive financial supplies in the hands of the Crown. "Such a revenue would endanger our liberties"—and yet it should be applied to the public. Both "our" and "public" referred to what Sir Lewis Namier was later wont to call "the political nation" or "the nation—forming class",[23] the limited segment of the British nation represented particularly in the House of Commons on the eve of the American Revolution(who actually represented a compromise between landed interests and the mercantile bourgeoisie).[24] The revenue—payers of Bengal were to become servants of these masters—that was an assumption on which the future Earl of Chatham, Robert Clive and Warren Hastings were united.

The only question was—what would be the instrumentalities of extracting this newly accrued colonial surplus :

> "he said (went on Walsh) the difficulty of effecting the affair was not great, under such a genius as Lord Clive; but the sustaining it was the point; it was not probable he would be succeeded by persons equal to the task.

Would Clive continue the business to execution, as by his letter Pitt concluded was the former's intent? Walsh.

> "answered...that I believed your ill health would oblige you to return shortly. I then mentioned Van's abilities, and that he was upon the point of being made Governor of Bengal."

Walsh appeared to have raised this discussion on to a more objective plane--what eighteenth century politicians were already calling 'measures not men—by continuing.

> "I observed to him that it was necessary for him to determine whether it was an object for the Company or the State; for I was persuaded that if the State neglected it the Company in process of time would secure it; that they would even find themselves under a necessity to do it, for their greater quiet and safety, exclusive of gain. He seemed to weigh that; but as far as I could judge by what passed then, it will be left to the Company to do what they please."

The nub of the matter was that objectivity could not but solve the question in terms of the traditions of the Whig constitutional balance, which Pitt for all his imperial statesmanship represented. Whether Henry Vansittart could carry out the project in term of Clive's viceregal vision, or whether he was a mere merchant, chaffering with Mir Jafar or Mir Kasim about the fiscal gains to be extracted from them on behalf of the Company as distinct from the British "political nation", and its senior officials, was of little moment. Pitt the Elder was not in advance of his times in British political decision-making, which was not at all prepared to overset a delicate eighteenth century constitutional balance between the Company's chartered autonomy, the limitations on the financial independence of the Crown which the Parliament was prepared to allow,[25] and the reliance of the magnate class on the independent colonial initiative of its mercantile bourgeoisie. If the walk-over was to come in India, it was the Company's concern—provided national profit accrued.

Pitt was indeed more interested in the conduct of the Seven Years' War than in Indian sovereignty. Walsh mentioned the fears of French attacks again if there was peace: "if not somehow restrained, they would pour men into India and be formidable in after times:"[26]

> "He asked me about Mauritius; whether the reduction of that would not be laying the axe to the root, and how far it was practicable".

But even if he was not as active agent in the discussion, Pitt certainly had, and continued to have, plans to cut the French sea-lines in the Indian Ocean.[27] On such projects metropolitan coloniol policy concentrated. Indian matters remained delegated to the East India Company.

Whatever issues of national profit were raised, in 1759 they receded to the background till Chatham became First Lord of the Treasury and Prime—Minister in 1765-66.

III. Conclusions :

Malcolm, who as an early nineteenth—century empire—builder, saw—the realities of the process better than twentieth century imperialist donsrealised that certain basic policy premises were implicit from its very beginning. On the other hand, twentieth century imperial and colonial historians have chosen to treat Clive's letter as "one of the most significant documents in the history of the First British Empire;"[28] but in isolation from its policy context. For instance, an analysis of it by Reginald Coupland—several years after it was analysed by Basil Williams, merely on the basis of its quotation by another imperialist historian, Ramsay Muir ..prefaces it by an exegeis about reasons why the East India Company "had" despite itself,—instead of "did"—to move into an India weakened by 'internal strife and anarchy", whereas the correspondence analysed above shows that Clive, Walsh and Hastings thought that the field was open and that the Company should be pushed in by the British nation. He chose to ignore Pttt the Elder's stand, as reported by Walsh, and appears to have been ignorant of the law officers' reports. Consequently he stated the relationship between Pitt and Clive in trivial and banal terms :

> "Whatever his principles, Clive's policy was of course right. In the situation in which she had drifted, the only salvation for India lay in the assumption by the British Government and Parliament of responsibility for her; and it was unfortunate for India and for the good name of British that Clive's arguments inadequate as they were left Pitt unconvinced."[29]

The Beit Professor of Colonial History in Oxford had not checked his original sources. Clive's policy was not meant for the salvation of India, but for the accrual of territorial revenues to the national exchequer of Britain. It is doubtful it the principles can be called mercantilism—rather they represented colonialist plunder of under-developed land. Both Pitt and Clive were colonial aggrandizers in the era of late mercantilism. Both indeed followed policies of increasing British meccantile capital, in an age when one sector of it in the thirteen colonies was becoming restive under the traditional financial constraints

of British Parliamentary sovereignty. The justification of the British conquest of Indin by reference to internal weakness, rather than the comprehension of the simultaneous existedce of self-conscious planning for colonilalist drive to power as well as wealth spotlights an inversion in British imperialist historiography from the blatant frankness of Malcolm to the apologetics of Coupland and his recent successors.

To sum up. There were indeed tensions and internal contradictions between the metropolitan colonialist perspectives of caution in Britain and the outpost empire—building plan in Bengal, the latter only anxious to weld together British as well as delegated Mughal sovereignty in India. Yet their inherent consensus and ultimate combination about the common British advantage in exploiting Indian revenue led to a certain compatibility which flowed from their common location within the emerging capitalist ideology of Britain. The policy of Chatham and the system of Clive represented strategy and tactics, which would converge together during the coming imperial crisis in the period from 1780 to 1784.[50]

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18. *ibid*, 126-128 gives the relevant extract from a letter dated 26th November, 1759 from Walsh to Clive.
19. Williams, *Life of Chatham*, 29 reporting the conversation, does not mention Walsh's inaccuracy, and appears to take it for granted that "the law officers" were referred to.
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22. The clearest account of Namier's self-identification of his subject with the narrow oligarchy of the eighteenth-century House of Commons will be found in Julia (Lady) Namier's, *Lewis Namier : A Biography* (London, 1971) pp. 186-194. See especially pp. 187 and 194.
23. "for several centuries the cream of English youth and manhood of the nation-forming class has remained unchanged—it has been fixed and focused on the House of Commons, a modified, socialised area for battle, drive and dominion." Sir Lewis Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (Second Edn, London, 1957, First Edn., 1925) p. 1.
24. E. A. Reitan "The Civil List in Eighteenth Century British Politics, Parliamentary Supremacy versus the Independance of the Crown, *The Historical Journal*, IX, 3 (1966), *seriatim*.
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26. *ibid*. 27-28. "Before parting "Pitt hinted to Walsh, the prospects of naval and military reinforcements in 1759 itself for that purpose Malcolm, *loc. cit.*

27. Malcolm, *loc. cit.*

28. "through various causes—the collapse of the Mogul Empire, the spread of internal strife and anarchy, the growth of French rivalry and intrigue—the company striving now to maintain not only its own trade but its very foothold on Indian soil was forced from commece into politics; and in a few years time, mainly through the genious of Clive, its directors and agents were confronted the astonishing and rather fact that they, a body of respectable businessmen, had become without at all intending or deserving it, the political masters of a gigantic area in Eastern India". R. Coupland, *The American Revolution and the British Empire* (London, 1930) p. 78 Coupland ignores the positive drive of imperialism in Bengal at the time of the Second Carnatic War, to be discerned in Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57, loc. cit.* It is harlly to the point to say that the London directors were pushed into a *fait accompli* by their agents. They relished it, as their petitions to the Crown have shown.

29. *ibid.* p. 80

30. Coupland shows an imperfect awareness of this in latching on to some words of the speech of the younger Pitt on July 6, 1784 "commending the...Bill of 1784 to Parliament" (cf. Ch. p. below) : "Pitt, in fact, in proposing to do virtually what Clive and asked his father to do nearly twenty years before, was giving as his first reason for doing it the same reason that Clive gave—a reason which the father had rejected but the son could not reject because something had happened in the interval to make it irresistible". Clive and the younger Pitt both referred to the substitutability of India for the troublesome American colonies : and the fact that had happened was the American War of Independence. But Coupland failed to note that this was a strand in the conscious thinking about imperial policy from Chatham to his son William Pitt, mediated by Dundas whom he does mention as a separate element, *ibid.* pp. 206, 207.

(ii) Social & Economic History

A CASE FOR THE USE OF SOME NEW SOCIOLOGICAL TECHNIQUES IN THE WRITING OF HISTORY

Vinayshil Gautam

During the course of my researches I have felt that the tools that have till now been commonly applied for the reconstruction of history, especially social history could be made much richer than they are now. Futhermore there is a need to draw attention of historians towards some of the till-now-slurred-over factors[1] which have gone into shaping of many situations that have significantly influenced the progress of a civilization.

It would be admitted that in case of most civilizations it is possible to discern a 'key note' or a 'running theme'. Once the 'running theme' has been detected it should be examined in its manifold manifestations. Then attention could be given to the other expressions or aspects of that civilization. After this has been done in an exhaustive fashion then an attempt should be made to find out the peculiarities and characteristics of that particular civilization. This would often enough link up with the running theme. With the help of all these factors put together it should be possible to formulate standards which can be applied to the study of that particular civilization.

About India there is a general consensus among historian that a deep sense of religiosity might be considered as the running theme of the social life if not the entire history of the nation. Yet few authors in the course of writing on social themes of Indian life take into account all its manifestations. Not only are all manifestations not taken cognizance of but that there are some glaring ommissions also. Till now, for example, little attention has been paid to the study of institutions like 'mathas'. Similarly no survey has been made of the pilgrim centred or of the holy men (popularily known as *Sadus*) who lead quite unordinary lives and are found in abundance at these centres. In the same manner a look into the working of some tamples in the villages as well as of cosmopolitan places will be helpful.

Since days of great antiquity the '*mathas*' have played an important part in the Indian social system. Beginning first as places where 'students and others stayed'[2] they under went a change in nature as well as content with the passage of time. (The Sanskrit Encyclopaedia, *Shabdkalpadruma*, says that the word 'others' in the definition of *matha* means or signifies the Hindu and Buddhist ascetic and monks[3], hence the religious association of the place right since the beginning is undoubted) In practice even today almost invariably this 'place of stay' is found next to tample or place of worship. Here numerous devotees come as they always did in the past with offerings of cash and kind. The entire complex is as a matter of convention presided over by a 'mathadheesh' or 'head of the place of stay'. He is entitled to all the offerings and is responsible for the maintenance of the place. Traditionally these *mathas* are very wealthy institutions and have exercised great social influences. Their historical value being increased manyfold by the records most of them maintain.

On a number of occassions during the long course of Indian history when other social institutions had became weak, either due to lack of patronage or pressure from foreign agencies the *mathas* were one of the few institutions to survive and serve the community. They were the only schools in the Karnatak in the pre-British and the early British days.[4]

Furthermore it is to be noted that they contributed to the cultural unity of India by having their branches in different parts of the country or by producing religious leaders.

In a culture which is as ancient as India's and has religiosity as its over-riding theme, pilgrim centres are another important set-up to survey. These places have been visited by generations after generation of the same family. On a number of occasions it has been found that the mere mention of one's father's name or the grandfather's name as well as the village of origin is enough lead for the *pandas* to give a fairly accurate family history of the person concerned. At a time in which the use of oral history is receving increasing attention the utility of such knowledge can hardly be held in question.

The holy men or *Sadhus* are to be found in abundance. Not only do they lead unordinary lives like living on bamboo platforms a few hundred yards off the bank of a river but also at times display powers which on the face of it cannot be explained away. It is remarkable how

they draw their devotees from all sections of the community not excluding the elite and the intelligentsia. They can tell volumes about the society around them in a manner which no archives will reveal.

In a society where the theory of '*avtarvad*' ; or taking of human form by the Almighty, plays a significant role, stories related with re-incarnation have to be studied and analysed. This leads on to the role of mythologies in the Indian community. One needs to apply orthodox linguistic tools to the study of such mythologies/religious stories to derive conclusions which no doubt will be helpful in the reconstruction of history.

What is however to be emphasized is the symbolism of these stories There are certain pertinent questions which will have to be answered. If *Indra*, for example, came to be known as the god of rains in the Hindu mythology why was it so ? Why was a particular set of attributes given to him and not others ? Such a study is bound to tell a great deal about the value system of the people concerned. Persons such as Max Muller, Fraser Jung and Uevoenyi have made noteworthy studies. There is need now not only to make a more exhaustive study of these aspects but also to correlate them to the discipline of history.

Similarly an etymological survey of various words of repeated significance in these stories can be very fruitful. As has been noted by a linguist, *asura* was a word used to denote the devinities in the Vedic times. But gradually the usage underwent a change and it was being used to denote the devils.[5] How, when and why did this change come about ? A linguistic study alone can say something on the subject. And the result of this research is bound to be utmost interest to the historian. After all language being the carrier of human thought deserves more serious attention than what the historian has been willing to accord to it.

The same tools could be applied to the sudy of folk-tales, folk-songs and proverbs. These are but windows into the minds of those people that use them. Each tale each song each proverb betrays in a subtle way the hidden aspirations and yearnings of the social sub-concious-not be mention the values that each of them reflects. Though some attention has been paid of late[6] to the use of folk songs/lores from the historical point of view the other two have been largely neglected. Indeed just as surveys and exploration have to be made in and around areas of sufficient antiquity to find traces of ancient cultures and civilizations, so

also facets of language have to be explored and studied to find out what they reveal about the area-civilization that has been using it.

It is often stated, and rightly so, that any art including painting dance and other forms draw upon a heavy form of symbolism. These symbolisms like symbolisms anywhere else need to be understood and explained. Studies have been conducted inquiring into the life, vigour sicknes and death of some specific kind of symbolis e. g. those used by theologians and those used by artists. Attempts have also been made to that the apparently distinct kind of symbols used respectively by artists and theologians are much more closely related than is commonly supposed, as again that an understanding of the symbols used in the art is useful to the student of theological symbolism.[7] An understanding of the arts is relavent to the problems of demythologization and social history. This is especially so in the Indian context where the entire concept of art of that 'the logical/natural fruition of any talent'[8] Any talented person was not only likely to but also expected to take to art. This continued to be so down the ages. Even in the nineteenth and twentieth century painting mirrored much of the struggle that going on beneath the surface between the conscious Indians to maintain their national identity and the scheming British imperialist to naturalise English institutions in India.[9]

In India 'caste-system', of course, is one of the most outstanding of its peculiar cultural characteristics. Ignoring this together with some other factors of Indian life and applying Anglo-Saxon standards to the Indian situation, many historians have arrived at half-truths. Some views, for example, on Indian nationalism err on this score. When it is stated by someone that Indian nationalism is of British origin he is basically trying to assess the Indian situation on accidental standards which just will not yield results. Indian concept of nationalism has many differing points with western nationalism, at least till the middle of the nineteenth century, which is not to suggest that Indians had no sense of nationalism till then. It is just a question of a people having a different genius. It is this genius of a people that has to be understood rightly before a history fair to them can be reconstruct. It holds good for any people. A few words more about the caste-system in India will help to make this aspect of cultural particularity clearer.

Because of caste-system to a very large extent loyalty in India is often not territorial. Then again in the Indian context epics like *Rama-*

yan and *Mahabharat* have a very important role to play because they sustain the entire society as nothing else can. This is particularly significant in as much as India has no such religion as Christianity. There is no entity akin to the Pope and there is no counter-part to a thing like the Gospel to which any one can turn in time of doubt. People not only with completely differing views but also contradictory views continue to be Hindus.

An attempt has been made above to draw attention to some of the neglected tools of reconstructing history. What has to be clearly understood is the gross inadequacy of sticking just to the archival sources, for reconsructing history especially social history. Life has to felt where it flows among the people.

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THE TRANSFORMATION OF BOURGEOIS MORALITY IN THE SCHEME AND THE ACTION OF JATIN MUKHERJEE (1879-1915)

Prithwindra Mukherjee

History has demonstrated, time and again, that life can be other than a tale told by an idiot. Some lives reach the full dimension of an

epic. Others look like a lyric. That of Jatin Mukherjee was like an aphorism : brief, pithy, terse, housing an internal contradiction that leads to a series of deeper truths. It was almost the very embodiment of his own maxim : "We must die so that the Nation may arise". Brief it was, indeed, with a mere span of thirty-six years. And it housed, too, a good deal of internal contradictions : "his generosity stopped short of cruelty," wrote M.N. Roy; but it was also by Jatin's stern decision that his revolutionary fellows did away with a number of persons particularly hostile to the national cause. Exemplary and happy head of a family, affectionate and proud father of three children, he lived and died, however, like a God-possessed hermit; respectful of certain traditional values in the society around him, he mercilessly defied several of the flimsy and conventional taboos.

Though Jatin lost his father at the age of five, his mother Sharat-Shashi was extremely loyal to the liberal ideas and the lofty ideals of Umesh Chandra : this erudite Brahmin seems to have had an acute awareness about the demands of a changing society. He is said to have been a champion of his oppressed countrymen against the injustice that went in the name of British rule in India. Thus, in spite of accepting her elder brother's proposal to bring over her children and live at her ancestral home, Sharat-Shashi had maintained her individual style of bringing up Vinodebala (her daughter) and Jyoti (her son Jatin). That home at Koya in Nadia (now Kushtia in Bangla-Desh) was the very image of the bourgeois family with underlying trends of modern aspirations : Sharat-Shashi's younger sister had long settled there her husband and three children, along the brothers and their wives and children, along with other vertical and horizontal relatives. The eldest of the brothers, Basanta Kumar Chatterjee (1857-1908), was a well-to-do Government Pleader and a Professor of Law at Krishnagar College, representing now and then the District during sessions of All India Congress. The Second, Hemanta Kumar (1861-1937) was a distinguished physician in Calcutta. The next two brothers, too held various posts of responsibility with the estates of Lalbagh and Cossimbazar (Murshidabad). The youngest, Lalit Kumar (1874-1949) was to become an Advocate at the High Court (Calcutta) and shared, upto a certain extent, the options of Jatin in private and political life.

On the occasion of annual festivities, the Chatterjees of Koya fed as many as a thousand guests every day, often for three to four days

at a stretch.[1] It was also the meeting-place of many pioneers of contemporary society who supplied Jatin with contacts for his future doings. Many of his boyhood acquaintances, friends and followers served him later as associates in the revolutionary movement[2] : Suren Tagore, Kunjalal Saha, Bhavabhushan Mitra (both of Alipore Bomb trial), Suresh Majumdar (Howrah case) etc.

Well-versed in mythology and Bengali literature, herself a poet, Sharat-Shashi had caught the fire of nationalism. In order to remove for good all traces of fear from young Jatin's heart and mind, much to the scandal of the neighbours, Sharat-Shashi used to throw him in the furious waters of the Gorai in spate, let him struggle till exhaustion, then rush to rescue him back.[3] The very soul of the joint family, Sharat-Shashi's presence was indispensable in every detail of that quiet life. Also wherever there was suffering, she was there to comfort and succour, irrespective of caste and standing. Having contacted contagion from a cholera patient she had been nursing, she passed away in 1899.

Two great Vedantins of the time (Vivekananda, while Jatin was a college student in Calcutta, and Bholananda Giri in later life) led Jatin to realise with conviction what Sharat-Shashi had meant to make of him. Both of them had taken notice of an inherent spiritual seeking in him and dissuaded him to turn away from life; like Ramdas the Guru of Shivaji, they had insisted on Jatin's taking to service for Mother India through social and political commitments in the name of *Sanatana Dharma* (Perennial Principle). His motto was Service to Motherland in the form of a constant devotion to the masses of fellow men and women.

In defence of those Indians, in the streets of Calcutta, inside the train compartments, in public gatherings, Jatin had been making ample use of his steel nerves and stone-hard fists to protest against misbehaving and conceited British officers. Jatin's single handed dealing with Captain Murphy, Lieutenant Sommerville and two other cheeky army dignitaries, for instance, received so wide a coverage in the Anglo Indian press in 1907 that it made the Secretary of State's "blood boil": "I wish I knew which of the divisions of the European Community has worst feeling and worst manners towards Indians? Officials, traders, soldiers, artisans?"[4] The counter-repression organised by the revolutionaries following Sri Aurobindo's incarceration in May 1908 grew so impressive that the Viceroy Lord Minto had to declare that "the atmos-

phere of everyday life is electrically charged and that racial antipathies have been dangerously inflamed."[5]

Anecdotes like his taking a load of grass off an aged Muslim woman's head and carrying it upto her home, partaking of her meagre food by calling her 'Mother' had sufficiently disturbed the serenity of the protectors of Dharma! But younger men whispered to their ears what Tilak and Sri Aurobindo had been preaching about conventional ethics on the face of fast changing times: "We must rethink our existence as *Indians* against the aggressing British attitude!" This confirms the position of the *Bande Mataram* that the extremists were "making an appeal to the country .. calling up masses everywhere, the common shopkeeper and artisan, the Musulman trader and Marwari broker and sowkar, men who had rarely been invited before to attend our meetings"; also it anticipates an official document that will record the efforts of a revolutionary organisation under the influence of Aswinikumar Datta to seduce even the peasants of Barisal (mostly Muslims) to join hands with it.[6]

The most curious detail in this attempt to widen nationalist action from an apex of intellectual middle-class bourgeoisie to a democratic basis is the participation of a good number of more or less important landholders : by the side of Raja Brajendrakishore Ray Chaudhury, Jatin Mukherjee counted among his personal friends and associated Suren Tagore of Silidah, Shrish Das of Samrail (Faridpur), Jatin Ray of Nurnagar (Sundarban) and others. It was through such liberal Zamindars that Jatin had intended to approach the Bengal proletariat classes. Jatin expected all nationalist volunteers to have contacts with men who till the earth, sow the seeds, harvest and thresh, with a view to understand and improve their conditions of work; some of his influential friends even registered an association called ' Bengal Youngmen's Cooperative Credit and Zamindary Society" with Justice Sarda Charan Mitra as Chairman.[7] It was mainly to canalise the frustrated energy of the young revolutionkries before the first wave of Government repression in 1908 against the secret Samitis, by forming rural units of economic development. At the same time, it was an opportunity for Jatin to rouse the masses and draw them into the movement.[8] Psychologically, this was a significant victory to help the alienated English-educated *bhadralok* to feel one with the masses that are so close

to the soil and other elements that constituted the reality which is Mother India.

These rural units served Jatin in picking up capable young men for missions of "daring and desperate self—sacrifice...to revive the confidence of the people in the (revolutionary) movement." So he organised a few overt acts during this period. "These brought him into the limelight of revolutionary leadership although hardly anybody outside the innermost circle ever suspected his connection with those acts. Secrecy was absolute in those days—particularly with Jatin."[9] All these missions had for target men become notorious for their action against the Alipore Bomb case around Sri Aurobindo.

On Nov. 7, 1908. Jiten Ray Chaudhury, a Calcutta student, shot at Andrew Fraser (Lt Governor of Bengal), during a public meeting in Overtown Hall; "Fraser had a miraculous escape."[10]

On Nov. 9, 1908, a group of four revolutionaries [Gunen Gupta aides by Naren Bose, Bhushan Mitra and Naren Bhattacharya or future M. N. Roy] killed in a Calcutta street. Nandalal Banerjee, the Inspector of Police (C.I.D.) who by trying to arrest Praphulla Chaki at Muzaffarpur had led him to commit suicide. An official despatch characterised the murder of Nandalal as "in many ways much more serious even than the attempt on Sir Andrew's life, for it will not unnaturally strike terror into all other police officers who are doing good work".[11]

On Feb. 10,1909, Charu Basu murdered in broad daylight Asutosh Biswas (Public Prosecutor) guilty of having prosecuted Satyen Basu and Kanailal Datta.

Then came Jatin's decisive blow. He sent Biren Datta Gupta and Satish Sarkar to the crowded Calcutta Hight Court, on January 24, 1910—to put an end the ignominious career of Shamsul Alam (Deputy Superintendent of Police, C.I.D.); Alam was contempted by all patriots in India "for his tenacious hunting out of the persons involved or supposed to be involved in the Alipore Bomb Case as well as for his vindictive attitude toward the under-trial prisoners. But the immediate provocation given by him was his disrespectful utterance towards the womenfolk of a house he went to for a search."[12]

The following day, on Jan. 25, 1910, addressing the first meeting of Reformed Council, the Viceroy declared: "A spirit hittherto unknown to India has come into existence, a spirit opposed to all the teachings

of Indian religion and traditions, a spirit of anarchy and lawlessness which seeks to subvert not only British rule but the Governments of Indian Chiefs..."[13]

According to British bureaucracy, it was Jatin Mukherjee who embodied this new spirit. Arrested on January 27, 1910, along with 46 other revolutionaries Jatin was the central figure around whom the most intricate Howrah Conspiracy case was woven: "47 persons are being prosecuted," commented the newly appointed Viceroy Lard Hardinge "of whom only one is, I believe, the real criminal. If a concentrated effort had been made to convict this one criminal, I think it would have had a better effect than the prosecution of 46 misguided youths."[14] The proceedings terminated in April, 1911: the judgment of the Special Bench according to the Criminal Law Amendment Act XIV of 1908 charged 50 persons "Conspiracy to wage war against the King and with committing various dacoities in the districts round about Calcutta in order to collect money in furtherance of their scheme...That the dacoities (...) were the work of persons of the Bhadralok (or respectable) class was the conclusion of the Court." But the case failed thanks to Jatin's perfect knowledge of the existive legislation. And an angered Hardinge wrote to Valentine Chirol : "In fact, nothing could be worse, in my opinion, than the condition of Bengal and Eastern Bengal. There is practically no government in either province, but I am determined to restore order..."[15]

Initially opposed to violent methods and terrorism, Jatin had to accept that his young followers gave temporary vent to a psychological purification by letting loose the violence suppressed in their age-old subconscient being. This was also to prove before the countrymen how fragile was in fact the might of the British. Oversimplified by a less sympathetic analysis, Jatin's policy, however, seems to have "had no moral scruples against political dacoity or murder as such. What counted with him most was the practicability and efficacy of the means adopted in a given situation. While waging political battle with a powerful adversary he did not allow ordinary ethics or morality to get the upper hand. In his political approach to the issue of violence vis-a-vis non-violence he appears to be a close follower of Aurobindo Ghose...".[16]

This analysis tries to situate Jatin Mukherjee half way between Kautilya and Clausewitz, though one of his closest lieutenants—M.N.Roy

—categorically stated that Jatin Mukherjee was not "the embodiment of the medieval values of warlikeness and heroism."[17]

Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) once argued: "We should not say that an act vexes a collective consciousness because it is criminal, but that it is criminal because it vexes a collective consciousness. We do not disapprove it because it is a crime but it is a crime because we disapprove it."[18] Whatever in the policy of Jatin Mukherjee and his revolutionary colleagues vexed Edward VII, George V. Morley, Minto or Hardinge, could easily be a lack of moral scruples or simply a crime from the Imperialists' point of view (as well as that of their collaborators and attendants in India) : they altogether failed to appreciate or even to sense the resurgence of new ethical values out of the ruins of the old.

Therefore, in the words of S.A.T. Rowlatt, "The real criminal (...) was Jatin Mukherjee, who lived for six (more) years to corrupt more youths, till he was killed in the Balasore affray in 1915". (Section 173) The use of the term 'corrupt', in the context of the new spirit in India, makes one think of a man who was killed in ancient Greece for corrupting the youth ! Even Rowlatt did not fail to have a slip of the pen, elsewhere in his Report, in describing Jatin Mukherje as "a notable individual." (Section 45). Had Jatin not been thus "corrupting" an entire generation and initiating them to the cult of self-sacrifice for Mother India irrespective of their class and caste and sect, Gandhiji, perhaps would have had to wait for another score of years before launching his mass movement.

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THE TRIBAL SOCIETY OF KOLHAN (SINGHBHUM) AT THE ADVENT OF BRITISH RULE IN 1837-8.

J. C. Jha

Kolhan was the southern part of Singhbhum and it came under the British in 1857. It was one of the most inaccessible areas. Singhbhum had to the north-west and west, some parts of Chota-Nagpur and Tamar, to the north Patkum, to the east Burabhum and Dalbhum, to the south-east Bamanghati, to the south Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar, to the south-west Bonai and to the west Gangpur and some parts of Chota-Nagpur.[1] To the north-west of Singhbhum was the Clunchala Ghati, to the north the Phuljhar river, to the north-east Jumroo mountains, to the east the river Subarnarekha, to the south-east the Dul river, to the South the Baitarani river, to the south-west the Dopura mountains and to the west Doondpara. A chain of mountains made the entry from Chota-Nagpur into Porabat, Karaikela, Kera and Kharsawan in Singhbhum very difficult.

The inhabitants of Kolhan and other areas of Singhbbum were called *Hos* or Larka,Kols. with their bows arrows and axes they had successfully resisted encroachments from the outsiders in the past. The chief of Hurnee, consisting of eighty-four villages, was of the Bhuiyan tribe, but three-fourths of the people were Larka Kols. Saraikela, with eighty-four villages, had a Bhuiyan Chief, while most of his subjects were Larka Kols. In Kera the chief did not belong to the Larka Kol tribe to which most of his subjects belonged. In Kharsawan, consisting of eighty-four villages, the proportion of the Larka Kols to the non-tribal population was not so high in the other states. In the neighbouring Bamanghati, however, the Kols predominated.

The whole of Singhbhum had been nominally subject to the Raja of Porahat upto 1818. The Kunwars (second sons or brothers) had portions of the territories under the Raja granted to them. Anandpur, Kera, Chainpur and Bandgaon had thus been alienated. The territories later included in the political state of Kharsawan and a portion of the political state of Saraikela were also under the nominal jurisdiction of the Porahat raja. These chiefs had seized some neighbouring territories.

In 1618 Raja Ghansham Singh Deo of Porahat put himself under the protection of the British Government and in 1820-21 the British troops helped the chiefs of Porahat, Saraikala and Kharsawan, each of them deemed by the British as independent of each other, in subduing the war-like Larka Kols.[2] From 1830 to 1836 the Larka Kols resisted the attempts of local authorities to realize rent from them and carried on depredations all around. Ultimately in 1857, after vigorous military operations[3] the territory of Kolhan was constituted under the direct control of the British with 23 Kol *pirs* (*Parganas*) taken from the estates of the chiefs of Porahat, Kharsawan and Saraikela and four *pirs* from the Mayurbhanj estate of Orissa,[4] forming a part of the South-West Frontier Agency of Bengal.[5]

Even after this arrangement the Singhbhum area was not quiet. The tribesmen who had enjoyed freedom of a peculiar type in which plundering forays were common, did not like the new curbs imposed by the British rule.

This paper attempts to focus attention on some of the administrative as well as socio-economic problems faced by the British in 1857 in this newly acquired hilly and jungly tribal area. It is a case study of the reactions of the tribal society-the chiefs and the common people-to the introduction of a non-regulation system of government which had been working well in the other areas of Chota-Nagpur-Ranchi, Palamau, Dalbhum, Manbhum, etc., since 1833-34 when the South West Frontier Agency of Bengal had been set up under the stewardship of a very competent and sympathetic military officer, Captain T.Willkinson, the Political Agent of the Governor-General.[6] His assistants, designated as the Assistant Political Agents, had to move in the different areas of the agency. The one who was deputed to the Kolhan with a detachment of troops was thus always on the move, camping at Potooduree, Gumla, Kochra Poorandahea and other places.

In November 1837, the Assistant Political Agent in Kolhan had to pursue the rebels from Chaibasa to the Serinsea *ghat* (mountain pass) through the jungles and numerous ravines in the face of a barrage of arrows. It was only with three rounds of gun fire that they retreated from behind the river banks, trees, etc.[7] There were some casualities on the English side, but the Kols ultimately escaped to the right and left over two commanding hills. Another party of 500 sepoys under Capt. Armstrong moved against a small hill near the camp at Jaipur where a large body of Kols was reported to have assembled but they could not catch them.[8]

In all these miltary operations, which had actually started in 1820 the Kol peasants suffered terribly. Their lands remained uncultivated; their cattle could not get proper nourishment. The losses of 1836 could not be computed; but in 1867 several villages like Bulusia, Ruiya, Najamloput, Typoor, Sarasea, Chundpuda, Rajabapa, Konband, Kulae and Tondaniknatoo were badly damaged and the government had to make some concessions to the ryots.

Unfortunately the tribal people could not even protest against these losses. The British could not convince them either that they did not really intend to inflict these losses. Indeed, the initial problem of ruling a backward, inaccessible tribal area was great. Besides the language barrier, there was an element of suspicion against all *dikus* (non-tribal officers or settlers) and the British brought all kinds of non-tribal superior and inferior officers who immediately tried to harass the tribal people.

However,fresh efforts began on the part of British civil authorities to check the oppression of the tribal population. In 1857 there were complaints by the Kols against the sepoys, *sawars* (horsemen) or the campfollowers of the British detachment stationed at Kishanpur. In the village of Kallinavapir five grass cutters belonging to the *sawars* (cavalry) were detected plundering grass (One of the grasscutters even struck one of the Kols, the straw from the roofs of the houses, took away an iron chisel from a hut and threw it on the road). The lieutenant commanding the detachment heard the complaint, got one of the grasscutters and the stolen thatch identified and the culprit was given some stripes with an order to restore the grass or pay its price.

The Assistant political Agent at Kishanpur thought that the punishment in this case was "scarcely adequate to the offence". He asked

the Political Agent whether he had the power of calling on the officer commanding the detachment to make over the criminal to him, to be punished at his discretion by fine or imprisonment. He also wanted to know the extent of the offence to authorise the intervention of the civil authority.[9]

By July 1857 complaints of the villagers against the grass cutters of the Risala of the 5th local House stationed at Chaibasa regarding the injury done to the young rice crops near the cantonment became numerous. When referred by the Assistant political agent to the military officers for punishment, the quantity of rice found in the grasscutter's bundles was deemed to be insufficient for any action.[10] Even when two cases with sufficient rice plants were forwarded to the army officers no notice was taken. The civil authorities feared that such provocations might lead to tribal disturbances and they urged the Political Agent to authorise the local civil authorities to deal with such problems. The Assistant Political Agent also requested the army officers to prevent the grass-cutters from going to the *khet* (embanked rice field) of the tribal peasants because there was abundant grass in many places outside the cultivated areas.

Another major area of dispute was the mushrooming of the liquor shops in the cantonment area without any licence. The Assistant Political Agent wanted to know under what rules and regulations such offenders could be arrested and punished.

As these problems were disturbing the Kolhan area it was rocked by a dispute in the Kunwar of Porahat's family. Chakradhar Singh, the former Kunwar of Porahat, complained that the then chief of Porahat was hostile to him. Chakradhar could not proceed beyond Bundyaon as all the porters, bearers, etc., employed to convey his household effects and left him at the instigation of his enemies.[11] Another case of defiance by the Porahat raja came to light. Suphal Dubhashia was not allowed by the raja to take a bride from his territory to marry in the former's family living in the British territories. In September 1837 one Nakphoree mahant represented to the Assistant Political Agent at Pootooderee in Kolhan that he had a *mukhtarnama* (power of attorney) from the Raja of Mayurbhanj, for the governance of the Kolhan and Bamanghatee frontier. He also claimed to have the authority to arrest those Kols who might commit any mischief in the raja's territories.

The *mukhtar* also brought a Kol of Culapur, convicted of plundering and murdering a traveller near the village of Satputea in Bamanghati.

The *mukhtar* also reported that several Kols had within the last two months emigrated from the *pirs* in the British acquired territory to Ramanghati. The Assistant Political Agent did not believe this story and suspected that the Porahat raja wanted to get rid of some old residents of Bamanghati due to some private reasons.[12]

Pitamree, the *mankee* of Tuniapir in Porahat represented with a large number of Kol ryots of his *pir* to the Assistant Political Agent that they wanted their territories to be annexed to the British East India Company's dominions in the Kolhan. This was followed by the *diwan* of Porahat representing through Chetan Tanti that the said *pir* had been allotted to the Porahat estate by Capt. Wilkinson himself.[13]

On the other hand the Kunwar of Saraikela, on the advice of Pudmun (Pradyumna) Singh and two brahmans, Madhumohan Pundit and Bambahadur Kabi, who were his main advisers, requested that they should be allowed to realise the revenue from some of the villages recently annexed by the British—Uchdih pir Sidhu pir and other villages from the Saraikela zamindari. The Assistant Political Agent warned them that any of their men seen levying taxes in these Kol villages would be arrested and punished.[14]

By October 1837 the Assistant Political Agent in Kolhan expressed satisfaction that "the influence of our rule has already begun to show itself throughout Sighbhum".[15] He listed among the achievements a most visible decrease in "those crimes which were formerly perpetrated with such impunity". Wherever the Kols were placed "under the most moderate state of surveillance" or wherever they were given proper facilities they generally gave evidence of good behaviour and peaceful intention.[16] On the other hand the Kols of remote areas were not so peaceful : the distance of the Assistant Political Agent's headquarters, the absence of any police station or outpost or the absence of any trustworthy person to be posted there to look after these areas and to report immediately on any mischief—these were said to militate against a peaceful atmosphers. The non-tribal people from the neighbouring areas of Dalbhum and Bamanghati—the tantis, ghasis and others—instigated the Kols and created suspicion in their minds towards the British authorities. Even some mischief mongers from Porahat were seen misguiding the simple Kols of Kotgarh and Jamdapir, but the

efforts of the Assistant Political Agent changed the attitude of these Kols who had of late begun to look at the British authorities with suspicion and terror.[17] They now showed "much cheerful confidence" towards the British authorities.

Some of the *pirs* were still in a state of chaos, for example, Burpiri and Oulapur where some hardened criminals released recently from Kishanpur were creating some trouble after collecting the criminals of several villages. The leaders, Pat (formerly of Rayabassad), Borha and Debi, formerly of Buludia, had remained at large in spite of the mopping up operations of Capt. Wilkinson in 1837. Patel, Pata's *dhangor* (henchman), Gapree and Bojhia of Palsa had entrenched themselves in Pokam, a small village in the jungles, to the south of Jayantgarh. They had assembled 20 to 25 camp followers from Palsa, Rajabassa and Kuntea pada and kept themselves in touch with Lalgarh and Oulapir. They communicated with several villages through the prisoners returned from the headquarters of the South-West Frontier Agency, Kishanpur, and won them over.[18]

One strange trait of tribal leadership came to light during this period. A Bhuiyan named Mangnee Naik of Durbeel in Keonjhar in Orissa had been instrumental in getting the rebels together. He used to practise magical charms and herbal medicines among the Kols and therefore hewas venerated by them. He had performed *pujas* with elaborate rituals to ensure their victory over the British forces in 1837 and had issued charmed arrows which Poto circulated in the villages around. Not content with the ordinary *puja* Poto with his leading associates[19] now decided a date for a grand *puja* with Magnee Naik as the officiating priest. However, the Kunwar of Kharsawan arrested him for not paying the *peshkash* (customary present) to him.[20] The Assistant Political Agent immediately asked the Kunwar to hand over Naik to the British custody.

One of the allegations against the rebels was that out of a party of eleven people bringing thirty-two heads of cattle for sale in the detachment bazar eight were murdered. These victims were bazar banias, one of them being a butcher. Likewise six people journeying from Keonjhar with salt and two telis (oil vendors) of Kharsawan were murdered for the sake of plunder. The robbers usually operated on the road passing through Jayantgarh through thick jungles.

Even the Kols in these *pirs* who were well-disposed and friendly towards the British kept quiet in spite of repeated requests by the Assistant Political Agent. Indeed, they were "too alarmed at the prospect of retaliation from their relations to attempt anything against them", thus "suffering themselves to be plundered and insulted with the utmost passiveness".[21]

The local British authorities could very well rely on the *mankis* and *mundas* (village chiefs) for maintaining peace, but they had first "to appreciate the real advantages of aiding and abetting justice and in heartily assisting the views of the Government in the apprehension of the offenders".[22] A repetition of the military operations of 1836-37 might help; but the Assistant Political Agent feared that this would have a "very transient" impression, for the jungles were "sufficient security against punishment."[23] He further feared that unless some large police station under a trustworthy person or a respectable outpost the local detachment was permanently set up at or near Bulundia, military operations would have to be repeated off and on.

The revenue settlement of Kolhan had begun in 1820.[24] But the rule of eight annas a plough was hardly observed. In 1837 the amount already agreed, i.e. eight annas per plough or five *kundis* of seed used in the land or two annas per *kundi* for the smaller and detached cultivated portions were fixed. In the neighbouring zamindari the average was Rs. 2.50 for five *kundis*. The *mundas* and mankis were paid 6th for collecting the taxes. The gross receipts came to rupees 5,259-12-11.[25] This was a very low amount. But 1837 was a year of scardity and some epidemics among the cattle. However, the Assist. Political Agent rightly pointed out that in Kolhan the assessment was necessarily left to "the voluntary statement of each moonda or head of a village", merely checked in some instances by appeals to the corroboration or otherwise of the Hindu or other non-tribal residents.[26] The most frequent instances of concealment were amongst those Kols who had got small detached portions of land, either through a sale or held as a security for the repayment of loans, in different villages apart from their own. Many Kols residing in their own villages, possessed large tracts of land in the heart of the jungles where no one could certify the actual quantity of land cultivated. A good deal of land yet unassessed was tilled in many detached percels by the more "uncivilised people living in solitary huts in the jungles[27] bordering Bamanghati. It was well

nigh impossible to locate their huts or to ascertain the number of their ploughs or the extent of the land under their cultivation.

The British authorities also faced the problems of procuring man power for cultivating fallow lands. Since the area was sparsely populated a large part of Kolhan looked deserted and lying waste for many years.[28] Formerly these villages were inhabited by Bhumijes (tribesmen of Dalbhum and Manbhum) and Bhuiyans, Dhurwas and Gwalas (miliman) who in course of time were ousted by the Larka Kols. As a monument to the non-tribal peasantry's industry there were many tanks, bunds and mango groves which could be easily restored to their former beauty and utility. A still larger tract of land on the eastern borders of Kolhan had not yet been redeemed.

Even though South-West Kolhan was hilly it had valleys and patches of soil which could very well be cultivated if some settlers were found. In one instance thirty-six large and flourishing villages which at one time had been inhabited by hard working Bhuiyans were now turned into a desert. Such complete desertion was the result of the deprodations of the Kols and the unprincipled repacity of the neighbouring zamindars. But given a chance for re-settlement Kolhan could yield much more land revenue than it did in 1837 according to the number of ploughs. The Assistant Political Agent estimated that in case every thing was normal, they could get Rs. 7,012/- in 1841.[29] A little of encouragement and a promise of protection, he imagined, might get a number of Santhals from the neighbouring Bamanghatee to Toipir. In fact, more than a hundred such families were living here before they were expelled by the Kols. Now the large tracts of the jungle of Debra and Bengbooroo could be cleared and turned into a rich arable country.

The jealousy and suspicion of one tribe against the other could be seen here. The Nos feared that the Santhals by their number and industry could soon overrun and extirpate them. The Assistant Political Agent, however, thought that the government could not encourage such "needless apprehension" of the Larka Kols who were ever ready to drive ut all non-Larka settlers but were themselves not at all prepared to work on land. They were also found to be totally opposed to the idea of land upliftment as they had "absurd and extravagant" superstitions.[30] In Toipir particularly almost every villager claimed a tract of the bordering jungle as his own by right for the growth of

grass for his cattle and thatching of the roof of his house as well as wood for house-building and kitchen, but most of all as the abode of the titular spirit, the Bonga. Naturally no stranger dared to cultivate these tracts. In 1833 some Santhals did try to clear some parcels of land near Bengbooroo. They were attacked by the Kols of Goedeebas under a notorious thief named Keetee, three of them killed and the others driven out on the pretext so common in Kolhan that the Santhals used their witchcraft against Keetee's horse which eventually died.

Similarly the southern portion of Kolhan was long deserted since the Bhuiyans were driven away from there to Keonjhar by the Kols. Now these Bhuiyans were eager to resettle there and could very well be brought back, for unlike in the neighbouring Hindu estates, they would be exempt from the extra levies of taxes and tasks. Meanwhile the Kols themselves could be induced to work hard and give up their plundering activities.

By September 1838 when the cold season was about to begin the Kolhan authorities were planning to travel in the interior for the sake of fresh assessment as well as to get in touch with the common people to hear their grievances.[31]

The British authorities built a hospital for the Kols. It was housed in a hut 36 foot by 12 feet with a verandah five feet on one side.[32] This was done to introduce modern methods of treating diseases among the tribesmen. The local authorities also tried to open some modern schools for the local people.[33]

Many Hindus of the area wanted to get English education for their children. But the tribal children, it was suggested, should for at least two years be taught the Oriya language commonly spoken by the Hindus of Singhbum, Keonjhar, etc, so that they could become familiar with "their more civilised neighbours".[34] Only then could they be instructed in Hindustani and English. An initial expenditure of Rs. 290/- and a monthly expense of Rs. 54/- would suffice.[35] By March 1838 an Oriya teacher started teaching 5 or 6 Kol youths. It was hoped that a Hindi teacher would be easy to get, but there was some element of uncertainty about the English teacher.

Thus after more than a year had passed since the Hos of Kolhan had been placed under British rule, their society and economy were in a state of flux. Tensions persisted even as local British authorities were

trying to regularise the land revenue system as well as to create confidence in the tribesmen about the efficacy of British rule. One thing which these authorities did not appreciate was the peculiarity of the cultural traditions of the Hos which needed protection against external onslaught. In any case they could not be treated on a par with the neighbouring Mundas, Oraons and the Bhumijes. Adequate curbs on outsiders could have made the Hos happier and more contented.

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2. See J. C. Jha, British Contact with Singhbhum, 1821-1833, *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XLVII.
3. See J. C. Jha, 'The British Occupation of Kolhan (Singhbhum), 1836-37, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1965, p. 297.
4. The *pirs* taken from Porahat were Borpir, Kotgarhpir, Jamlapir, Bontoriapir, Reggrapir, Gumrapir, Barlelapir, Kuldihapir, Kainuapir, Coilkerpir, Chainpurpir, Ayodhyapir, Relapir, Sarandapir and Letuapir. In lieu of these pirs the Porahat raja was granted an annual pension of Rs. 5000/- which lapsed in 1858. J. H. Taylor, *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement operations in the Porahat Estate*, Calcutta, 1904, p. 2.
5. See J. C. Jha, 'Singhbhum under the South-West Frontier Agency, 1837-54', *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. LV, pp. 151-57.
6. See J. C. Jha, *The Kol Insurrection of Chota-Nagpur*, Calcutta, 1964, p. 223 and J. C. *The Bhumij Revolt of 1832-33*, Delhi, 1967, p. 181 : the Agency was actually inaugurated on 15 January 1834.
7. Asstt. Political Agent at Kochrapoorandea to Pol. Agent Wilkinson 19 Nov. 1837 no. 99, Extract from Singhbhum District old Correspondence during 1837-41, vol. 118 state Archives, Patna
8. Asstt. Pol. Agent at Camp Ruiya to Pol. Agent, 27 Nov. 1837, ibid. no. 101.
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10. Asstt. Pol. Agent to Pol. Agent, 19 July 1837, ibid, no. 44.
11. Assistant Pol. Agent at Pootoodeeree to Pol. Agent 21 May, 1837, ibid.
12. Asstt. Political Agent at Pootooderee to Pol. Agent at Kishanpur, 5 Sept. 1822 ibid No. 62. A *manki* or *mankse* was the tribal head of a circle of villages.
13. Asstt. Pol. Agent to Pol. Agent, 18 Sept. 1837, ibid, no. 68.
14. Asstt. Pol. Agent at Pootoodeeree to Pol. Agent, 23 Sept. 1837, ibid. no. 72.
15. Asstt. Pol. Agent at Pootoodeeree in Kolhan to Pol. Agent, 31 Oct. 1837, ibid. no. 8.

16. Ibid. The Kols in the neighbourhood of the Assistant Political Agent's jurisdiction e. g. of Burkela, Rajabassa, Ajudhia, Oonchdih, bheripir and the less remote parts of Gumlapir as also these living in the hilly areas of Regra. Kalinawa, Suruda, Gopinathpur and Govindpur *pirs* were specially quiet.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid. The names of twenty-two villages were obtained through the informants—Lalgarh. Kundbund, Kuliya, Koomirta, Oilapir, Oondooda, Ryekumar, Kokorbata, Echakootee, Kakapookooria, Banagootoo, Pandwabooroo and Roogla of Burpeeru. Buludia, Sardeea, Majumlohar, Ruiya, Jaipur, Gumharia, Kantabeela, Kondra, Kurra, Darbeela, Patta Dumaria and Lukhipir.
19. Ibid. Poondea, Jatoon and Janko of Patta Dumaria, Kochi and Surdhan of Darbeela, Nara and Top of Buludia.
20. Ibid. These pieces of information were supplied to the Asstt. Pol. Agent by Rajoo Mahapater of Padmapir, Bhimdco Mahapater of Jaganathpur and several of the mankis and mundas like Martum, Paska, Deela and Jeomal of Burpeeree as well as by several travellers who passed through the area.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. See *Settlement Report*. op. cit, p. 2
25. Asstt. Pol. Agent at Pootoodeeree to Pol. Agent, 6 June 1838, Singhbhum old Correspondence, 1837-11, vol. 116, no. 98.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid. In Burburiapir the villages of Patta moda, Pilka, Kijrea, Joadiro and Deojoree; in Toiopir—Banka, Kyrca, Pokhrea, Bongasindree, Kasea, Katbari, Tentura, Beechabooroo, greater parts of Bhoolka, Roomjoo, Chota Roonjoo, Burburia, Barkeemara, Bhagabeela, Taruro, Rampur; in Lalgarhpir all the formerly extensive land of Lalgarh itself, a large parts of Humerdoogee, Koodahatoo, Bharosiya, Baradhacree, Torilpee, Konkal, Havree, Jojohatu, Tiyapose, Panchbyas, Balibun, Byhatoo; in Burpeeree eighteen villages.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. Kolhan assistant's Political Agent officc to Pol. Agent Wilkinson, 21 Sept. 1838, ibid no. 173.
32. Assistant Pol. Agent at Pootooderee in Rolhan to Pol. Agent, SWFA, 9 July 1837, ibid.
33. Asstt. Pol. Agent at Pootoodeeree (Kolhan) to Pol. Agent, 11 March 1838, ibid. no. 37
34. Ibid.
35. The School building was to cost Rs. 200/-; the boards, inks, records, pens. palm leaf books, etc., would cost Rs. 40/- and the English books Rs. 50/-. Among the monthly expenses were such items as the Oritya teacher Rs. 10/- the Hindi teacher Rs. 10/-, the English teacher Rs. 30/- and a sweeper Rs. 4/-.

PRIMITIVE REBELLION AND MODERN NATIONALISM : A NOTE ON FOREST SATYAGRAHA IN THE NON-COOPERATION AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENTS

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'Forest satyagraha'—the reassertion by poor peasants and tribals of traditional customary rights over forests 'reserved' by the colonial state—represents an almost forgotten but fascinating aspect of the Gandhian era. While conventional nationalist historiography has tended to concern itself mainly with the ideals and activities of great leaders, the much-advertised recent shift in the work of the 'Cambridge school' from nation and province to 'locality' retains a basically elitist stance with its incessant search for relatively privileged groups whose "ambitions" are assumed to have "created" political movements.[1] Forest movement involving in the main the lowest strata of rural society quite naturally seldom get more than a passing reference in such accounts.[2]

I have tried in this paper to make a very preliminary study of forest conflicts connected with nationalism during the decade 1921-1931, on the basis of fairly obvious and easily-available sources.[3] I feel that apart from its intrinsic interest, the subject has some relevance to the current debate among students of Indian nationalism about the significance and the degree of autonomy of peasant and lower-class movenments in Gandhian upsurges.[4] At a more general level, a further theme suggests itself. A millenarian note was not uncommon in the reassertion of lost forest rights, and studies of forest satyagraha might hopefully contribute a little some day to the world-wide discussion among anthropologists and historians concerning the relations between 'primitive rebels' and modern social movements.[5]

Conflicts over forest claims have been extremely common in feudal or early-capitalist rural societies in many parts of the world. If royal and aristocratic monopolies over hunting rights had been a major peasant grievance in the Europe of the ancient regime, the development of bourgeois conceptions of property soon posed an even greater threat to the precious customary rights of poorer village-folk to the timber, grazing and other facilities of forest lands. It is interesting to recall that an article condemming legislation against theft of wood in the Rhinelands constituted one of the earliest publications of the young

Marx.[6] Forest conflicts in Hanoverian England have been illuminated by E.P. Thompson's recent study,[7] Eric Hopsbawm has described the tragic impact of post-unification Italian forest laws on the marginal small proprietors and the peasant millenarianism it helped to produce in Tuscany[8] and Eugene Weber's *Peasants into Frenchmen* contains abundant information about the gradual erosion of peasant communal rights over woodlands in nineteenth century France.

Forest rights have been particularly important in our country, with its peculiar coexistence of food-gathering, shifting cultivation ('podu' or 'jhum') and settled agriculture.[9] In colonial India, pressures on forest lands took the form of usurious exploitation by traders and moneylenders from more developed areas rather than the growth of capitalist property relations, and led to occasional tribal explosions among which the great Santal rebellion of 1855 against Bengali 'didkus' and their white protectors is the best known. From the last quarter of the nineteenth century onwards, a further potent source of tension emerged as the colonial state tightened its control over forest zones for revenue purposes, banning or restricting shifting cultivation in 'reserved' forests and trying to monopolize forest wealth. The correspondence of the Bombay Governor with Lord Lansdoune in February 1890 reveals a vivid picture of fires underground. "The Forest policy, the Abkari policy, the Salt duty, the screwing-up of land revenue by revision settlements, all make us odious".[10] "We know pretty well what the educated natives want, but what the feelings are of the uneducated, I admit I don't know. That in these parts the Forest Department is hated is a fact and I have always considered an abrupt cessation of privileges (which in many cases are *rights*) a most dangerous policy . ." The Governor described peasants as complaining: "You make us pay more land revenue—and at the same time you prevent us from getting the branches we want for our ash-manure, and the grass we want for our cows—".[11] The continuity of popular grievances is striking, though seldom noted in conventional historiography: salt, land revenue, excise and forests were precisely the issues around which Gandhi was to forge a country-wide movement a whole generation later.

Data on such conflicts happen to be particularly abundant for the hill areas of present-day Andhra Pradesh. The Chenchus of the Nallamalai hills (Cuddapah and Nellore districts) were described in

1909 as "constantly in debt to the Komatis—and practically their slaves as regards the supply of timber and other forest produce". From 1898 onwards the Forest Department was trying to reduce traditional Chenchu forest rights-restricting the amount of timber permitted for domestic purposes, reducing the area set apart for grazing, etc.--an effort inhibited, however, by the fact that a policy of pure repression might mean, "the total destruction by fire of the Nallamalai forests."[12] Administration was further tightened up after the 1913 Forest Committee Report, and this coincided with an extension of links with the coastal areas, cattle owned by prosperous Reddis being sent to graze in the upland forests under 'Lambadi' graziers. A sharp rise in the number of forest offences was reported in 1920-21, and efforts were made to expel Chenchus aiding Lambadies in the Cuddapah forests. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Rayachoti taluk of Cuddapah became a storm-centre of forest satyagraha under Non-Cooperation auspices in 1921-22.[13]

Even more revealing perhaps were the developments in the hill regions lying to the north and north-east of the Godavari, constituting under the British the Godavari and Vizagapatam Agency tracts and inhabited mainly by the Koyas, the Konda Doras and the Kondhs. Thuston in 1909 found the Koyas "terribly victimised by traders and money-lenders from the low country." Shifting or 'podu' cultivation was very common in this entire area, not really because the tribals were ignorant or lazy as hasty administrators sometimes believed but because most of them had "no ploughs or agricultural cattle".[14]

At the heart of this region lay Chodavaram, the 'Rampa' country (so-called by the British after the family name of its traditional chief or 'mansabdar')—the centre of almost endemic rebellion for more than a hundred years. After this mansabdar had made a raid into the plains in 1813, the British came to an arrangement with him, allowing him to go on collecting rent from his subordinate hill chiefs (called muttadars). Conflicts soon developed between the mansabdar and the tribal villages led by their muttadars, for the former had started "deriving a considerable revenue from taxes on fuel and grazing and other unauthorized cesses" while enjoying the protection of the British.[15]

There were revolts in 1840, 1845, 1858, 1861 and 1862, culminating in a major rising in March 1879 to which police exactions, indebtedness of tribals to low country traders, and now Abkari regulations

farming out toddy revenue to outsiders and restricting domestic drawing of toddy also contributed greatly. This became a really major affair embracing 5000 square miles by July 1879 and spreading to the Golkonda hills in Vizagapatam to the north-east and Rekapelle in Bhadrachalam district to the west (where restrictions on podu cultivation were being imposed). It could be suppressed only in November 1880 with the use of six regiments of Madras infantry and two companies of sappers and miners, and the "harassing guerrilla warfare" was effective enough to compel the removal of the mansabdar and a direct settlement with the muttadar.

Unrest continued, however, with the tightening of forest rules providing an additional major source of discontent; now directly anti-British : the reserved forests of Bhadrachalam were extended from 68 square miles in 1874 to 942 square miles by 1901, forest revenue going up in the same period from Rs. 21,000 to Rs. 2 lakhs.[17] Risings were reported again in 1900 and 1916. That of 1900 in Vizagapatam Agency seems particularly interesting. It was led by a Konda Dora named Korra Mallaya who "pretended that he was inspired—gathered round him a camp of 4-5000 people from various parts of the agency—gave out that he was a reincarnation of one of the five Pandava brothers; that his infant son was the boy krishna; that he would drive out the English and rule the country himself; and that to effect this, he would arm his followers with bamboos, which should be turned by magic into guns, and could change the weapons of the authoritiesi nto water."[18] All the classic elements of millenarian primitive rebellion are clearly evident in this brief but strangely moving account.

In this explosive atmosphere came the spark of Non-Cooperation. with its rumour (necessarily vague and distorted but all the more potent) of the coming of an apocalyptic 'Gandhi Raj'. When Gandhi came to Cuddapah in September 1921, he was greeted by "enormous crowds" of villagers who believed "that he would get their taxes reduced and the Forest Regulations abolished--many returned home greatly disappointed".[19] Forest satyagraha as it developed in Rayachoti and Palnad (a forest taluk of Guntur district where tightening of forest laws had coincided with a bad harvest in 1921) was marked by two distinct strands. Congress leaders like Konda Venkatappayya at the Palrad taluk Political Conference (August 1921) "were not very much in favour of the movement for the defiance of forest regulations",

and wanted to confine the agitation to a social boycott of forest officials.

But already from July onwards villagers had started sending their cattle into reserved forests without paying grazing fees and the movement in Palnad culminated with some forest villages proclaiming swaraj and violently attacking police parties in early 1922 at Veludurthi, Jattipalem and Minchalapadu (where 3 were killed in police firing).[20] At Rayachoti from August 1921 "during a period of 3 or 4 months there was quite an epidemic of forest crime attended with violence". Village munsiffs put up notices "saying that all the people were free to go into the forests and remove what they wanted."[21] The Forest Administration Report of 1921-22 admitted a virtual loss of control for some time over Palnad taluk and the Nallamalai hills in Rayachoti in face of "large bands of men imbued with the idea that Gandhi Raj was either in being or about to be established and that the forest was theirs to work their will upon".[22] What was involved was evidently far more than an agitation interested of prosperous coastal cattle breeders acting through Lambadies, as Baker would like to have it.

Nor was forest satyagrahs merely an Andhra affair. On 10 July 1921 Reading reported that 250,000 out of 400,000 acres of forest in the Kumaon Division of U. P. had been burnt down.[23] Cavalry had to be sent to Muzaffarpur in N. Bihar in December 1921 to tackle an agitation over grazing rights.[24] From Bengal, too, came reports of Santals reasserting their lost forest rights in the Jhargram region of Midnapur, and widespread looting of woodlands in Banskhali and Cox's Barar areas of Chittagong.[25]

Forest movements died down quickly after the anti-climax of the Bardoli withdrawal, with one major exception-the old 'Rampa' country north of the Godavari, scene of a veritable guerrilla war between August 1922 and September 1924.[26] It was led by a remarkable man, Allori Sitarama Raju, still revered as a hero and martyr in his home district but almost unknown outside Andhra.[27] From the vivid account left by the Special Commissioner of Agency Operations in August 1924, the roots of this rebellion seem fairly familiar; forest laws, made particularly irksome by a corrupt Tahsildar (Bastian of Guden), comming on top of exploitation by sowcars. Peasants with some land and cattle were hit by the restrictions on grazing—' as Kuda Ramayya put it, 'we are fined Rs. 15 for cutting a stick and have to pay 4 as.

for a calf so high to graze." "Others who had no lands or cattle said they had been able to eke out a living by podu before it was restricted. Podu does seem to have been the resource of such though the sowcar probably got most of the profit, and also to some extent of the men with lands because they have not enough cattle to properly manure and the valley cultivate land—podu for 3 years at least gives good crops."[28] The recorded grievances of individual rebel prisoners make fascinating roading. Thus Yendu Padol (a rebel leader) had not been paid for roadwork and constables had seized milk and fowls from him; 4 "landowning" rebels from Malamakaram had murdered a forest guard and joined Raj as desperate men (a classic beginning for social bandits as Hobsbawm reminds us);[29] "Edem Pantayya—had some of his old cultivated land included in the forest reserve and had been fined for illicit grazing;" "Jampa Chinnayya of the same village lost his lands to the Sowcar and was fined Rs. 100/- for illicit grazing"; "Boodu Chinnayya was fined Rs. 40/- once for doing podu in a prohibited area".[30]

Yet certain new elements are at least equally striking. Sitarama Raju was not a local village muttadar unlike previous leaders, but "a men without family or interest"[31], an outsider coming from a group which claimed Kshatriya status and often some proficiency in Telgu and Sanskrit scholarship.[32] Wandering among the tribals from 1915 as a Sanyasi claiming astrological and medicinal powers, and coming under Non-Coorperation influence in 1921, he had started preaching against drink and organizing village panchayats. The Deputy Tahsildar of Malkanagiri who was summoned by the rebel leader in June 1923 described Raju as dressed in a "red coloured Khaddar he spoke highly of Mr. Gandhi but considers that violence is necessary."[34] The Tahsildar of Chodavaram reported in October 1922 that Raju in a meeting with him expressed sorrow "that he was not able to shoot Europeans as they were always accompanied and surrounded by Indians whom he did not want to kill"[35] and in fact at the Damarapalli ambush of 24 September 1922 the rebels allowed the advance party of Indians to pass and then shot down two British officers.[36] But anti-imperialist ideology was still accompanied by primitive messianic elements. Raju "hints he is bullet proof", reported the Melkanagiri Deputy Tahsildar,[37] while rebel proclamation in April 1924 claimed that "God Shri Jagannadhaswami would incarnate very shortly as Kalikavatara and appear before us"[38]

The rebellion began with a series of successful attacks on police station to obtain arms, and developed into a remarkable guerrilla war The rebel force numbered no more than a hundred, but had "supernumeraries all over the disturbed area who joined it whenever it was in their locality"--fish in water, in other words, who enjoyed the sympathy "of the majority of the local hill population over an area of about 2500 square miles,[40] who had cost the Madras Government Rs. 15 lakh by March, 1924,[41] and who were able to defy the Malabar Special Police and the Assam Rifles for rearly 2 years. The Madras government repeatedly pleaced for special powers from New Delhi 'to deal with what is virtually a rebel population'[42] Eventually, Raju was captured in an accidental encounter on 6 May 1924, and was promptly reported shot in an 'attempt to run away.[43]—a formula that sounds unpleasantly familiar. Even than, resistance continued for another 3 or 4 months.

The next great wave of forest unrest coincided with the Civil Disobedience upsurge of 1930-31, though research on Forest Administration Reports and judicial records might reveal many more incidents and a greater continuity then is possible to establish so far.[44] An intriguing shift in the location of forest movements becomes evident in 1930-31. Apart from a single ambush of a police party by Kondhs in the Vizagapatam Agency in January 1931,[45] "a dangerous, through isolated and quickly" suppressed outbreak of defiance of Forest grazing regulations" in Kangra (Punjab)[46], and extensive hunting of elephants and rhino in N. Kamrup (Assam) by Kachari tribals allegedly inspired by the Congress leader Chandraprobha Saikiani,[47] the centres of forest agitation were all in the hill regions of Maharashtra, Karnataka and the Central provinces.

One is tempted to suggest an inverse relationship between the strength of Congress organisation—most evident in 1930 in provinces like U.P., Bihar and Gujrat as well as parts of Andhra—and the development of more elemental and uninhibited forms of popular action like forest upheavals.[48] Despite (or may be because of) the sustained work of Congress volunteers in the Bardoli region of Gujrat among the Raniparaj on forest issues as well as prohibition,[49] forest satayagraha caught on much more in the politically more 'backward' regions like the Central Provinces—where a badely frightened Governor in July 1930 described Civil Disobedience as 'sweeping up from Bombay into Barar and Mahratta country. The popular attitude towards it is semi-religi-

ous—'[50] 'I shall have to hit hard and may have to shoot a bit' he informed Irwin a few days later, referring to forest 'maenads'[51]

As in 1921, two forms or phases can be distinguished in Civil Disobedience forest satyagraha. The element of centralised initiative direction and organisation is considerably more evident in 1930. Already in February 1930, a circular of Motilal Nehru had suggested breach of Central Provinces forest laws (though only as 'an exception)[52], and the Working Committee in May sanctioned forest satyagraha as legitimate form of Civil Disobedience. Training camps were set up for volunteers (as at Sangamner in Ahmednagar district of Bombay),[53] satyagraha centres were carefully selected (106 in Berar, for instance between July and September 1930) and efforts were made to restrict the movement to boycott Forest Department auctions and peaceful mass violations of grazing and timber rules[55]—with the forest produce being brought to towns and publicly sold there as with illegally manufactured salt. The Karnatak Satyagraha Mandal even tried to specify the kind of trees that were to be cut down.[56] The movement developed into a realy formidable one over vast areas so much so that the Bombay Governor later recommended the head of the Forest Department for the Honours List on the ground that he had 'had a particularly difficult time' during the civil Disobedience day.[57]

As repression intensified and removed the leaders, the movements soon acquired much less inhibited forms, most notably among Gonds of the Central Provinces and the Kolis of the Western Ghats. Space does not permit detailed analysis of the very numerous attempted rescues of arrested leaders and violent attacks on police and forest guards, but the official catalogues of 'Congress Violence' list 10 such instances in the Central Provinces between July and October 1930[58] and 20 in Bombay Presidency between May and October of the same year.[59] The Gonds of Banjaridhal (Betual district C. P.), for instance, bitterly resisted police attempts to arrest their leader Ganjam Korku on 22-23 August.[60] The Kolis of Kanashi and Chankapur (Nasik district, Bombny) "filled with stories that the British Raj had been replaced by Gandhi Raj,' after a ceremonial banquet 'started to shout Congress slongans refused to disperse (and) hurled down stones' in face of police firing.[61] In Baglan taluk of the same district on 13 October, after some arrests had been made for refusal of grazing fees, 'about 100 women from Tembhe—suddenly come up and formed a cordon round the arrested men to

prevent thier being taken away. The party subsequently decided to give up the arrested men.'[62] Such men and women deserve a better fate than the total oblivion that has been their lot so far.

A Congress leaflet on one such incident (Bilashi in Satara district) rigidly demarcating peaceful forest Satyagraha from violent tribal outbursts,[63] serves as a pointer to a conclusion which must already appear quite obvious. Though Gandhian nationalism directly or indirectly made a great and perhaps indispensable contribution to the forging of a movement out of longfelt but inchoate grievances, it made little effort to integrate poor peasant and tribal militancy into its mainstream. Where more permanent links were established with tribal movements, it was usually with the relatively moderate sects striving for internal reform (often on 'Sanskritizing' lines) which tended to appear after the flesh-point of millenarian hope had passed away.[64] The later stages of the Tana Bhagat sects among the Oraons or the Sapha Hor revival under Bangam Manjhi among Gumia Santals in 1930, might serve as example[65] For the rest, as with the not entirely dissimilar cases of communal riots springing out of agrarian discontent, tribal movements in isolation developed along 'separatist' channels—the Nagas, for instance, or the Jharkhand agitation in chota Nagpur. That the situation has had much greater potentialities in a revolutionary direction has been revealed however, in the occassional, sporadic, perhaps sometimes adventurist, but truly heroic instances of movements under Left guidance: the Hajongs, of the Garo Hills organised by Moni Singh in the late 1930; the Rajbansis who flocked to the Tebhaga banner in 1946-47; the Warlis of Maharashtra under Godavari Perulakar, the Koyas of the Godavari forests under Communist leadership in the great Tellangana struggle of 1948-51.,[65] Naxalbari and Srikakulam in more recent times.

As I conclude this paper, news comes of forcible occupation of forest lands and uprooting of trees in W. Midnapur, allegedly led by the CPI (M) and the CPI.[66] The issues raised by forest satyagraha, like so many other hopes that our national movement, aroused but could not fulfil, remain with us today thirty years after independence.

REFERENCES

1. D. A. Washbrook clearly states this basic assumption: "The leaders of the movement, that is to say the people who created it, require a careful analysis, for in

their ambitions must lie its causes". *The Emergence of Provincial Politics. Madras Presidency 1870—1920* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 279

2. A partial exception is C. J. Baker's account of violation of forest laws in Rayachoti taluk of Cuddapah and Palned taluk of Guntur in 1921-22 (*Non-Co-operation in South India*, in C. J. Baker and D. A. Washbrook, *South India. Political Institutions and Political Change 1880-1940*, Macmillan, 1975, pp. 99-103). Baker however does his best to relate this movement to the vested interests of of prosperous Reddi cattle breeders, and leaves it out altogether in his later detailed study of *The Politics of South India, 1920—1937* (Cambridge, 1976). Even more striking is his total silence about the 'Rampa' rebellion of 1922-24, far more militant and obviously lower-class.
3. The Home Political records of the Government of India, M. Venkatarangaiya's invaluable selection of Madras Government of India, M. Venkatarangaiya's invaluable selection of Madras Goverment Records (*Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh*, Volume III, Hyderad, 1965), the AICC files, district gazeteers, and some anthropological literature.
4. Dr Gyan Pandey has recently emphasised the autonomous role of 'peasant nationalism' in his study of Civil Disobedience in the United Provinces (In the press. I am grateful to Dr. Pandey for permitting me to read his book in manuscript). I have also benefited greatly from my discussions on this point with Shri Ranajit Guha (Sussex University).
5. E. J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels* (Manchester, 1959, 1974) and *Bandits* (London, 1969). See also Norman Cohn's The *Pursuit of the Millenium* (New York, 1961) and P. Worsuleys fascinating study of Melanesian Cargo cults : *The Trumpet Shall Sound* (Paladin, 1970). Virtually the only Indian contribution so far to the literature on millenarianism is Stephen Fuchs' *Rebellious Prophets : A Study of Messianic Movements in Indian Religions* (Asia, 1965).
6. *Debates on the Law on Thefts of Wood* (*Rheinische Zeitung*, October-November 1842).
7. E. P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters* (London, 1975)
8. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels*, p. 67.
9. D.D. Kosambi was probably the first to draw attention to this peculiar feature. "People could and did survive in the food-gathering stage when their immediate neighbours had become food-producers centuries earlier". He attributed this to the "ease and survival of food-gathering in monsoon forests. *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline* (London, 1965) p. 34.
10. Bombay Governor Reay to Lansdoune, 15 February 1890. Quoted from the Lansdoune Papers in B. L. Grover, *A Documentary Study of British Policy Towards Indian* Nationalism (Delhi, 1967), pp. 140-141.
11. Reay to Landoune, 20 February 1890, Ibid, p. 142.
12. E. Thurston and K. Rangachari, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (Madras 1909), Volume II, pp. 29—35.
13. The above account is based on Baker, *Non-Co-operation in South India*, in Baker and Washbrook, pp. 100-103

14. Thurston and Rangachari, Volume IV, p. 47; Volume III, p. 363.
15. F. R. Hemingway, *Godavari District Gazetteer* (Volume I, Madras, 1907), p. 272.
16. Ibid, pp. 264—274.
17. Ibid, pp. 92-101. The 'Rampa' area was not 'reserved' for some time "for political reasons" (Ibid, p. 93), but restrictions on padu were being enforced there, too, by the second decade of the 20th century—T. G. Rutherford's report 22 August 1924, in Venkatarangaiya, Document No. 101.
18. Thurston and Rangachari, Volume III, p. 353. The Koyas and Konda Doras, it may be added, have a legend that they are the offspring of Bhima and a forest woman—*Ibid* Volume IV, p. 56.
19. Cuddapah District Magistrate to Madras Government Judicial Department, 10 January 1922—Venkatarangaiya, p. 281.
20. Venkatarangaiya, pp. 37—38.
21. Cuddapah District Magistrate's note, op. cit—Ibid, p. 283.
22. *Madras Forest Administration Report (1921-22)*, p. 30, quoted in Baker and Weshbrook, p. 103.
23. Telegraphic Correspondence of Viceroy with Secretary of State, April—December 1921—MSS Eur E. 238/10 (Reading Collection, India Office Library).
24. Viceroy to Secretary of State, p/1196 (Weekly Telegram), 6 December 1921—Ibid.
25. Rajat Roy, *Social Conflict and Political* Unrest *in* Bengal, 1875—1927 (unpublished manuscript), pp. 309—311, 327—328. I am grateful to Dr Roy for permitting me to consult his manuscript.
26. Shri Gautam Bhadra (Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta) first drew my attention to the Rampa revolt. Baker preserves a remarkable silence about this movement, through elsewhere he makes considerable use of Venkatarangaiyas Volume (which contains forty pages of documents on the rebellion of 1922-24).
27. The Andhra Government has published a Telegu life of Sitarama Raju which I have not been able to use. A collection of Bengali poems by Sounendranath Tagore (*Biplab-Baisakhi*, August 1930), then a Communist, included one about 'Shri Ramraju Alluri' (Government of India, *Home Poll F.N. 29/X/1930*. I owe this reference to Sm. Tanika Sarkar). I am told by Andhra Communists that Raju is still a folk hero. See also the picture of Raju in the frontispiece of V. Raghavaiah's *Tribes of India*, Volume I, (New Delhi, 1969).
28. T. G. Rutherford (Special Commissioner, Agency Operations) to Madras Chief Secretary, 22 August 1924—Venkatarangaiy, pp. 366-369.
29. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels*, pp. 15-16, and *Bandits*, Chapter II.
30. Rutherford, op. cit.
31. A.P. Muddiman's note, 18 June 1924—*Home Poll F.N. 104/1924*.
32. Thurston and Rangachari, Volume VI, pp. 247-250.
33. Venkatarangaiya, Introduction, p. 79; Rutherford, op. cit., p. 366.
34. Report of Malkanagiri Deputy Tahsildar to Agency Commissioner, 13 June 1923—Venkatarangaiya, p. 388.
35. Godavari Collector's Report, 23 October 1922, cited in Ibid, p. 83.

36. D. O. from F. W. Stewart, Agency Commissioner, Narsapatam to Madras Chief Secretary, 26 September 1922—Ibid, p. 373.
37. Venkatarangaiya, Document No. 110.
38. Madras Government Press Communique, 12 April 1924—Ibid, p. 390.
39. Ibid, p. 90.
40. Madras Chief Secretary to Government of India (Home) No. 616-A-2, 18 April 1924—*Home Political F. N. 104/1924.*
41. Noted by C.W. Guyenne in the Home Department, 20 March 1924—Ibid.
42. Report of Major A.J. Hamilton on the Military Operations in the Agency Tracts of Madras, 21 March 1924—*Home Poll B 107/1924.* In October 1922, Madras pleaded for a blanket indemnity in advance for policemen fighting the rebellion; it asked for a special Ordinance to "ensure rapid and effective punishment" for rebel sympathisers in April 1924 and again in June 1924. New Delhi, however, turned down these requests, at least partly in view of possible enbarrassments vis-a-vis the Legislative Council. *Home Poll F.N. 898/1922, F.N. 104/1924.*
43. Telegram from Madras Government of India (Home), 13 May 1924—*Home Poll F.N. 104/1924.*
44. The history of crime has been almost entirely neglected in our country, though social historians elsewhere have long become aware of its possibilities as a guide to primitive and inchoate forms of social protest. Cf. E. Hobsbawn and G. Ruda, *Captain Swing* (London, 1969, 1973), pp. 54-57.
45. Instances of Congress violence in connection with the conduct of the civil disobedience campaign, Statement I—*Home Poll F.N. 14/19/1931.*
46. Fortnightly Report from Punjab, first half of September 1930—*Home Poll F. N. 18/X/1930.*
47. Fortnightly Report from Assam, second half of December 1930—*Home Poll F. N.* 18/XIII/1930.
48. This point has been first suggested by Dr Gyan Pandey on the basis of his U.P. Research.
49. Extract from Bombay Police Abstract No. 5, 2 February 1929—*Home Poll. F.N. 5/17/1931.*
50. Secret report of Simla Governor's Conference, 23 July 1930, included in the private papers of *F. H. Sykes* (Governor of Bombay)—Correspondence with Vicerey, etc., 1 July—31 December 1930 (*MSS Ear F. 150 264*, O. L.)
51. Montagu Butler to Irwin, 30 July 1930—*Halifax Collection*, Correspondence with Persons in India, July—December 1930 (MSS, Ear. C. 152, I.O.L.)
52. Text of circular in *Home Poll F. N.* 14/18/1931.
53. P. V. Mahajan (Secretary, Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee) to Vallabhai Patel, 28 July 1930—*Maharashtra Satyagraha File, 1930-31, AICC F. N. G-148/1930.*
54. Report of the Congress Activities of the Berar Province, 9 November 1930—*Berar Satyagraha File, AICC F. N. G-84/1930.*
55. In Begalan taluk of Nasik District, for instance, on 5 Agust 1930 "more than 70 thousand persons took part in it (forest satyagraha). Grass was cut in prohibited jungle, brought into the town and taken in grand procession—". Weekly report from Poona, 14 August 1930—*AICC F. N. G-148/1930.*

56. Minutes of Karnatak Satyagraha Mandal, Hubli, 10 August 1930—AICC F. N. 2/1930.
57. Brabourne to Willingdon, 19 February 1934—*Brabourne Colleotion (MSS Eur. F. 97/9*—I. O. L.)
58. *Home Poll F. N. 14/14/1931*, Statements I & II.
59. Forest incidents represented 2 out of the 47 clashes listed for the Northern Division of Bombay Presidency (i. e. Sind and Gujrat), 9 out of 21 for Central, and 9 out of 13 for South—a significant distribution. *Home Poll 14/19/1931.*
60. Central Provinces Chief Secretary to Government of India (Home, 1434/II, 25 August 1930—*Civil Disobedience in Central Provinces, Home Poll F. N. 253/1930.*
61. The Chanakapur incident took place on 20 October. Fortnightly Report from Bombay, Second half of October 1930—*Home Poll F. N. 18/xi/1930.*
62. *Home Poll 14/19/1931.*
63. *The Bilashi Case*—printed leaf let included in *AICC F. N. G. 148/1930.* Congress newspapers in Andhra, it may be added, had showed little sympathy for Raju in 1922—24—Venkatarangaiya, p. 92.
64. Peter Worsley's *The Trumpet Shall Sound* gives numarous instances of similar 'reformist' sects developing in the later stages of Cargo cults in Melanesia.
65. Stephen Fuchs, *Rebellious Prophets*, pp. 42, 57-58.
65a. P. Sundarayya, *Telengana Peoples Struggle and its Lessons* (Calcutta, 1972), PP 246 251.
66. Statesmen (Delhi, 22 October 1977).

ON THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY IN SOUTH INDIA-MUNRO TO MARX.

M. Pattabhirama Reddy

The Village Community as a self-sufficient unit of production based on hereditary division of labour and caste cohesion among the peasants'[1] was an ancient institution that evolved in stages through tribal territory, communal landholding by the clans and periodical redistribution of land among peasants in the various phases of savagery, barbarism and civilization.

The Athavana Vyavahara Tantram describes village community with its 12 functionaries (Panniddarayandlu (Telugu) or Barabalavant in Western Deccan) as in the Fifth Report, detailing the functions of each of the village servants.[2] The village community had also the traditional

eighteen castes cultivators, artisans, and the so called adiandhras, in various grades of serfdom or slavery. Only the upper castes the Kapus, Brahmins and Vaisyas had more or less perpetual rights of occupancy, while the rest of the peasants were tenants-at-will or held lands as remuneration for services rendered to the village. No lower caste artisan had enjoyed a right of occupancy, before Sir Thomas Munro's ryotwari settlement. Artisans and adiandhras cultivated lands either as sub-tenants or labourers. The so called untouchables, were attached to families of peasant communities in hereditary bondage and their condition was akin to slavery, as they were tied down to the village by the unalterable law of the caste system. The need for self-sufficiency and fulfilment of various mutual obligations made the caste system an indispensable framework within which the functions of each caste were permanently ordained by the law of Varnasramadharma, thus restricting the mobility of labour and occupations, and fettering the creative energies of the people.[3]

Since the publication of the Fifth Report in 1812, the Indian Village Community has been the subject of hairsplitting arguments among social scientists. The description of the constitution and functions of this age-old institution is itself taken from the "Northern Circars Report of the Committee of circuit and Memoirs of Mr. N.Oram delivered to Government in the years 1786 and 1787".[4] The report refers to the twelve functionaries including the Patel and Karnam, as the traditional establishment of a village which has continued unchanged through centuries, survived the desolation caused by war, famine and disease, untouched by dynastic changes and decline and fall of kingdoms, with its internal economy unchanged and its head inhabitant functioning as petty judge or magistrate and collector and renter of the village. Karl Marx quotes the descriptive passage from the Fifth Report,[5] and comments that the British conquest "dissolved these small semi-barbarian, semi-civilized communities by blowing up their economical basis and thus produced the greatest, and to speak the truth the only social revolution ever heard of in Asia".[6] These village communities acclaimed by British administrators as 'little republics' were characterised by Marx as solid foundations of oriental despotism, stagnatory, and contaminated by distinctions of caste and by slavery.[7] The fact that Karl Marx might have read the Fifth Report has been challenged by an Indian scholar, on the ground that Marx did not mention the Fifth Report in any of his

writings, and he surmises that Marx might have taken the quotation from either of the following books.[8]

1. Historical Sketches of South India 1810-1817. Vol. I by Lieut Col. Mard Wilks, and
2. Modern India by George Campbell (1853).

Bernier, it has been suggested by this scholar, misled Marx and Engels into thinking that the sovereign was the owner of all landed property, and the absence of private property was the key to the oriental heaven.[9] Marx however was not unaware of the existence of private property in South India. He had observed that the land did not belong to the government, 'the greater proportion of it being private property, and properietory rights already existed almost in every acre of land.'[10] In his letter to Engels he wrote "In the hill country South of Krishna property in land does seem to have existed.[11] Marx who had diligently read numerous volumes of parliamentary reports in his researches on the crisis of capitalism could not have missed the Fifth Report. He was familiar with the writings of Munro, Elphinstone, Campbell, Wilkes, James Mill and Wilson. One who had described Munro and Elphinstone as men of genius who had real sympathy for these people,[12] could have studied the voluminous minutes of Sir Thomas Munro on the land tenures and the ancient system of ryotwari tenure which he championed so effectively.[13] The land was 'tilled in common'[14] according to Marx in the simplest form of village organization and the produce divided among its members. The simplicity of the organization resulted in self-sufficiency, unalterable division of labour, and unchangeableness, and reproduction on the same pattern. The rhetorical passages should be interpreted to mean the unevenness of the rural society. Long established villages developed family communities occupying large holdings depending upon their labour resources and stock continued side by side with newly colonized villages where geographical and climatic conditions required communal labour for excavation of tanks and reclamation of virgin soil. Single families obtaining royal sanctions occupied whole villages and invited strangers to join them as tenants at will. So there were various stages of development Visabadi[15] villages in the Andhra districts, and Mirasi[16] villages in Tamilnadu discovered in large numbers by Lionel Place[17] and Sir Thomas Munro were villages based on joint ownership. Redistribution of land and joint farming and division of the produce among the members in proportion to the number of ploughs,

labour and stock contributed by the several families, were conspicuous features of thess villages. Large joint families naturally had an edge over the smaller families, and the resulting inequality gave rise to class distinction between the richer and poorer peasants. The headman[18] and his kith and kin formed the rural brotherhood which lorded it over the poorer neighbours, having appropriated the greater portion of the gross produce. The unchangeable villages were subject to the inexorable law of evolution; and caste domination superimposed over economic inequality, broke up the idyllic harmony and eventually the brotherhood of the village community disintegrated and withered away under the impact of land revenue settlements-Zamindari and Ryotwari-leading to the only social revolution that Indian society had undergone in several centuries of its history.

While SirHenry Main[19] argued that the Indian Village Community, like the Russian Mir, and German Mark had started its career from communal ownership of land, Badenpowell[20] maintained that the Raitwari System was the immemorial land tenure.

The notion of the unchanging character of village community often repeated by European thinkers may have to be revised in the light of the evolutionary changes that affected the structure of the caste society and the rise and fall of ruling castes, races and classes during the last so many centuries of Indian civilization.[21] Colonization, conquest and the resultant introduction of strangers as renters, and farmers, jagirdars or zamindars, poligars or peddakapus, both during the Mughal hegemony and early British rule, destroyed the isolation and stagnation of the village community. "Common holdings were in process of transformation into individual holdings and the intermediate stage of holding lands of whole villages in defined shares subject to the condition that each man was to cultivate the lands allotted to him for a period of years had been reached".[22] Thus we find in the Tanjore district, where village communities flourished unimpaired down to recent times, the Collector, John Wallace, reported in 1805 that out of 5063 villages, 1087 villages were owned by single owners of families, 2202 by mirasdars who held their lands in severalty in distinct plots, and 1774 were held in common by the mirasdars. The extent to which in the natural course of things strangers had been introduced into the mirasi bodies will be seen from the fact that out of 62048 mirasdars in

the district, 17149 were Brahmans, 43,442 were Shudras or Native Christian, and 1457 Muhammadens.[23]

The Commercial and Industrial Revolutions which made the British conquerors pioneering traders in the world market, and the administration of vast territorial empire in India also broke up the ancient village communities, destroyed the cottage industries, uprooted millions from their homesteads, and reorganized land systems in rural India, deprived the peasants of their surplus produce, and interfered with village self-government, in such a thoroughgoing fashion that in the process a new agrarian and social revolution was brought about. The new legal system based on safeguards for individual property in land and the reorganization of the revenue and judicial systems simultaneously, and the agrarian enfranchisement of peasants without distinction of caste or religion were far reaching reforms that mark off British imperialism from all previous regimes in India.

The Britishers were unconscious tools of history; they had a regenerating role to play. England, as the carrier of a revolution and the catalytic agent of a new civilization, brought about a qualitative change in Indian society and paved the ways in the interest of imperialism no doubt, for the subsequent growth of the renascent forces of nationalism and liberation from its chains, as forecast by Karl Marx himself. "All that the English bourgeoisie may be forced to do will neither emancipate nor materially mend the social condition of the mass of the people,...But what they will not fail to do is to lay down the material premises for both."[24]

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GENESIS AND GROWTH OF INDO-CHINESE OPIUM MONOPOLY UNDER EAST INDIA COMPANY

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Like many other monopolies, the monopoly trade in opium with China was considered to be extremely lucrative by the East India Company. After the acquisition of the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on 12 August 1765, the Company's attention was attracted towards the opium trade which the Portuguese were carrying on between India and China. Indian opium had a fantastic demand and fatched high profits, specially in the eastern part of China.

For the first time the East India Company entered into the Opium trade when it took over the Bengal monopoly in 1773.[1] The Company observed that the trade was yielding very lucrative returns. So it gradually entered into that trade in 1773.[2] The provision opium or the contract system of trade did not prove to be satisfactory. The revenue fell rapidly. Consequently in the early part of 1797 it was decided to abandon the contract system and to open direct Government agencies. Thus the Company's Government in India assumed the monopoly of manufacture through its agencies.[3] But large quantities of opium were produced in the native states of India. In case the Company's Government failed to put any control over the production in the native states, a large supply might go to China from those States and might lower the prices. In order to prevent that, the Company entered into treaties with the Chieftains in whose territories opium was grown and obtained their consent to limit and regulate the sale of the

whole of their produce to the Company's supreme government of India. "In plain terms the Company compelled these nominally independent states to give it the same monopoly which it enjoyed in Bengal".[4] The opium thus collected was known by the generic term of Malwa Opium, and contributed nearly half of the total exports to China.[5]

After the acquistition of Bengal Monopoly in 1773, the Company took various steps to increase the production and regulate the sale of opium. As the direct control of the purchasing agency was vested with the Company, it began to prevent smuggling of opium from the neighbouring native states. In 1797 a law was introduced by which cultivation of poppy was prohibited within the Company's territory except under license. In 1799 the government at Calcutta limited the cultivation of poppy only to those districts where the quality of the yield was found to be superior and prevention of smuggling and illicit trade was found to be relatively easier. With the acquisition of Rohilkhand in 1801 and the remainder of the North Western Provinces in 1803, the Bengal monopoly system was extended to a wider area. After the third Marahatta War the whole of the Bombay zone, except Sindh, came under the British. The Company had now the opportunity of extending its protectorate over Rajputana, Central India and Nagpur. Naturally, the Compnny took immediate measures to prevent the competition it was so far facing from the Malwa opium.

In 1805 poppy cultivation was restricted to some of the districts of Bombay. After the annexation of Sindh in 1843, the British Government had complete control over the export of opium grown in the native states of Western India. Before the conquest of Sindh, a good deal of Malwa opium could be exported through the ports of Sindh in order to avoid the British pass duty levied at Bombay port. That was why the Company had fixed a very low rate of duty which varied between Rs. 125/- and Rs. 175/- per chest. But after the conquest of Sindh, Malwa opium could not reach any port for export except through the British territory. Thus the pass duty was gradually raised to Rs. 600/- per chest. Since 1860 it varied between Rs. 600/- and Rs. 700/- per chest.

The Charter Act of 1833 threw open the trade with Canton to all the British merchants. Lord Napier, the British political agent in China, could not succeed in negotiating an agreement with the provincial authorities in China. On his death at Macao, George Robinson was

appointed as the political agent. A great smuggling trade in opium carried on during his tenure.[6] In 1836 he was succeeded by Captain Elliot as Chief Superintendent of trade. During his regime there was appreciable increase in opium trade between India and China.

The terrible influx of opium and its baneful effects caused alarm to the Chinese authorities. In 1830 the Chinese Emperor issued an edict through which the people of China were warned against the injurious effect of opium. Stringent regulations were passed by the Chinese government against the use, manufacture and sale of opium in their dominions. They went to the extent of decreeing capital punishment for those who smoked or sold opium. The forbidden opium trade was now carried on between India and China as smuggling with the direct involvement of East India Company, profits being divided between the Company and the smugglers.[7]

Between 1842 and 1859 following the opium War, opium exports from India to China went on increasing. "The number of chests exported to China, from India in 15 years, ending 1859, amounted on the average to 74,091 Chests, valued at £ 4,484,147, all of which were smuggled. By 1856 smuggling and piracy had become much worse, and Hong Kong, a barren rock inhabited by a population of 200 to 300 was at that time the receptacle of 40,000 to 50,000, the scum of the heathen and civilised World".[8]

In 1858 occurred the Second Chinese War. That was followed by the Capture of Canton and the forts of Pei HQ. This time also the Chinese were miserably defeated. The treaty of Tientsin concluded in 1860 was more humiliating for the Chinese than the previous Treaty of Nanking. The importation and sale of opium was legalised by the Chinese with a duty of 10 per cent only.[9]

A few years after the conclusion of the Treaty of Tientsin, opium merchants, backed by the governmet of India, agitated against the local dues and inland imposts placed upon opium trade in the interior of China. The Treaty of Tientsin only provided for an import duty payable at the customs. So they complainted that the inland imposts were aimed at restricting the trade. Ultimately the agitators succeeded in removing the inland imports. The Chefoo Convention of 1876 with the Chinese Government provided that their should be no "Likin" imposts in the interior, but that a certain fixed duty shoul be paid at the port n addition to the foreign import duty.

Thus the English had forcibly introduced opium into China against the wishes of the Chinese authorities in order to boost up the revenue of their Indian empire. Even Indian public and journals did not hesitate to condemn this high-handed policy of the East India Company and the British Crown. Kaiser-i-Hind, a Bombay Newspaper in its issue of 21 Sept. 1890 clearly stated : "We cannot shut out eyes to two palpable and irresistible facts : firstly, that the Opium traffic was originally forced on the Chinese by British bayonets, and secondly that the East India Company and its successors left nothing undone by treaties and diplomatic action to push that traffic till it really become a golden mine".[10]

Before the administration of India was taken over by the Crown, the whole opium revenue including the portion realised by the Malwa passes amouted to nearly four million pounds sterling.[11] As was stated by a member in the Legislative Council : "that all that sum was paid to this country by the Chinese as completely as if they paid us so much tribute. Consequently, it was a revenue which we should do all in our power to retain".[12]

When the Crown assumed full control of India, the opium revenue, next to that from land and salt was the largest single source of income for the Indian Treasury, aggregating something over one tenth of its total income.[13]

Between the First Anglo-Chinese War and the end of the Company's rule in India, the revenue increased by leaps and bounds due to the profit from the monopoly trade in opium. "By 1846 the system was not only running at full blast, but the directors were being asked to approve an extension of cultivation. This they refused to do, averring to the principle which they have always maintained, of obtaining their revenue by procuring high prices for a limited provision rather than reduced prices for an extended one".[14]

But in course of time it was found that indigenous products of China were growing in large quantities. That created an apprehension that the Chinese products would slowly elbow out the Indian opium from the Chinese market. In the past the government of India was watching these developments through bulletins and reports from the British Counsel at Canton and Shanghai. "It is no exaggeration to say that the opium policy of British India between 1868 and 1885 was born on the poppy fields of Szechuan and Yunnam".[15]

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GOVERNOR JOSEPH FRANCIS DUPLEIX—HIS RELIGIOUS POLICY

K. Israel Mark

Dupleix was nurtured in the early eighteenth century France which was used to a state controlled life.[1] Basu says that the French had an intense power of sympathy, beautiful intellectual qualities and good social habits. They were good Gallican Christians.[2] Yet, they skilfully exhibited and expounded "Oecumenical Genius" and generously appreciated foreign ideas.[3] Dupleix was an heir to this French spirit. Through his parental force, he acquired a spirit of adventure and commercial enterprise, conciliatory policy and practical scientific temper. He was not free from the fatal quality, jealousy of the success of others which had deep root in France[4] That he could amass a considerable fortune in early youth reveals his sixth sense in befriending the natives and bending every situation to his advantage.

In religious matters he had to operate within a broad framework as already constructed by the Home Government. Louis XIV by a Royal Edict in 1695 permitted the French Jesuits of Missions Etrangeres to settle down in all the French factories in India to propagate Catholicism. They had to be protected, respected and favoured since they wielded much power at Paris At the instance of the Jesuits in 1713, Louis XIV directed the French Governors of Pondicherry to appoint as Mudalier or Courtier only a native Christian, to close down the Hindu temples of Pondicherry, except that of Isvaran and Perumal and to go hand in glove with the Jesuits in these matters with utmost care and caution.[6] The Governors, as fieldmen, had very great difficulty in conforming to the directives When the Vedapuri Iswaran temple had to be demolished during the tenure of M. Lenoir as Governor (1721-1735), there was a big agitation by the local people. The Home Government then directed:

> "All should be allowed to follow their own respective religions."[7]

Lenoir permitted a new temple to be built, respected the convictions of the natives and guarded the pagodas and temples against molestation.[8] Thus Dupleix had to phase his religious policy as per the precedents and precepts of the French Government while using his own discretion in solving day-to-day issues.

In all socio-religious issues, the Governor strictly followed tradition.[9] Though Sheshachala Chetti was very well-known to the Governor, yet when he sought permission to conduct the marriage procession of his two daughters, the Governor asked him to conform to tradition.[10]

On August 11, 1746 people of Kalapettai sought permission to celebrate Mariyamai Festival. Dupleix hesitated to grant permission as he was already inquiring into the Kalapettai murder case. However, when he was told that it was traditional he said, "Let them celebrate it according to the custom."[11] All the Christian festivals were celebrated at St.Paul's Church.[12] There was freedom of religious worship and freedom of celebrations whether of social nature or religious. No one was put to any inconvenience in this regard either by Dupleix or by Madame Dupleix.[13]

Mutts, temples and mosques were usually allowed to function unmolested. For instance, Balaiyar Mutt at Bomrayapalem was pro-

sperous. However, in September 1748 Dupleix caused the destruction of Vedapuri Isvaran temple during the siege of Pondicherry by Admiral Boscawen.[14] The reason is not far to seek. This temple being very close to St. Paull's Church, was always a source of anxiety to him because the Christian priests were mischievous and irritated the temple priests quite often. On January 31, 1746 an earthen jar filled with filth was thrown into the temple from the grounds of the Church. The matter was investigated into and the Governor Came to the conclusion that it was the Work of the people of the Church. Thereupon, the Governor said. "I shall take measures to make them (Christian priests) regret their conduct, for ever, and also do justice to other people."[15] But in 1748, it was a different situation.

To compensate the military defeat and to gain the favour of the Jesuit and Capuchin priests who had great sway over Versailles, pulling down the temple became necessary for the Governor. Even the Mosque west of the Capuchin Church was to be pulled down, but for the intervention of Abdur Rahman, the leader of the Jamadars. It was felt by Ranga Pillai and others that the Governor did this only to please his wife and the Capuchins.[16] A deeper insight into this matter tells that Dupleix used the religious element to serve his personal end and political cause. When Mahfuz Khan, son of Anwaruddin Khan of Arcot, imprisoned the French officers and priests at Mylapore in 1746, Dupleix sent a letter of threat to him, the import of which was that thousands of Muslims in Pondicherry and Madras would have to pay for it.[17] He further maintained:

> "......very many of them (Muslims) will die by our (French) hands and we shall shed their blood until it flows like a river..."[18]

Such actions of the Governor were not normal and were not resorted to in peaceful times, were politically motivated.[19]

While making appointments of the natives in the "Companie," Dupleix employed the criteria of merit, trustworthiness and sincerity of the persons. Religion, caste and creed did not sway his considerations.

Though there was a directive from the King of France that only the native Christians should be appointed as Chief Dubash and Courtiers, Dupleix appointed only Ananda Ranga Pillai.[20] When the Priests of St. Paul brought pressure on him to appoint only a Christian, M.de Kerjean, Dupleix's nephew revealed the mind of the Governor in the words:

> "In what way does it concern them (Priests)? Their words are exactly like cackling of ducks in a pond .. these are not the days of yore."[21]

Many non-Christians were employees of the "Companie" such as Madananda Pandit, Tiruvengadam and Payayya Pillai.[22] The Governor placed on them very heavy responsibilities and trusted them completely. He even very freely shared his thoughts them. Lazar and Muttu were native Christians used by the Governor on the lower echelons of service.[23] The armies of the French were mixed ones consisting of Hindus, East-Indians and the French. It was brought to the knowledge of the Governor that paddy was under-measured by the "Companie" officials to make money for alms and charitable purposes M.de Bausset, the Accountant, was warned by the Governor and orders were given that no money should be made fraudulently for charitable purposes. The matter went to such an extent that M.de Bauseet even tendered his resignation.[24]

Dupleix and his wife had very high regard for Brahmins. Once he made a statement :

> "No other class of men can bear comparision with Brahmins in point of intelligence.[25]

However, there was a general remark against the French in India that they were intolerant of caste.[26] When Chettees and Komatees fled from Pondicherry due to fear of war in 1748 at the instance of Madame Dupleix, the Pariahs (outcastes) occupied their houses. Ananda Ranga Pillai lamented that this was a deliberate pollution of high-caste houses. A high-caste woman, Mrs. Muthu Malla Reddy, was forcibly imprisoned for money matters in the Chowltry along with the Pariahs at the instance of Madame Dupleix in spite of getting explanation that the lady would suffer caste stigma thereby.[27]

Though the Governor was not directly involved in these matters, he cannot be completely absolved of the charge of caste prejudices.

The Dupleixes were great admirers of Indian culture. Madame Dupleix could speak Tamil fluently. Both of them enjoyed Telugu and Tamil songs and attended social functions without any prejudice and reservations.[28] On Thursday June 8, 1746 they attended Sheshachala Chetti's daughters' marriage; sat in the leaf pavilion; blessed the brides and the bride-grooms and in the Hindu traditional manner, parttook of refreshments; received the married couples at Governor's residence, and gave them gifts.[29]

This was not an isolated instance. The Governor attended other marriages also, such as the one at Chanda Saheb's residence on December 24, 1747.[30] On February 18, 1748 they went to Muttirusa Pillai's chowltry and took dinner there.[31]

On December 25, 1747 the Governor entertained the dignitaries of Pondicherry—Muslim and Hindus and arranged an impressive fire-display.[32]

Dupleix was a true eighteenth century French country gentleman.[33] He conformed to all the requirements of the Catholic Church; attended the Mass regularly, celebrated all Christian festivals at St. Paul's Church, conducted special Thanksgiving Services whenever he had success against his enemies, respected the priests, listened to their complaints, but used his own discretion in resolving matters. He had no theological considerations, but was a simple Catholic Christian with abundant common sense.[34]

In conclusion, it could be said that though Dupleix had the precedents and precepts dictated by the French Government, yet he trailed a very unique path in religious matters. He was not a well learned scholar in native culture and lore. Yet, he tackled socio-religious issues with the ease of a practical administrator and learned judge. It was his first article of faith to enthrone French Glory in India. He had bent even religion to subserve this end. He was admired and loved by all natives, not because of his military conquests, but because of his respect for their religions and customs. He afforded protection to all—to the Brahmins, the Muslims the Christians and to the Pariahs. He was an impartial judge by nature. Therefore, his idiosyncracies were forgiven. It is true to say that he honoured his own religion publicly and equally honoured the religious beliefs and practices of others. He practised the secular principle that religion is the equation between man and his Maker and it should not be used as yeast to leaven politics.[35] If there is much that is wonderful, much that is bold and daring in the religious policy of the French in India, it must be admitted that the honour of inaugurating it belonged to Dupleix.[36]

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   (c) Denis Meadows, Catholic Church 1960, p. 175.
6. C.S. Srinivasa Chari Op. cit., pp. 441, 442.
7. Ibid, pp. 276, 277.
8. G.B. Malleson, Op. cit., p. 27.
9. Sir J. Frederic Price, Ed., The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Vol. II, 1914, p. 53.
10. Ibid, pp. 52, 53.
11. Ibid, pp. 187, 188.
12. Ibid, pp. 76, 77—All the 12 Volumes mention the regular services at St. Paul's Church and the Governor attending them.
13. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 19, Vol. IV, p. 227. Company Officials had full freedom to express their religious practices—Numerous examples are cited.
14. C.S. Srinivasa Chari, Op. cit., p. 442.
15. Sir J. Frederic Price, Op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 222, 225.
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18. Sir J. Frederic Price, Op. cit., Vol, III, pp. 63, 64.
19. Rev. W.A. Wigram, The Assyrian Church, 1910, p. 60.
20. Sir J. Frederic Price, Op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 197, 207.
21. Ibid, p. 256.
22. Sir J. Frederic Price, Op. cit., Vol. III, p. 38; Vol. II, pp. 295, 296; and Srinivasa Chari, op. cit., p. 271.
23. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 197; Vol. III, p. 81.
24. Ibid, p. 58.
25. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 313.
26. B.D. Basu, Op. cit., p. 31.
27. Sir J, Frederic Price, Op. cit., Vol. VI, pp. 112-113.
28. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 317.
29. Ibid, pp. 52-57.
30. Ibid, Vol. IV, pp. 288-290.
31. Ibid, p. 377.
32. Ibid, pp. 288-290.
33. Louis Ducros, French Society in the Eighteen Century, London, 1926, pp. 160-262.
34. Sir J. Frederic Price, Vol. III, p. 386, Vol. II, pp. 8, 18, 19—All the twelve Volumes have innumerable instances of Dupleix's outward expressions of the Catholic Church.
35. Dr. Lanka Sundaram, A Secular State for India, 1944, p. 3.
36. G.B. Malleson, op. cit., p. 186.

GROWTH OF A NEW CLASS : MORE ON THE SERVICE ELITE OF BENGAL IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Ranjit Sen

The service elite[1] which emerged in Bengal in the second half of the eighteenth century eventually grew into a class which dominated the social scene of Bengal in the first few decades of the nineteenth century. N. K. Sinha who closed his study of the eighteenth century of Bengal's history with a note on *the environment in motion*' wrote : "so far as Bengal was concerned the age of banians, gomostahs, meanly paid native agents and low people about law courts continued for three decades more, a world of which Macaulay chose to be the historian. John Johnstone, Francis Sykes, John Graham, Barwell represent one phase of British Indian administrative tradition, John Shore and Cornwallis another. Hastings' policy of British superintendence and Indian agency became successful in the days of Bentinck because of changed circumstances".[2] This '*Indian agency*' was an amalgam of *banians, diwans, sazawals, amins, tahsildars*, merchants, *dalals*, and other Indian associates of the English. They were one of the first compradors to grow under European imperialists on the Asian soil. Two sets of people, dissimilar and often opposite in their standing in the country's economy, combined together and a new elite was born with all the traits of a class in them. On the one hand there were the old Mughal officials, the *amins, sazawals, tahsildars, wadadars* etc. whom the Mughals had used only on rare occasions as last instruments to keep *zamindars* in the right axis of revenue.[3] Under Hastings they grew into a kind of managing agency that could take over the running of *zamindaris*. Parallel to them was a class of merchants, *banians, dalals* whose attention was diverted by their masters from trade to land.

Devi Singh and Krishna Kant Nandi (Kantu Babu of English records) may be taken as specimens of these two opposite classes of men. When in later years Devi Singh gained prominence in land management he took to trade.[4] From trade Kantu Babu switched to the business of revenue. At a lower level Raja Basanta Ray, *diwan* of Hughly, traded in salt and at still lower levels men like Bridjo *dalal* Company's broker on the investment side, became *sazawal*. Thus the

Nashipur *Raj* of which Devi Singh was the founder emerged not only from the farming of revenue but also from trade while that of Qusimbazar emerged from an admixture of trade and revenue-farming, one complementing the other. Collaboration was the only art for money-making and money was the only basis of power. Thus the power elite of Bengal in the second half of the eighteenth century was essentially a money-elite and in this it differed from the power elite of the past. The ruling community in Bengal in the past was a military aristocracy which favoured a soldier to a merchant.[5] Hence in the ruling aristocracy there was no room for a merchant unless he had upgraded himself by taking to the profession of a soldier.[6] The first batch of English men who were inducted into the Mughal aristocracy were mostly soldiers and their personal valour stimulated a kind of respect for them in the Mughal court. They were given Mughal titles which mostly reflected their personal achievement in war.[7] Political power was sustained by yields of land which were given in the form of *jagir*, not by profits of commerce. At the worst level of its degeneration the power elite of Bengal was represented by a Nandakumar or a Reza Khan both much away from commerce. At least till their time power did not spring from the corrupt influence of money. Clive who was among the first Englishmen to be co-opted among their ranks by the power elite of Bengal had an adequate understanding of the nature of this elite. He had no trust in the *banians* and other agents of the private Englishmen in Bengal. Discussing the revenue assessment of the 24—parganas Clive made a statement which shows his utter distrust for the *banians*. On 19 January, 1767 he said : "If the gentlemen who formerly parcelled out the pergunnahs amongst themselves did not acquire large advantages, it is certain that the servants acting under them did; for I am well informed that the banians of those gentlemen, as well as others, hold lands at the rate of 8 to 12 annas per Beegah while other tenants pay from Rs. 2-24 Rs. 2-12. From the best information I can get, I find that the Calcutta lands may in a short time be capable of yielding to the Company between fourteen and fifteen lakhs of rupees per annum. Should that be the case, how reprehensible is the conduct of these gentle men who so shamefully neglected the interest of their employers[8] Such reproach we seldom find in subsequent British records.

Clive was indebted to Nabakrishna and made him the 'political

banian' of the Company.[9] Thus he used Nabakrishna just the way Mir Jafar used him only in political intercourse and all earlier *Nawabs* from Murshid Quli Khan to Siraj used the Jagat Seth in their dialogue with the foreigners. For the control of *Zamindars* the regime over which clive presided would utilize the *amils* in the same way as Murshid Quli or Mir Qasim did in the past.[10] At least Englishman bearing the Mughal title of 'amin'[11] and into the interior of the country in alliance with their base Indian agents were untainable in the past regime of Clive. There was certainly alliance between some Indians and a host of Englishmen, but those Englishmen who looted the interior of the country in the immediate aftermath of Palasi did not hide themselves behind the pseudo-revenue titles of the Mughals. Their lust for wealth was sustained by a conquere's pride and a victor's title to booty. This was a straight loot either of the top or of the below. They could demand of thier agents what they needed.

This situation did not last long. There emerged stealthily a Gokul, a Nabakrishna, a Kantu, a Sadruddin and a Gangagovind who were as powerful as their masters. They had their agents in the interior. Devi Singh was the agent of Gangagovind and Raja Basanta Ray was the protege of Kantu. These men were introduced to Hastings by men who were no less powerful than Hastings himself. Thus Kantu was introduced to him by Sykes, Gangagovind by Middelaton and Sadruddin by Barwell.[12]

It is now clear that by 1772, by the time Hasting assumed power the *banians* had acquired such a great influence in the revenue administration that it was difficult for the Company to shake them off. The *banians* had effectively replaced the *amils*, the old official class, and the English *amins*, the supervisors, were simply instruments in the hands of these new men from Calcutta. If N. K. Sinha's proposition that the entire settlement of 1772 was made in the interest of the *banians*[13] is to be accepted, it can be said that the *amindari* system of 1769 was a short transitional stage from the *amindari* to the *baniadari* system of 1772. The *Nilamdari* or *thikadari* (Farming) system was truely a *baniadari* system of which Hastings was the undoubted author Vis-a-vis the *banians* the English *amins* were a virtually helpless and they needed a bulwark against them.

In 1772 the company decided to introduce provincial *diwans* as a check upon *banians*. The 7th Article of Resolutions passed in the Com-

mittee of Revenue, dated 14th May, 1772, established that "a fixed Dewan shall be chosen and nominated by the Board, who shall be joined with the Collector in the Suprintendency of the Revenue...' The 'expediency' of this measure was fixed in "its immediate efficacy as a check on the collectors" "Counter Acting that improper Influence which the Banyans of the Collectors are ever eager to Assume in the Management of their Employ." It was believed that native *diwans* would truely be revenue personnels and they would refrain frome ngaging themselves in trade. This was too optimistic a hope in too cynical a situation. Devi Singh was not a banian, he was truly associated with land from the beginning. Yet by 1772 he was found engaged in trading. Thus he took to trading when he was the *diwan*[14] of Purnea and Rajmahal.

By the time Hastings come to power trading in the interior and revenue farming had become an involved occupation so that the new class that was coming into being about this time was equally land-based and based in trade. Kantubabu and his son Loknath Nundy were men whose original moorings were never in land. Yet they emerged in the seventies and eighties of eighteenth century as men whose principal occupation was farming[15] Basanta Ray,[16] the *diwan*, was taking to trading in alliance with Kanti Babu.

Lower down the level, there were infinite base men in the interior of Bengal who were either connected with Englishmen or with their Indian underlings and whose achievement in trade entitled them to engaging in revenue farming. An example of this was Kunjbihari who was an agent of the famous English money-lender Capt. Makenzie who at the time of the five-yearly farming system lived in Dinajpur like an evil colossus casting his shadow over almost all *zamindars* and ryots of that district. Makenzie lent money at 5 per cent interest per mensem but exacted 14 per cent at the time of repayment. The activities of Kunja were best explained by Sambhunath, the vakil of an *ijaradar* in the *Zamindari* of Boda Rangpur He declared before the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad that Kunjabihari dispossessed the *ijaradars* of Rangpur 'declaring that there was no occassion for separate Farmers that he would farm all himself." His master, the *ijaradar* could regian his farm by paying Kunjabihari a *salamy* of Rs. 2100[18] Being associated with Mckenzie's money-lending business two men, Kunjabihari Haldar and Chaitan Sardar, amassed huge fortune.

The Fortune gained from trade was ultimately invested in land Kunjabihari who till 1774 is described in English records as *Gomasta* of

Englishmen[19] emerges in 1775 as farmer of revenue. That year he farmed Jaffer Gunge and Colponny villages. In 1776 he obtained the farm of Bhabani Gunge and Gaur Gunge for Rs. 53943 per annum. It was later confirmed by John Grose, the Superviser. Later by the grace of Grose Kunja became the *naib-diwan* of the district holding assignment directly under Grose. By the order of Grose Kunja held a hustabood and increased the revenue by Rs. 1,01,000.[20] Kunja represents the group of men available during the time of Hastings who could fill the posts of *diwan* and *naibs* in the districts of Bengal. The decision of the Company in 1772 to introduce *diwans* in the interior of Bengal as a check upon the *banians* must be viewed in this light. Either Calcutta *banians* had to be sent to this districts or rural men like Kunja had to be upgraded if *diwans* were really to be appointed.[21] Neither of these offered a happy choice.

There was only one set of men who could be forged between the Calcutta *banians* and base revenue personnel of the interior. This was the old class of *amils*. In course of the seven decades that had gone by there were only two occasions, one at the time of Murshid Quli Khan and the other under Mir Qasim, when desperate financial necessities had urged the *Nawabs* to introduce some kind of extra-oridinary control over *zamindars*. In both cases *amils* were chosen for the job. The Company reign of which Clive was the master took over from Mir Qasim this effective lever of control. With Reza Khan at the centre and the *amils* in the districts the facet of Mughal administration was never lost and Clive and the complascence that his old project of ruling behind a mask,[22] was now being given a trial. The decision to accept the grant of *diwan* was extracted from a reluctant home authority by Clive. The risk involved in the effect was great and Clive calculated every step whereby the project could be saved from being a flop. This inhibition had never been so pressing with any of his successors as it was with Clive. The Court's decision to stand forth as *diwan* had released Hastings into a vast Theatre of action. Man who emerged from the regimentation of the Clive era into the openness of power were somewhat young and unscrupulous men whose professional behaviour was certainly different from that of Clive and his associates. Clive craved for a *Jagir* and his associates for titles from the Emperor. They had pleasure in squeezing the power elite, the *Nawab* and his associates. They had liaison with a Rai Durlabh or a Rai Ballabh. They had rivalry with

Nanda Kumar and not with Nabakrishnh. In Sykes the lust of a merchant was combined with the dignity of an administrator.[23] in Barwell that dignity sank under the pressure of lust and Reza Khan complained against him in the way as it was unthinkable in the case of sykes.[24]

Hastings administration marked a new era of English rule in Bengal. This was the rule of the second generation of the English administrators in India. So far as Bengal was concerned these men were unfortunately new and reckless,[25] Thackeray in Sylhet was an example of this.[26] As early as 1766 the Company's authorities in Calcutta took notice of this : "The younger servants being incapable themselves to discharge the functions of their several Offices, were forced to have recourse to the industry of their Banians and black writers; and thus their employments fell into the hands of their Assistants, Banians became principals in the several Departments, the affairs of the Company flowed through a new and unnatural channel, and your most secret concerns were publicly known in the bazar. Such trusts reposed in those Banians encouraged them to advance large sums of money to their Masters, which served no other purpose than to support their extravagance and render them dependant on their servants instead of being obedient to the Governor and Council."[27] On the eve of the grant of diwani these native assistants often shown as paid servants of the Company's officers, their salaries being charged on the expenses of the Company.[28] In 1764 a resolution was passed that "no Munshee, Linguist, Banian or writer be allowed to any Officer excepting the Commander-in-Chief and the Commanders of detachments during the time they are out on Command, and provided the Commander-in-Chief shall think such persons necessary in the service they may be sent on".[29] This was how the Company sought to prevant its army personnel from falling into the grio of *banians* and *munshis*, But it was not easy to control the civil servants. Clive preferred application of force whenever necessary.[30] Hastings was a different man. From the beginning he was dependent on his own subordinates who conducted his private trade.[31] His association with men like Kantu Babu dated as far back as the time of Siraj-ud-duala's invasion of Qasimbazar when he was taken prisoner by the *Nawab* but was eventually saved by Kantu's grace.[32] Yet it was not Hastings personal involvement in trade and his association with the some *banians* which could solely explain in the growth of a substantial class of men in Bengal. The decade which preceded Hastings's assumption of power saw the rise of

a new generation of English administrators in Bengal.[33] These men being young did not care to learn the customs and languages of the natives and relied heavily on their *banians*. Predilection for an easy living had so much gripped the young civilians that they could not live without the financial assistance of *banians* who were the only substantial men with whom they came in contact on their arrival in Bengal.

Between the battle of Palasi and one grant of the *diwani* there had been much tension in the body politic of Bengal. The Nawab's name carried no meaning,[34] and in the interior men like *faujdars*, *zilladars*, *thanadars*, *kotwals*, *chaudhuris*, *patwaris*, *mandals* and *zamindars* lost their sway.[35] On the English side there was a great shortage of manpower and those who were sent out from Calcutta as custodians of English interests in the interior were rapicious.[36] The early sixties of the eighteenth century a number of Englishmen resigned their service under the Company or were compelled to do so. The result was that in the first decade following the grant of diwani, when the Company's administrative responsibilities were multiplying, non-availability of trained personnels became a problem for the Company. This led to easy promotions.[37] In the ceded districts the English had enough experience with men like *diwans*, *wadadars*, *shiqdars* etc. and all such experience now warranted an alliance with them. The service they got from the *diwans* of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong and in some diwani areas like Rangamati and Purnea[38] and also from the *shiqdars*, *wadadars*, *tahsildars*, *sazawals* etc. of Dacca, Rajshahi, Chittagoag sandwip and 24-Parganas was immense and there was steadily growing among the English the tradition to appoint a *diwan* or a to the office of a *faujdar* and a *faujdar* to the office of a *tahsildar sazawal*.[39] In the second half of the eighteenth century such things as *amins*, *sazawals*, *tahsildars*, *diwans*, *wadadars*, *shiqders* ets. suggested as new dimension of involvement with the English and the English on their turn welcomed this involvement.

In the second half of the eighteenth century two factors of rural life were very much troubled, namely capital and labour. In money-short economy *banians* were the people who could supply capital to the English. In labourshort economy the *tahsildars*, *sazawals* etc. supplied much of the administrative labour which was otherwise scarce in the countryside. Technical know how was the most required input in the revenue administration of Bengal of the time. Towards securing that the English

cultivated a complex set of rural personnel varying from an *amin* and a *sazawal* to a *diwan, tahsildar* and a *wadadar.*

The irony of the situation lay in this. The Company's administration had the greatest distrust for the *amins, tahsildars, sazawals*[40] but they could not be dispensed with just as the English administration had failed to get rid of the *banians* whom it held in like contempt.

But there was a bigger failure. With the breakdown of the Mughal power in Bengal the state itself came to be disorganized. Legally the centre of power was distributed between Murshidabad and Calcutta, each respectively representing the base of the Nazim and that of the *diwan*, the East India Company. With the *Nawab-Nazims* increasingly becoming ciphers the anomaly widened, Direction in revenue administration flew from Calcutta and reached the districts in most cases via Murshidabad where the *Naib Nazim* and the *Naib Diwan*, Md Reza Khan, was stationed. The Resident at the *Burbar* was an ineffectual link between these two centres of power. The result was that the centre increasingly failed to tackle administrative problems in the districts. On the top of this the *dak* or postal service had very much slackened. The Mughal net-work that connected the palace with the field had been wrecked altogether. The office of the *qanungo* had been by passed. The army of the *nizamat* was disbanded and the Company's army was not enough in strength to guard the countryside. Banditry had become rampant.[41] *zamindars* made a league with bandits and *amils* and qanungos did the same with *zamindars*. There was capitulation to chaos all round. A disorganized milieu in a crumbling state-this was Bengal during the first two decades after Palasi.

The fall of *zamindar*, *qanungos* and *faujdars* created three major institutional gaps in the Mughal body politic of Bengal. The English *amins* usarped much of the power associated with those three institutions but essentialy they were a sorry replacement for any one of them in functional competence. The real obstacle to the English was their own ignorance in the matter of revenue administration. Gokul Ghosal was recruited from Calcutta as *diwan* and his nephew Jainarain Ghosal was made qanungo of Sandwip and adjoining places. Distrust on the part of the English did not prevent these men from holding positions of trust under the Company.[42] It is a point of importance that the chief of Chittagong *sentshiqdars* in Bandwip when Jainarain was the *qanungo* there. This annexation of land and usurpation of authority on the

part of the Company was done with the help of base Indian agents—a point so much resented by the *Nawab.* It was only possible because the *faujdar* had withdrawn there. Chittagong provides an example of the General situation that prevailed in almost all the ceded districts, a situation that eventually gulfed the whole of Bengal after the grant of *diwani.* To en-l counter this situation the Company needed two stable institutions, an army and a bureaucracy in the absence of which reliance on the *diwans, wadadars, sazawals, amins, tahsildars* was inescapable.

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2. N. K. Sinha, *Economic History of Bengal,* vol. II, p, 192.
3. Together with *Zamindars* they acted as a team under the Mughals. Their exclusive individual performance was rare. Hence their role is individual agrarian administrators under the English was a new phenomenon.
4. Devi Sing traded in opium, sugar and pepper—Prodgs. of the C. C. at Krishnagar, 5 August, 1772, p. 98.
5. "...the military aristocrats of the imperial or provincial courts did not hold merchants in any high regard : they were useful subjects to be protected but not to be cultivated on the social level."—Abdul Majed Khan, *The Career of Md. Reza Khan* etc., p. 3.
6. "Mir Jumla for example, a merchant in origin, ended as one of the greatest Mughal generals, the conquerer of Assam"—ibid. pp. 3—4. Mir Jumla was a seventeenth century example. His eighteenth century analogy was Mir Habib who was "for sometime a peddling broker at Hooghly". ibid. p. 4, note.
7. Admiral Watsen—Dilir Jang (The Courageous in Battle).
   Lord Clive—Saif Jang (The Sword in War), Sabit Jang (The Firm In War).
   Major Killpatrick—Dilwar Jang (The Courageous in War).
   Colonel Forde—Shitab Jang (The Brisk in War).
   Colonel Coote—Nasir Jang (The Suocourer in War).
   General Carnac—Basalat Jang (The Valorous in War).
   Major Adams-Ghalib Jang (The Subduer in War).
   Major Fletcher—Musta-id-Jang (Ready in War).
   Captin Knox—Dilawar Jang (The Courageous in War).
   G. Vansittart—Hoshyar Jang (Wary in War).
8. Long, *Selections,* No. 941.
9. Select Committee Prodgs., 16 January, 1767. This was also the date of his appointment. His salary was Rs. 200 per mensem. For further details see Prods. dated 18 April, 1767.

10. Murshid Quli Khan "assessed the revenue and collected it directly from the peasants, employing measurement; and for this, he appointed his own revenue—collectors (*'amils'*) and under them *shiqqdars* and *amins*"—*Riyazu-s Salatin* by Ghulam Hussain quoted in Irfan Habib's *The agrarian* system of Mughal India. p. 178, note. Also see J N. Sarkar ed., History of Bengal, vol. II ch. XXI, N. K. Sinha, *op. cit.*, vol. II, Ch. II.
11. Supervisors who went into the districts in 1769 held the title of 'Amin'.
12. N. K. Sinha, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 188.
13. N. K. Sinha, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Ch. IV.
14. Prodgs. of CC at Krishnagar, August 5, 1772. In this record Devi Sing is referred to as 'Nazim of Purnea'. This Purnea in 1772 was farmed out to Huzuri Mal and Madan Datta, two substantial Calcutta *banians*. Durga Charan Mitra, another Calcutta *banian* became a partner of their farm.
15. As an example it may be stated that out of 57 *parganas* in Midnapur Kantubabu in 1772 farmed 42 parganas. At the same time his son Loknath farmed extensive *zamindaris* in Dinajpur and Rangpur.
16. Basanta Ray was the protege of Barwell. In 1774 the latter gave him extensive salt farms in Dacca-Sinha, op. cit., vol. II, p. 80.
18. Prodgs. of *CCR* at Murshidabad, 25 February, 1772.
19. Prodgs. of *CCR* at Murshidabad, 8 February, 1772.
20. *Ibid.*
21. In the seventies of the eighteenth century when the farming system came into force both these processes took place. Some leading Calcutta *Banians*, Santiram Sinha (brother of Gangagovind), Baranasi Ghose Kantu Babu, Loknath Nundy, Hari Krishna Tagore, Huzuri Mul, Sukdev Mallik, Kandarpa Das farmed majority of the parganas in the districts near Calcutta. They took with them large number of retinues from Calcutta.
22. "This name, this shadow (of the Nawab), it is indispensably necessary we should seem to venetrate" ; "We are sensible that since the acquisition of the dewanny, the power belonging to the Soubah of these provinces is totally and in fact vested in the East India Company. Nothing remains to him but the name and shadow of authority" ; "To appoint the Company's servants to the office of the Collectors, or indeed to do any act by any exertion of the English power, which can easily be done by the Babob at our instance, would be throwing off the mask, would be declaring the Company Soubah of the provinces"—Governor and Select Committee to the Court, 16 January, 1767 quoted by Firninger, *Fifth Report*, Indian Studies Past and Present, Reprint, 1962, Calcutta, p. 167.
23. These regulations (code of conduct for the Company's servant) being established I make no doubt but with Mr. Sykes' assistance you will be able to carry on the business of the Government in a proper manner and without interruption."—The Governor to Md. Reza Khan, 8 Oct., 1765. Long, *Selections*, No. 810.
24. *CPC*, Vol. 2, No. 178. When Barweel was in Malda he fell with Md. Reza Khan on the affairs of timber and saltpetre. Of him Reva Khan writes : The violent were his proceedings that it was impossible to check him" *Ibid.*

25. "The residence of young Gentlemen at places remote from the inspection of their superiors, hath furnished the means of assuming to themselves an authority prejudicial to the people, detrimental to the revenue and productive of disputes with the other European Companies with it is our inclination to live in the most amicable manner". Letter to the Court 5 Dec., 1766.

26. Thackeray arrived in Calcutta in 1766. In August that year he received his first appoinment as a writer in Secretary's Office. In July 1767 he became cash-keeper under the president of the Council. In 1772 he was appointed *amin* (Superviser) of Sylhet-Long, *Selections*, Nos. 862, 949. Also F. B. Bradley-Birt, *'Sylhet' Thackeray*, London, 1911, p. 130.

27. Letter to Court 31 January & 24 March, 1766.

28. For the month of October, 1764 the following charges were incurred in a eventually considered 'extraordinary and singular' by the President and his Council : Major Adams' Moonshee and writer Rs. 150 00, Major Shir lock's Banian and Linguist Rs. 70 00, Major Knox's Moonshee and writer Rs. 160.00 Captain Long's Banian and writer Rs. 70.00; forthe month of November, Major Adams' Moonshee & c. Rs. 150.00, Major Shirlock's Banian Dec. Rs. 100.00—Long, *Selections*, No. 760.

29. *Ibid.*

30. Ramnath, an agent of Mr. Gray and Leicester, committed "most iniquitous acts of extortion" on the people of Malda. Clive paced a guard of *sepa* ever him and asked the Court in London to suspend these two English gentlemen-Letter to Court, 31 January, 1766.

31. Messrs. Rose and Kelly were Hastings's agents who looked after his timber trade in Dacca and Bakharganj. In 1763 charges were brought against him to the effect that he had unlawfully despatched Company's *sepahis* to protect his private trade. To this Hastings replied : "My reason for procuring a guard of 4 sepoys for Captain Rose is that he is employed in collecting a great number of timbers belonging to me......"—Long, *Selections*. No. 655.

32. BPP

33. 'The turbulent, factious conduct of these young men is of so alarming a nature, that we are determined to quell it, and if they cannot be brought to a sense of their duty, they are unworthy of our service, and must not be suffered to continue in India.'—Letter from the court, 4 March, 1767.

34. In one of his letters to the Governor in March, 1763 Mir Qasim complained that when he was in Bihar "Bengal being left without a ruler, every village and district in that province was ruined through the oppression of the English, the subjects of the *Sarkar* were deprived of their daily bread and the collection of the revenues was entirely stopped..."—CPC, I, No. 1695.

In May, 1762 The Nawab complained that the gomastas of the English did not attend to the orders of the *Sarkar-CPC*, I, No. 1521. In Oct., 1764. *Nawab* Mir Jafar complained that the English established a parallel rule in the country. He urged that this "dual rule" be withdrawn-*CPC*, I, No. 2442.

35. In his letter to the Company 21 April, 1763, the *Nawab* Mir Qasim wrote: "Notwithstanding that His Excellency has done so much for the Company, the English bind and carry away his officers, speak whatever comes into their mouths, and place guards upon his houses and forts. His Excellency does not take any duties on the Company's exports and imports. But they, not being satisfied with this privilege, carry on trade in dried fish, straw, bamboos, betelnuts, salt, tobacco, timber, etc.—articles which used to afford the means of subsistence to the poor and indigent in the country"—CPC, I, No. 1736.
36. Sir Qasim called them "servants and people of no character"—CPC, I, No. 1707.
37. "...our service never did, nor ever was meant to afford sudden effinence of immense fortunes to every man employed therein. A moderate independence was the reward of many years' service, succession was slow, and the rank of Councellor was rarely attained before the age of thirty...", but now, the Court admitted, "stations of the highest importance fall to young men who have neither judgement nor experience to conduct them"—Court's letter, 17 May, 1966.
38. In Burdwan Uni Chand (CPC, I, Nos. 293, 547, 885, 934-35, 938, 1036, 1057, 1070, *CPC*, II, Nos. 57, 74, 113, 121, 258, 290, 459, 480, 554, 569, 770, 797, 903, 924, 969, 1003, 1029, 1051, 1410, 1419, 1442, 1452, 1489, 1494, 1538, 1699), Brajakishor (*CPC*, III, Nos. 302, 333, 432, 582), in Midnapur Kasinath Babu, in Chittagoing Gokul Ghosal, in Purnea Devi Singh, in Dinajpur Kunjabihari, Ramkanta Biswas in Bishnupur and Pachet, Baranashi Ghosh (as *diwan* to the Collector of Calcutta) in Calcutta, Gokul in 24 Parganas were all diwans who offered immense service to the English. See Ranajit Sen, xx Vide 1.
39. Mr. Reza Khan, the faujdar of Chittagong was appointed *wadadar* of Mahisadal (*CPC*, I, No. 1866), In Rangamati the *diwan* was appointed *faujdar* (*CPC*, I, No. 1697). Zain-ul-Abedin Khan, *faujdar* of Bhagalpur, was appointed *Sazawal* of the place—*Letter copy Book of the Resident at the Durbar*, Vol. I, p. 48, Mutchulka (Mutchleka) given by Zain-ul-Abedin. Ahsan-ul-lah Khan, collector of Nadia was appointed *wadadar* of the yusufpur *zamindari* in Jessore (CPC, I, Nos. 1856—57, 1846).
40. "We can only under such circumstances, seeing local Examinations by Native Aumins are so open to Fraud and Exaggerations leave it to your direction to collect the Kists with such a degree of Patience and Forbearance from the Zamindars as may prevent their being driven to exercise Severity towards their Ryots"—Calcutta Council to Samuel Lewis, 5 Nov., 1773, Midnapore Dist. Records, Vol. III, p. 172.
41. See Ranajit Sen, *The Bandit* and *Banditry in Bengal*, respectively in *Frontier*.
42. This distrust continued throughout our period of study. In 1775 the Collector of Chittagong, Mr. Bateman requisioned a European Civilian Assistant—"a Gentoo or Moor would frustrate the intention", he said. Accordingly Mr. George Bright was sent there. Cotton, M.J.S., *Memorandum on the Revenue History of Chittagong*, Calcutta, 1780, p. 5, footnote.

ABBREVIATIONS

BPP	Bengal Past and Present.
PCC	Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit.
Firminger, Fifth Report	Historical Introduction to the Bengal Portion of "the Fifth Report (Indian Studies : Past and Present) ed. by W.K. Firminger.
Long, Selections	Selections From Unpublished Records of Government by Rev. J. Long, now published under the title Unpublished Records of the Government (Firma K.L. Mukhopadhya, Calcutta, 1973).
LCBRD	Letter Copy Book of the Resident at the Burbar.
CPC	Calendar of Persian Correspondence.
HB	History of Bengal, Vol. II, ed. by J.N. Sarkar (Dacca University).
PCCR	Proceedings of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad.
Rev. (Jud.) Prodgs	Revenue (Judicial) Proceedings.
Reflections	Reflections on the Government etc., of Indostan : with a short sketch of the History of Bengal from the years 1739-1756 and An Account of the English Affairs to 1758 by Luke Serafton.

FENCELESS EUROPEAN FACTORIES AT THE PORTS OF ORISSA

J. Mangamma

Ports of a country play a major role in its economy. Orissa like any other coastal state has its own place in the maritime history of the country, with its four coastal districts—Balasore, Puri, Cuttack and Ganjam. Northern districts are accounted for in the records of Bengal while Ganjam appears in the Madras records. History of these ports indicates the trends in maritime trade of the two provinces.

At least till the end of the 18th century, history reveals an eternal war between the rivers and the sea. The foundation of the Aryan sea-coast kingdom of Kalinga is placed between 1037 and 822 B.C. Edicts and inscriptions of the Asokan times indicate that Kalinga was an emporium of trade. The rock inscriptions speak of 'navigation' and 'ship commerce' as part of the education of the prince.

Tamluk, the Buddhist Harbour :

The Yavana colonisation of the Indian Archipelage probably started from Tamluk in the first century A.D. The Asokan pillar alluded to by the Chinese pilgrim, Hieuntsang, confirms that Tamluk was an important port in the 3rd century B.C. It is also mentioned by some as 'Tamolipta' meaning 'stained with darkness' or ignorance. It may also mean that they were unexplored lands. Besides the Buddhist port of Tamluk, Chilk lake itself appears to have offered an approach to the sea. Tamluk as a port is identified in Mahabharata as Ratnavati.

The Chinese pilgrim, Fahien, who visited India in the early 5th century stayed in Tamluk for two years transcribing the sacred books. He describes Tamluk as a maritime settlement of the Buddhists. It continued to be an important Buddhist port for some centuries. Hieuntsang also describes it so in the 7th century. Indigo, mulberry, silk and such other costly products of Bengal and Orissa were the traditional exports from ancient Tamluk, which became part of Bengal in 1725.

Pipli, the multi-European port :

Pipli was the first multi-European port on the Orissa coast, where the Portuguese, Dutch, Danes, English and the French had their early settlements. Since the Europeans came as traders and not empire builders, any good and busy port discovered by one attracted the others within a short time.

The portuguese who arrived via the Cape of Good Hope in 1498 were driven away from the west coast by the Zamorin of Calicut and during the next sixteen years they were not allowed to settle on the Coromandal coast. They were pushed still northward to the mouth of Subarnarekha in Orissa. About ten miles up the river, they started a settlement in 1599 at Pipli also known as Philippatam. The Portuguese

seem to have continued there for more than a hundred years. Pipli was a great slave mart where the Arakanese pirates brought their prisoners for sale. Shah Jahan had engaged the Portuguese to keep the Bay of Bengal clear of pirates but it so happened that they were in league with the Arakanese pirates. Their raids as also their refusal to release the numerous slaves in their service angered the Mughal emperor. The Imperial troops sacked the Portuguese settlement, allowing the English to settle at Pipli in 1634. But even after another hu ·red ye·rs, the Portuguese mercenaries are said to have congregated ther A factory of the English at Pipli is disputed by Wilosn, while Captain Alexander Hamilton writing in the early 18th century, speaks of an English factory as formerly existing at Pipli whose river had by that time silted up.

Next to the Portuguese, the Dutch tried trade contacts with Pipli as their centre. While the Dutch, French, Danes and the English are still mentioned, the name of the portuguese has totally disappeared. Pipli lingered on as a ruined and silt locked village and went out of the sight of traders and even the site where the factories were situated got lost. People narrate that near the village of Manuagar on the right bank of Subarnarekha, there was a big settlement of the Europenans and Mughals. The settlement which flourished between 1645-1664 is known as Hollandais Shahi or Ulan Shahi and the moat around is known as Ulan Nullah. This Dutch settlement was handed over to the British in 1825 while the Danish settlement, known as Dinamardanga, was ceded to them in 1846.

M. de Thevenot, who visited India in 1686, also mentions Pipli in these words: 'The country is full of castles and towns : Philipatam, Satigam, Patane, Casanbazar and Chatigan are very rich—corn, rice. sugar, ginger, long pepper, cotton and silk with several other commodities are plentifully produced in that country. Pipli and Balasore were the two Orissa ports which the English ships frequented till 1680. The silting up of Subarnarekha led to the transfer of the original factory at Pipli to the head establishment at Balasore.

Harishpore, the earliest British Settlement :

The story of British settlement in Bengal starts with Harishpore in Orissa. Encouraged by the firman of the Golconda king in1632 the British decided to send a trading party northward from Masulipatam. Eight

of them started their expedition northwards and cast anchor in the mud-banks of the Mughal customs station of Harishpur. There they contacted the governor of Orissa, thereby ignoring the Nawab of Bengal. The portuguese frigate also steered in and anchored by the side of the English boat; a scuffle ensued between the two. The leader of the English team, Ralph Cartwright appealed to the governor of the place with two distinct objects : "redress for the Portuguese attack within a Mughal harbour and a license for trade." Cartwright asserted his title to seize the frigate on the ground 'that all such vessels as did trade on the coast and had not a pass either from the English, Danes and Dutch were a lawful prize." After listening to the speech the governor of Orissa cofiscated the vessels and goods of both the British and the Portuguese. Though the enraged British merchant exhibited temper, the governor was calm and allowed him three days to cool down. The governor admired the British merchants 'whose ships were such that no words of the vessel great or small could stir out of His Majesty's dominions but they would take them.' The governor in an order on May 5, 1633 gave ample licence to the British to trade. Cartwright could trade and export 'free of customs at any port of Orissa.' He could purchase ground, erect factories and build or repair ships. 'All disputes were to be brought before the governor in person and decided by him in open darbar.'

Within ten weeks of the licence, on 22nd July, 1633, 'Swan' with her whole cargo reached Harishpur and fired three guns but got no response. So, the ship proceeded further north upto Balasore, where Cartwright had founded a factory the previous month. Trade was directly from the ship and though it lay there for one full year, there were no purchasers of the breadcloth and lead. Due to bad climate and malaria only one of the six factors survived while many of the sailers died. Crew of the second ship also met with a similar fate. Two more large ships arrived to experience the same miserable plight. Goods were not lifted, men were sick and dying and on top of this, Portuguese pirates sweeped down on them. The British could not continue for long. The river mouth at one time known as Brita Kuliya or ship-haven, signifying its former importance came to be sand barred and the trade almost closed down. In 1641 the ship 'Dyamond' was sent to pay off the debts and take away the factors from Harishpur.

Balasore, a Ship building port :

Balasore, is said to have derived its name from the old temple of Baneswar there. It was a sea-town where ships and vessels were built. The British factory at Balasore was protected on one side by the river and on the other three sides by meats. Artisans and weavers settled around the factory. Guns were mounted on the ramparts and the merchant fleet with cannon commanded the Balasore road down the river. Advances for goods were made in silver and the English factory seemed the safest for the weavers during the Maratha attacks. The river silted up and the place itself being unhealthy, Balasore fell into decay. The parent factory at Masulipatam could not lend a helping hand as they were busy with their own affairs. At home the Directors felt that Orissa settlements were futile being an unprofitable burden. They were 'distant, unhealthy and dangerous.' Cartwright found it difficult to manage any factory on the Orissa coast.

In the summer of 1642, Francis Day, who had founded Fort St. George the previous year, visited Balasore. Though the directors were against the continuance of Balasore as a port, Francis Day did not like the idea of dropping it completely. The Board of Directors decided to have a settlement in Bengal itself. By about 1657 Hugli became the head agency in Bengal and Balasore became an out-factory under its central for the transhipment of cargoes in small boats to the Gangetic delta. Within another two decades the Danes and the French also had their factories at Balasore and the monopoly of the British company was broken.

The company factors expected exceptional treatment and were enraged when the Viceroy of Bengal did not care for them. A fleet of 10 ships was sent under Nicholson, who was to go to Balasore, break up the factory there and take the Company servants with him to Chittagong and Dacca to force a treaty from the Mughal representative there. The plan could not succed as bad weather intervened. He could not touch Balasore. Taking his own decision, he went straight to Hugli only to find that things were in a bad shaps for his men.

The British had been driven out from Hugli and led by Charneck settling down in the swamps of Sutanati, the present site of Calcutta. When they were driven out even from there in 1687, Charneck decided to take revenge. Two fleets were fitted out by the Company; one was to capture the Mughal ships trading from Surat and the other with six

hundred regular troops on board was to wage war by sea and land under Charneck. Notable to implement the plan successfully, Charneck was forced to take shelter on Injili, a malarious island at the mouth of the Hugli. There was Balasore, a not very prosperous factory lying further up the mouth of the river; At a high projecting place referred to as the Point of Sand by Charneck, the Mughal rulers had a fort and armies. Charneck's ships were drawn up in the dry docks of mud under the protection of the Point of Sand and the fort was taken, Next day the English easily went up the river without any obstruction and reached New Balasore, where they became masters with little struggle. 'They broke into the King's customs house: they plundered the private merchants; and returning to the old town, burnt all shipping as it lay in the docks.' Having shown their might, the British were preparing to leave the place and waited for a favourable wind.

In the meanwhile, two miles up the country, one of their boats with 17 men was taken. Heads of 3 men were cut off and exhibited at Hugli. Fight was renewed in 1688 under Captain Heath. After negotiations for a fortified factory at Sutanati failed, Heath decided to quit Bengal altogether. All the company servants and goods from their 'fenceless factories' were taken back to the Balasore reads. At Balasore two of the Englishmen were seized by the Muslims. At this juncture Heath got a chance to exhibit his strength, by capturing two French ships that arrived in the waters. Under cover of the coconut groves, Heath took the King's force by surprise, dispersed the battery of men and horse dislodged the Musalmans from their outposts, and finally drove them from their 'grand bulwark' which had only about 'half a dozen great guns, disorderly placed and unskillfully levelled...' The artillery and stores had fallen into their hands, The next day they attacked New Balasore and ill-treated all alike—friends and foes, men and women. For some years Balasore remained their only trade port on the Orissa coast and grow into a great seat of maritime trade. In 1690 Aurangzeb granted a new farman to the British for the re-establishment of their factories in Bengal.

By the middle of the 18th century the maratha raids had become intense and ready money goods could not be purchased as most of the weavers and artisans ran away. In 1753 the Resident sent a requisition for 1,500 or 2 thousand maunds of rice as the Marathas had plundered Balasore. In 1766 Grose, in his book '*Voyage to the East Indies*',

mentions the British ports on the Orissa coast. He says: 'This company has several large settlements, and many factories, for the support of their trade. They have factories at Balasore, and Pipley farther up the coast toward Bengal...' The British had to fight the Marathas before they took Balasore and Cuttack once and for all on the 10th October, 1803, when the whole of Orissa came under their rule. As several miles of silt had been thrown up, new land grew and the port town of Balasore slowly receded from the coast and lost its fame as a busy centre of coastage trade. The propperity of the port disappeared when salt monopoly was given up by the government. Instead, False Point and Chandbali gained importance.

Other Ports :

Amongst other ports of significance was False Point, often mistaken by the ships to be Point Palmyras. False Point, land-locked by islands and sand banks provided a safe anchorage with a soft mud bottom and was open throughout the year and served the rice trade of Orissa. The Famine Commissioner reported it as "the best harbour on the whole Indian Peninsula between the Hooghly and Bombay." Rice was sent to False Point or Chandbali for export purposes. Lachanpore and Churaman also served as good ports till the and of the 19th century. The trade of Cuttack was through the neighbouring ports. Ganjam at the southern end of Orissa coast had an advantage over Gopalpur as ships could be loaded in quite waters of Rishikulya unlike the surf covered sea of Gopalpur. There are many villages on the east coast which at one time might have served as minor ports. With the coming up of the European 'fenceless factories', maritime trade concentrated around them and the royal patronage for manufacturing crafts slowly became a thing of the past.

Trade consisted mainly of rice and salt. Rice from Cuttack reached Calcutta, Mauritius and Ceylen. Exports like oil seeds, hides, jute, timber, horns, feathers, bones, forest produce like lac, nux vomica, wax and resin reached Calcutta and Madras. Besides cloth from England and piece-goods from Bombay, articles like Kerosine-oil, cotton yarn, crockery, glassware, fancy goods, lead, copper, zinc, gold, silver, potatoes, salt, turmeric, chillies, sugar and tobacco were imported.

There were three types of craft that frequented these ports :

(i) Maldive vessels, which brought cowries, cocoanuts, coral and

dried fish and took back rice and earthern pots (ii) sloops which carried government salt to Calcutta and (iii) sloops built at Contai and Hijili, which came in the cold season and carried rice to Calcutta. By about 1813 the British monopoly resulted in the export of only two items, namely, rice and salt. As immense quantities of salt came to be smuggled by the contractors themselves, no bidders turned up and the British monopoly in salt trade broke.

Silt, the common enemy of waterways, proved fatal to the prosperity of almost evey river port in Orissa. Rivers silted up and blocked the mouths with sand bars, thereby preventing large sea-faring vessels from entry except at high tide. In the words of Hunter, "an eternal war goes on between the rivers and the sea, the former struggling to find vent for their columns of water and silt, the latter repelling them with its sand—laden currents."

SOURCES

The following source material has been used :

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PRE-VEERESALINGAM REFORM TRENDS IN ANDHRA

V. Ramakrishna

The view that with Veeresalingam started the spread of social reform ideas is not correct. The new elite, under the influence of western

thought and philosophy and the reform movements in Bengal during the first half of the 19th century, became conscious of social evils and expressed their resentment against them. A few instances of genuine urge for reform and recognition of social evils are cited here.

Enugula Veeraswamaiah (1780-1836), a Brahmin and a 'dubashee' in the Sadr Supreme Court at Madras, showed remarkable awareness of soical evils.[1] While criticising untouchability as not being originally sanctioned by Smritis, he attributed large scale conversions to Christianity to the ill-treatment meted out to the 'lower' castes.[2] He criticised the empty rituals in temples and laid more stress on true and single-minded devotion to God.[3] He stated that "the caste system was a creation of man and hence caste distinctions were untenable.[4] He disapproved of 'sati' and placed his faith in one God.[5] As one of the founders of the Hindu Literary Society in Madras during the 1830' he contributed to its activities like the spread of English education and the generation of political consciousness among people by arranging public lectures.[6] The Society admitted members from different castes. The programme of this body included the promotion of widow remarriage, female education and the uplift of depressd classes.[7]

Vennelacunty Soobrow (Subba Rao) (1784-1839). a protege and relation of Enugula Veeraswamaiah, was also a 'dubashee' in the Sadr Supreme Court at Madras.[8] As a member of the School Book Society at Madras, he brought to the notice of the government "the very deficient mode of education among the natives" and pleaded for its replacement by a well-organised system of education with English as part of it.[9] He suggested to the Society the printing of books in English to be distributed at cheap prices.

The most important contribution in this direction was made by Swamyneena Muthoonarasimmah Naidoo of Rajahmundry, a district munsiff, who in his book *The Hita-Soochanee.*,[10] succeeded in drawing the notice of his contemporaries to the social inequities connected with marriage and female education. The book, according to the author, was meant for women who "need certain type of knowledge concerning their problems".[11] He pleaded for the introduction of scientific education and for the translation of scientific works from English into vernaculars.[12] He went on to condemn popular superstitions like belief in the existence of evil spirits and in the efficacy of witch-doctors. He exhorted the people not to worship village deities in order to escape from

epidemics like cholera but to observe cleanliness and appealed to them to take proper medical care for their cure.[13] With regard to his ideas on marriage he was much in advance of his contemporaries. He stressed mutual love and affection between the bride and groom and severely criticised wasteful expenditure in the name of marriage ceremonies.[14] He mentioned and proved with the help of *slokas* (read during marriage ceremonies) that marriages were, in the past, performed only after girls had attained proper age and maturity of mind.[15] He suggested the marriageable age of 12 for girls[16] and 16 for boys.[17] He condemned the practice of 'Kanyasulka' (purchase of child brides), and also the system of early marriages which resulted in widowhood and immoral practices like debauchery and cruel practices like infanticide.[18]

Another book, *Stree Kalakallolini*, was published from Bengalore in 1875.[19] The book was meant to meet the shortage of books for girls in the Telugu language. Consisting of short essays the book was undoubtedly useful for women. Each essay also had an English title like 'Female education is not contrary to ancient usage', 'The beauty of knowledge', 'Uneducated females are enemies of Children', 'The earth and other elements serve mankind', 'The whole world forms one family', etc. The author hoped that the book would "...remove the stubborn opinion against female education entertained by so many of our countrymen".[20] He stated about the need for female education that "as food is necessary for physical health, education is essential for mental growth".[21]

A significant move in the direction of marriage reform was made by G. Vedantachary, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Visakhapatnam, in a memorandum submitted to the government of Madras in 1870.[22] Observing that "the present style of Hindoo marriages is so very ignominious and absurd and their effects so piteous and unremediable..."[23], he stated that early marriages, disparity in the ages of the husband and wife, their mutual ignorance of each other before marriages, and the payment of bride-price (Kanyasulkam) were notable evils. These resulted in widowhood and several other improper and immoral ways of behaviour.[24] He proposed remedial measures such as banning early marriages, Kanyasulkam and fixing up age limit for girls (minimum nine years) and boys (sixteen at the lowest), and consultation and consent of prospective couples prior to marriage.[25] He drafted a questionnaire on these issues and suggested that the government circulate it among leading scholars

and public men of all districts in Andhra and elicit their opinions before enacting favourable laws.[26]

During the first half of the 19th century Andhra society thus experienced the first stirrings of reform activity which became more prominent and pronounced during the 1870s under the leadership of Kandukuri Veeresalingam.

REFERENCES

1. Enugula Veeraswamayya, *Kasiyatra Charitra* (Telugu) (Bezwada, 1941), was originally compiled by Komaleswarapuram *Srinivasa* Pillai and published in 1838. The latest edition was published in 1941 by D. V. Siva Rao with notes and comments. Enugula Veeraswamaiah was a scholar in Telugu, Tamil and Sanskrit with a considerable knowledge of English. The author undertook a pilgrimage from Madras to Kasi (Benaras) via Ceded districts (Cuddapah, Kurnool and Anantapur), and Hyderabed and while returning travelled the Circar districts (Gandam, Visakhapatnam, Godavari, Krishna, Nellore). The journey was undertaken at a time when there were no modern transport or communication facilities and undertook this journey by palanquin. In this travelogue the author described in detail the social conditions of Andhra with his comments against social evils. His views on religion, caste, untouchability and the like showed a liberal frame of mind and a progressive attitude which was far ahead of his time.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-66.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 195-96.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 233. Veeraswamaiah, it should be noted, was a contemporary of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. We do not have any evidence whether or not he was in touch with the Bengali reform trends. He stated that "according to Hindu philosophy God is one which is expressed as 'Ekamavadwitiyam Brahmat.
6. Two other co-founders of this society were Komaleswaarapuram Srinivasa Pillai and Vembakam Raghavacharyulu. Gajula Lakshminarasu Chetty was also associated with the Society later. Srinivasa Pillai liberally donated a sum of Rs. 50 000 towards the development of education and started a Girls school in Madras. See A Ramapati Rao, *Veeresalingam Pantulu, Samagra Parisee-lana* (Telugu), (Vijayawada, 1972), pp 7 and 17. See also K. Veerabhadra Rao 'Adhunikandhra Kavitwam meeda Anglasahitya Prabhavmu' (Telugu) published in *Bharathi*, November, 1953.
7. R. Suntharalingam, *Politics and National Awakening in South India* (1852-1891) (Tuscan Arizona, 1974), pp. 45-46. The Society became inactive during the 1840's, when the anti-missionary agitation was at its height. Attempts to revive it in 1846 did not bear fruit and it became defunct. However, the Hindu Liter-ary Society was a forerunner of many a later association like the Madras branch

of British Indian Association in February 1852 and the Madras Native Association in July 1852.

8. *Life of Vennelacunty Soobrow* (Madras. 1873).
9. For the detailed report he submitted to the Madras School Book Society, See *Ibid.*, pp, 65-74.
10. Swamyneena Muthoonarasimmah Naidoo, *Hita Soochanee* (Moral Instructor in prose), (Telugu), (Madras, 1862). The author was one of the earliest English educated persons in Andhra. As he died in 1856 the book should have been probably written around 1850. There are 8 essays in this, each dealing with eight different topies like education, marriage, medicine and the like. These journal 'Hitavadi' published from Machilipatnam. He has illustrated every aspect with an episode or a story. The book is written in an easy style. See K. Enoch, "Telugu Vyasa Parinamam" (Evolution of essay in Telugu), an unpublished Ph. D. thesis in Telugu submitted to Sri Venkateswara University in May 1973.
11. *Ibid.*, Preface.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 216.
19. Jiyyar Suri, *Stree Kalakallolini* (Telugu), (Bangalore, 1876). Jiyyar Suri (1850-95) was a Telugu teacher in the 26th Division army Girls school at Bangalore. "The book has been divided into three parts. The first part called Stri Niti forms advice to females...and treats of piety and good behaviour. The second part, known as Stri Vidyamany, contains the authorities illustrative of the propriety of female education, and points out the advantage thereby obtainable by all the members of the family. The third part, or Stri Manamu, treats of the respect due to women..." See *Ibid.*, preface. The author's ancestory were educators of the native army stationed earlier at Visakhapatnam. When the army headquarters was shifted to Bangalore they too changed their residence. Jiyyar Suri wrote some other works including one on the evils of the 'nautch'. His book 'Stree Kalakallolini' received favourable notices in Journals like 'Vivekavardhani 'Purushartha Prathayini' and Madras standard. During the summer months of 1876 he visited several towns in Andhra, including Guntur, Vijayawada, Visakhapatnam, Pithapur, Ellore and Rajahmundry where he met Veeresalingam and others. See for his biographical details Y. Bhashyacharyulu, *Sriman Paravastu Jiyyarsurigari Jeevithamu* (Telugu), (Bangalore, 1935).
20. Jiyyar Suri, *op. cit.*, Preface.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
22. Proceding of the Madras Government, *Public Department*, G. O. No. 97, dated 25th January 1871. Vedantachari submitted in December 1870 the elaborate memorandum running into twelve pages in English with a Telugu translation, to the Assistant Secretary, Legislative Department, Fort St. George, Madras.

23. *Ibid.*, For a period of nine months, according to his memorandum, he consulted several scholars in the district, including the most orthodox ones, and came to certain conclusions to be placed before the Government.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*, He was pleading for civil marriage when he proposed that marriages be registered in the Tahsildar's cutchery before their celebration. He suggested that any violation of the above rules be subject to a severe penalty.

26. Though not on same lines, a similar trend was seen among some scholars during the same period. A tract in Telugu, on the marriageable age of girls, was written by Chadaluvada Anantharam Sastry the brother of Seetharama Sastry who was a Telugu Pandit in the Presidery College, Madras. The theme of the tract was that a girl should marry only after she attained the age of sixteen. See the Telugu translation of the original sanskrit text by O. Venkatarangaiah, *Vivahakany Swaroopa Niroopanam* (Telugu). (Madras. 1928), p. 5. It appears that Anantarama Sastry submitted his tract, for approval, to Sankarachary of Kanchipuram. Then followed several tracts ciriticising and condemining this. To mention only two of the tracts, viz., (a) A native of Madras, Srirama Sastry wrote one tract in Sanskrit and (2) Gurram Venkanna Sastry of Nellore wrote 'Vadaprahasanamu,' which was approved by Sankaracharya. Anantarama Sastry, we are informed, gave up his caste later and took part in inter-dining with people of other castes. See K. Purushotham, "*Gopinatham Venkata Kovi and other Poets of Venkatagiri Samsthanam*", pp. 480-82,unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Osmania University (Hyderabad), 1970.

ROLE OF THE PRESS IN BIHAR POLITICS DURING 19TH CENTURY

S. N. Pandey

One of the important sources for studying social and political history of the 19th Century Bihar are newspapers and journals. The history of modern Bihar needs careful investigation. Though Bihar was tagged with Bengal from the beginning of British rule, the course of developments in Bihar was different from that in Bengal. For example, in the field of education, the Biharis were much behind Bengalis There were 45 colleges in Bengal at the turn of nineteenth century, whereas Bihar had only five colleges. And so there were little public activity in Bihar. 'The Bihar Times' commented on this. In social matters Bihar was like a pool of stagnant water and even the whirlwind of reform in the East and West of the province had failed to cause the faintest ripple in the sea of social life.'[1]

By the second half of the nineteenth century most of the provinces of India were passing through social and political turmoil. The province of Bengal was in the forefront of this movement. But the main current of social reform movement did not cut much ice in Bihar.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, however, attempts were made to spread education in Bihar. These attempts led to the emergence of a group of educated persons, who were eager to adopt modern ways of life. The growth of education brought new ideas to this group of men. They tried to launch organs in English and Hindi to propagate new ideas. The growth of literacy led to the rise of the press, which helped a great deal in the social and political development of Bihar.[2]

The first weekly n wspaper was established in 1872. It was *Bihar Bandhu*, a Hindi weekly. Its founders were Madan Mohan Bhatt and Keshava Ram Bhatt. They were Maharashtrian Brahmins domiciled in Bihar. In the beginning, the office of the *Bihar Bandhu* was in Calcutta. After one and half years the Bhatt brothers brought its office to Patna.

Thus Bihar was way behind in traditions of newspapers that had been set up in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay which were humming with political activities.[3] The *Bihar Bandhu* emerged as a staunch supporter of Biharis interest. It launched a movement for preference to Biharis in government service in Bihear. It also tried to mould public opinion for promoting Bihar's social and political development. The *Bihar Bandhu* lamented inactivity of the Bihari people: ',what are the reasons of inactivity in Bihar ?. The ignorance of the common masses, the indifference of rich people, their apathy to the development of the country, their indulgence in petty affairs, their fear of the officials, their complete submission to the English people and their indulgence in licentiousness their lust for power—these are the reasons of the backwardness of this province.[4]

The *Bihar Bandhu* was very vocal in condemning rich people of the province for their apathetic attitude. It held firm view that if rich persons of the province devoted energy and money for the improvement of the province, that would change the face of Bihar. It launched a crusade against the attitude of the zamindars and Nawabs of the province. The zamindars of the province were very much conscious to employ only English people in their estates. This paper started a move-

ment for appointing Bihari people in various zamindaris. It wrote: 'The Darbhanga Maharaj has employed from Manager to the gardener or horse keeper, only English people. It is a question, whether the Biharis are not qualified to look after gardens or horses of the Raj. The zamindars should think welfare of the province and help educated Biharis by giving them suitable jobs.'[5]

The *Bihar Bandhu* started comprings against various social evils like child marriage and pleaded for widow re-marriage. It commented that child marriage was a great social evil that engendered so many other evils.[6] This weekly launched a movement for fighting the earliest battles of Hindi against the domination of Persian then in vogue as the principal language in the lawcourts.[7] Consequently Hindi was introduced in the courts of Bihar in January 1881. The *Bihar Bandhu* hailed this decision in its editorials. 'Devanagri has been accepted in civil courts from 1st January 1881. Those who will not learn Hindi during this period will loose their jobs. This is a victory of truth.'

This paper had a long list of editors who followed in the foot steps of Munshi Hasan Ali and Kesavaram Bhatta till 1897. After a quarter of a century's run it fell on evil days. But the paper had set an example in national integration. It took lead in this direction by employing a Muslim editor of a Hindi paper owned by a Hindu.[8] The *Bihar Bhndhu* should be considered as the pioneer of journalism in Bihar and harp-linger of modern age in the province.

On 24 Nov. 1886 The *Bihar Bandhu* reported: A meeting was held on 18 Nov. in Bankipur Bar Library under the auspices of 'Bihar Peoples Association which was attended by more than thousand Hindu and Muslims. It was resolved that a delegation of 18 persons would attend the session of Indian National Congress including Syed Saffruddin, Bar-at-Law, Sri Guru Prasad Sen, Secretary Land Holders Association and Sri Govind Charan, Secretary, Bihar Peoples Association.[9]

The First English journal in Bihar owes its beginning to Sri Guru Prasad Sen, who began the *Bihar Herald* in 1875 and continued to run it for the advancement of Bihars' social and political development. It was the chief organ of domiciled Bengalis of Bihar. This paper was in sharp disagreement with the younger generation of Biharis who launched a movement for the separation of Bihar.

The *Bihar Herald* took up the cause of the voiceless peasants of Bihar against the tyranny of white indigo-planters. It drew a vivid

picture of a famished population hit by recurring draught, famine and flood. It also focussed attention on an agrarian situation in which farmers were exploited mercilessly. This paper spotlighted the appalling illiteracy of the rural masses and backwardness of even the urban communities. But the greatest good that the *Bihar Herald* did was to provide opportunities for training to Biharis in carrying on journalism and publicity on modern lines.[10]

The educated and resourceful Biharis also tried to begin an organ in English. Two brothers, Bisheshwar Singh and Saligram Singh, new founders of B. N. College, started *The Indian Chronicle* in 1881. Eventually, Shri Govind Charan, the first Bihari M. A. in English, became its editor. His mantle fell upon his brother Mahesh Narayan who conducted the paper with conspicuous ability and when it languished for want of support, started a paper of his own under the name of *The Bihar Times* on Jan. 26, 1894.[11] As Sachchidanand Sinha said, with its birth may be said to have begun the period of reauassance in Bihar.[12]

The Bihar Times staked the claims of Biharis for a saparate province and started compaigns for the separation of Bihar from Bengal. Later Shri Sachchidanad Sinha joined this paper and gave new dimensions to this movement. Under the joint guidance of Sinha and Hasan Imam the title piece of the *Bihar Times* was altered to the *Beharee.* This paper gave the educated Biharis a medium to express their views on important social and political problems of the time. The movement for the saparation of Bihar was carried successfully by this journal. It prepared a solid background for it during the closing years of the 19th century, and on this background the movement grew in the first decade of this century.

In 1889 Mahesh Narayan began '*Kayasth Gazette,* an organ of social reform in a community which was suffering from many social evils. It started a crusade against social evils and called upon the Kayasth community to fight against them. Similarly, Sachchidanand Sinha started *The Kayasth Samachar.* Other caste organisations also brought out periodicals and pamphlets for propagating social reforms.

There were other journals like '*Bihar Patriot,* started in 1884 in English, and one Hind daily, *Sarvahitaishi,* at the turn of the 19th century at Patna. They played a significant role in the political life of the province.

Besides these important organs in English and Hindi, many vernacular journals in Hindi and Urdu were started in different towns of the province during this period. Most of them had a local circulation and they often ceased publication after a short time. But they, too played a very important role in creating public opinion and spreading political consciousness in the province. The rise of press, both in English and vernaculars, helped the pace of social reform and political consciousness in a province which was lagging much behind in comparision to other provinces. Though the first daily newspaper in Bihar was not published till the first decade of this century, many periodicals and various local pamphlets were in cirulation throughout the province during the second half of the nineteenth century.

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5. *Ibid.*, 19 Jan. 1884.
6. *Ibid.*, 10 Feb. 1837.
7. *Bihar Herald*, Centenary number p. 37.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
9. *Bihar Bandhu*, 24 Nov. 188
10. *Bihar Herald*, p. 38.
11. S. N. Pandey, *Education and social changes in Bihar*, p. 167.
12. S. Sinha, *Some Eminent Bihar contemporaries*, Intr, V.

SFCTION IV

COUNTRIES OTHER THAN INDIA

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

M. S. Khan

Mr. President, Members of the Indian History Congress, Ladies and Gentlemen :

First of all, I should like to express my thanks to the members of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for the honour they have done me by electing me to the office of the President of Section IV of the Annual Session of the Congress which has been inaugurated this morning. I am conscious of my limitations and I hardly deserve the honour which has been bestowed on me.

Section IV or History of Countries other than India was introduced only twelve years ago, This gave me an opportunity to participate in the proceedings of the Indian History Congress as my interest lies chiefly in the history and culture of the Arab world.

India's political and cultural relations with South-East Asia are old, important and well-known. The history of these relations are well-established and well-documented and there are excellent books on the subject.[1] But India's relation with West Asia had also been intimate for a long time but no detailed critical and connected history of this relation is available. My studies on certain aspects of Arab history and cultural made me interested in the Indo-Arab relation through the ages, a subject on which not much work has been done. I would, therefore, like to point out certain lines along which research and investigation are likely to be rewarding.

Some Works on Indo-Arab Relations

A survey and evaluation of the work already done on the Indo-Arab relations may be attempted here. Maulana Syed Sulaman Nadwi was the first scholar to publish the *Arab wa Hind Ke Ta'alluqat* in Urdu in 1930 (pp. 402). It was translated into English by Prof. Muhammad Salah ad-Din as *Indo-Arab Relations* and published by the Institute of Indo-Middle-East Cultural Studies of Hyderabad in 1962 (pp. 238). It has also been translated into Hindi. Dr. Tara Chand wrote his excellent book entitled *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture* published in 1936

(pp. 327). *Arab Geographer's knowledge of Southern India* by Prof. Muhammad Husayn Nainar was published in 1942 (pp. 241).[2] An informative book *Ath-Thaqafat al-Islamiyah fi'l-Hind* or the *Islamic Culture in India* by Maulana Syed 'Abdu'l-Hayy al-Hasani was printed at Damascus in 1377/1958 (pp 358). Two papers by Dr. Muhammad Yusuf al-Hindi on the beginning of cultural and commercial relations between India and the Arab countries were published in *BFAC, XV* (1953, pp. 1-33) and XXII (1960, pp. 97-112).[3] Muhammad Yusuf Mirza's "The Early contacts between Islam and Buddhism" and "Influences of Indian Sciences on Muslim Culture" were printed in the *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XIII/i (1955, pp. 1-28) and the *Islamic Culture* (April, 1962, pp. 102-118) respectively. An Urdu book containing passages from works of Arab merchants, travellers, sailors and geographers entitled *Hindustan 'Arabon Ki Nazar men* was published in two volumes by the Daru'l-Musannifin, Azamgarh, between 1969 and 1962 (pp. I, 400, II, 401). Prof. Maqbul Ahmad has written a well-documented but short account of India's relations with the Arab world from ancient upto modern times in his book *Indo-Arab Relations* published by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations in 1969 (pp. 187). It has also been translated into Arabic under the title *al-'Alaqat al-'Arabiyat al-Hindiyah* by Dr. Nichola Ziyada (1969, pp. 78) but it does not deal with the 20th century. Therefore, a book dealing with the Indo-Arab relations covering the last 75 years is a long-felt necessity. Prof. Maqbul Ahmad has published a number of other important papers bearing on the cultural, diplomatic, political and commercial relations between India and the Arab world in learned journals.[4] He has also edited and published in 1969 the proceedings of the Seminar on "India and the Arab World" held at new Delhi in February 1965 under the title *India and the Arab World* (Indian Council for Cultural Relations, 1969, pp. 180). Dr. Z. A. Desai has contributed two important papers entitled "India and the Near-East during the 13th-15th Centuries" and "Relation of India with Middle-Eastern Countries during the 16 th-17 th Centuries" in the *Malik Ram Felicitation Volume*, Vol. III (1972, pp. 209-22) and the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XXIII, Nos. 1 and 2 (1973, pp. 75-106), respectively. His "Some New Data regarding the pre-Mughal Muslim Rulers of Bengal" published in the *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XXXII (1958, pp. 195-207) also throws light on Indo-Arab Relations. "Indo-Arab Relations before Muhammad bin Qasim"

published in the *H. K. Sherwani Felicitation Volume* (1975, pp. 136-144) by Dr. Shaukat Ali Khan is neither critical nor accurat. Reference may be made to my paper "An Eleventh Century Hispano-Arabic source for Ancient Indian Sciences and Culture" published in the said volume (pp. 356-390). The first part of the *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* by Prof. Aziz Ahmad (1964, pp. 311) and S. M. Ikram's *Muslim Civilization in India* ed. by Ainslie T. Embree (1964) are relevant and informative.

Some Urdu and Arabic books written by Qadi Athar Mubarakapuri bearing on the subject are : (1) *Ai-'Iqdu'l-Thamin* (1968, pp. 335) gives a list of the companions of the Prophet and their companions who visited India: (2) *Rijal as-Sind wa'l-Hind* (1958, pp. 328) records the biographies of the learned men of Sind; (3) *'Arab wa Hind 'Ahd-i-Risalat Men*[5] (1967) gives information about Indo-Arab relations during the life-time of the Prophet; (4) *Khilafat-i-Rashida aur Hindustan* (1972, pp. 280) bearing on the relation of Arabia and India during the time of the first four Caliphs; (5) *Hindustan Men 'Arbon Ki Hukumatain* (1967, pp. 340) records the history of Muslim rule in Sind, and (6) *Khilafat Umawiyya aur Hindustan* (1975, pp. 671) outlines the relation between India and the Arab countries during the Umayyad period of the history of Islam. These works are informative no doubt but they do not contain any critical analysis of the source material. It is understood that the Qadi Sahib is now engaged in writing the history of Indo-Arab relations during the Abbasid period i.e. from 750 A.D. to 1258 A.D. which we hope will be interesting. An Arabic cultural history of medieval India entitled *Al-Hind fi'l-'Ahd al-Islami or* (*India During the Islamic Period*) being the Vol. IX of the *Nuzhat al-Khawatir* by Maulana Syed 'Abdu'l-Hayy al-Hasani published at Hyderabad (1972, pp. 469) containing information about Indo-Arab relations may be mentioned here. The linguistic relation between India and the Arab world has been studied by Dr.Jamil Ahmad in *As-Silatal Lisaniyyah bayn al-Hind wa'l-'Arab* published in the *Revue de l'Academic Arabe de Damas*, Vol. L/IV (1995/1976).

Several Arabic sources of the history of medieval India which give information on the history of Arab countries and on Indo-Arab relations also have been published recently. A new edition of the *Kitab al-Hind* of al-Biruni has been published at Hyderabad in 1958 (pp. 578). Prof. K. A. Fariq has published the Arabic text and an Urdu transla-

tion of that part of *Masalik al-Absar* of al-Umari which deals with India. Dr I. H. Siddiqi and Qadi Muhammad Ahmad have published its English translation under the title *A Fourteenth Century Arab Account of India under Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq* (1971, pp. 86). Shaikh Zayn ad-Din al-Ma'bari's *Tuhfat al-Mujahidin* compiled in 993/1583 which deals with the conflict of the Portuguese with the Muslims of Malabar in the Indian Ocean in the 15th-16th centuries was also published at Hyderabad in 1931 but it is not a critical edition. An English translation of the chapter in *Subh al A'sha* of al-Qalqashandi concerning India was published by Prof. Otto Spies at Aligarh in 1941. Abu'l-Fida's description of India was published by Prof. Maqbul Ahmad and Muhammad Muzaffar Andarabi in the *Medieval India Quarterly* of Aligarh in 1957. Yet there are several Arabic sources concerned with India specially biographies of Indian Muslim rulers in the Arabic biographical dictionaries which have not been published. In fact, some of them are unknown to the general body of the historians of Medieval India. There is a short but informative biography of Muhammad bin Tughluq in the *at-Wafi bil-Wafayat* of as-Safadi (d. 764/1363) which has been studied by me. It will be published in the next issue of *Medieval India—A Miscellany* under the title "An Undiscovered Arabic Source of the History of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq".[6]

There is a thesis submitted at 'Osmania University, Hyderabad bearing directly on Indo-Arab relations entitled "Relations between South Arabia and the Deccan from the 17th century till the 20th century A. D." by Asghar Ali Ansari (1974). Information about the research work done on Arab-Islamic history and culture at Aligarh Muslim University is available' but it is not known what thesis and dissertations on the said subject have been submitted to other Universities, for example, Delhi, Patna, Hyderabad and Madras. The *Bulletin of Research Theses and Dissertations* is being published by the National Archives of India, New Delhi, for some years past but it contains information pertaining mostly to the modern period of Indian history.

There are a number of theses presented at Aligarh Muslim University on Arab-Islamic subjects. Among those belonging to the modern period, which may be relevant to Indo-Arab relations, mention may be made of Abid Reza Khan's *Development of Nationalism in Egypt* 1370-

1914 (1959); Anwar Ali Khan's thesis entitled *The Religious Ideas of Jamal ad-Din al Afghani* (1963): Muhmmad Iqbal Ansari's *Arab League*: Its establishment and role in the Arab world (1963); Mahmudul Haq's thesis. *Muhammad 'Abduhu, his life and works* (1962); *Fiscal Policy and Economic Development in the Arab Republic of Egypt* : 1952-1968 by F. R. Faridi (1976) and others. The thesis of Mahmudul Haq on Muhammad 'Abduhu has been published.

In so far as the 20th century is concerned, Prof. M. S. Agwani and Dewan Birendranath have published books on the history of the Arab world in modern times but they only touch the fringe of Indo-Arab relations.

Pre-Islamic period

It may not be possible to establish the exact date of direct or indirct contact between India and Arabia. The generally accepted view now is that the earliest Indian contact with the Tigris-Euphrates region specially Mesopotamia was established in the early dynastic period around 2500 B.C. It is based on the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa, Lothal and the Tigris-Euphrates region which establish link between Mesopotamia and India during this period.[8] More and more evidence of commercial relations between Mesopotamia and Southern India is also coming up. The contact with the Gulf area is somewhat problematic. As far as it is known, there is no firm evidence before the time of Sargon I (about 2325 B.C.). Recently many archaeological discoveries have been made in the Gulf area an its adjacent Arabian coastland. These discoveries point to its close connection with Mesopotamia rather than with the Indus.[9] It would not be incorrect to state that the relation of India with this region was cultural and commercial from ancient times.

A history of Indo-Arab relations from the 3rd millennium B.C. to the preaching of Islam in the 6th century A.D. will not be narrated here. This has been rcorded by Prof. Maqbul Ahmad in his book *Indo-Arab Relations* (1969, pp. 1-6) and Dr. P. M. Joshi in his paper published in the *H.K. Sherwani Felicitation Volume* (1975, pp. 47-71).

Islamic Period : Commercial Relation

It is due to the georaphical position of India and Arabia that the Arabs not only played an important part in the trade between India

and the Hellenistic and Roman world but also acted as middlemen in the trade between South-East Asia and the West through the Red Sea and the towns of Syria and Egypt. Long before the preaching of Islam, the Arab merchants visited the eastern and western coasts of peninsular India. As a result of this contact some Arabic words specially those used in trade were assimilated into the languages spoken in Southern India[10] 'Hinda' used to be the name of girls in Arabia and good swords made of Indian steel were called *al-Hindwani* and *Muhannad*. These words are found in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. There are some Indian (Sanskrit) words in the maritime vocabulary of the Arabs and three words of Sanskrit origin such as *Misk* (Musk) *Zaniabil* (Ginger) and *Kafur* (Camphor)are found in the Quran.[11]

This commerce between India and the Arab world expanded after the preaching of Islam. One of its causes was the conquest of Sind and the Punjab by Muhammad bin Qasim in 93/712. There is, even, sufficient evidence to show that the Arabs first attacked Thana in Maharashtra in 15/635 during the time of 'Umar the Second Caliph.[12] Apart from this military contact, it is quite likely that a band of peaceful Muslims under Malik bin Dinar, a companion of the Prophet, reached Kadungaloor (Cranganoor in Kerala State) and setted in the Western coast of Southern India where the first mosque was built.[13] Besides, as stated above, Arabia occupied an important position in the line of communication between India and Europe. The maritime commerce between the China Seas and the Mediterranean Sea both through the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea was controlled by Indian and Arab merchants from the middle of the 8th to the end of the 16th ceutury, when they were superseded by the Portuguese, Dutch, French and British merchants.

The Arab merchants visiting India were generally well-treated by most of the rulers of Southern and Western India specially by the Rashtrakutas.[14] They settled in the coastal port twons of India in large numbers and enjoyed extra-territorial privileges because perhaps they brought substantial sums of money as duties to the treasuries of these rulers. Large bodies of Arabs were settled at Daybul (near modern Karachi), Cambay, Coromandal coast, Broarch, Thana, Sindabur, Quilon, Madura, Konkan, Ma'bar, Malabar. Sandan, Saymur and later at Surat and most of them were quite rich. They had cordial and friendly relation with the local people and enjoyed complete freedom in all respects. Even after the middle of the 16th century when the

Portuguese became powerful in the Indian Ocean, the prevalence of Indian and Arab maritime merchants in the Indian ocean continued for sometime more but the economic and political expansion of Western Europe in the 19th century brought this to an end completely.

It is neither necessary nor possible to write a history of the Indo-Arab overland trade and maritime commerce extending over so many centuries. The Arab merchants, sailors, travellers and those geographers who visited India from the 9th to 14th centuries have left a detailed account of this trade and commerce between East and West passing through India and Arabia. I. Durga Prasad's *Some Aspect of Indian Foreign Trade 1757-1893* (1932) and Archibald R. Lewis *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean A.D. 500-1100* contain useful information on Indo-Arab trade and there are substantial papers in the *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle-East* edited by Dr. M. A. Cook (1970) which may be helpful. Professors Hadi Hasan and G.F. Hourani's books *A History of Persian Navigation* (1928) and *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean (1951)* respectively contain substantive information on the subject. The proceedings of the Colloquium on the Islam and the Trade of Asia held at Oxford in 1967 edited and published by Dr. D.S. Richards (1970) and Dr. C. R. Tibbetts; *Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese* (1972) are important and informative books. Mention may be made here of Dr. R.B. Serjeant's *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast*, (1963), Dr. Michael Pearson's *Commerce and Compulsion; The Gujarati Merchants and the Portuguese System in Western India, 1500-1600* (Upublished D. Phil Thesis, Michigan University, 1971), Dr. Surendra Gopal's *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat, 16th and 17th Centuries* (1965), Dr. Tapan Roychowdhuri's *Jan Company in Coromandel 1605-1690*, (1962, pp. 230) and Prof. Asin Dan Gupta's *Malabar in Asian Trade 1740-1800* (1967, pp. 204),[15] but a compact and well-documented history of this commerce and the struggle of the Arabs against the Europen powers based on Indian, Arabic, Persian and European sources and Portuguese and Dutch archives still remains to be written.

Islamic Period : Cultural Relations

The Indo-Arab cultural relation during the Islamic period commences with the Arab conquest of Sind and Multan. Sultan Mahmud of

Ghaznah (d. 421-1030) first attacked this Muslim principality and conquered it in 395/1006 and 401/1010 but a critical and compact history of the Arab rule in Sind-Multan region has not yet been written. Not much of its cultural history is known except the names of some poets and learned men well-versed in Islamic sciences.[16] It is difficult to write a cultural history of Sind and Multan in the 8th, the 9th and the 10th centuries due to the lack of source material but an attempt should be made to fill this gap. This area under Muslim occupation was influenced by the cultural progress of Baghdad under the 'Abbasids. The learned members of the Barmakid Vizier family, who were said to have been Buddhists of Indian origin, especially Yahya bin Khalid (d. 805 A.D.), helped in the establishment of Indo-Arab cultural relation in the eighth century. As early as 154/771 a learned Hindu astronomer introduced the Indian astronomical work *Brahmasphutasiddhanta*[17] by Brahma Gupta (composed in A.D. 628) at the court of the Abbasid Caliph Abu Jafar al-Mansur (754-775 A.D.) at Baghdad and Muhammad bin Ibrahim al-Fazari (d. ca. 180/796) and Ya'qub bin Tariq (seeond half of the eighth century) translated it into Arabic. It is likely that this Pundit belonged to the Sind-Multan area. Other Sanskrit Pundits such as Bakhar, Dahir, Jabhar, Jodar and others and Indian doctors *(Vaid)* for example Manka (Manikya), Ibn Danan Sanjhal and Ibn Bhalla visited Baghdad and worked there. They either practised as doctors or translated Sanskrit books into Arabic in its Bureau of Translation under Caliph Harun ar-Rashid (786-809 A.D.) and his illustrious son Mamun ar-Rashid (813-833 A.D.). It is related that once Harun fell seriously ill and he was advised to call Manka, the renowned physician of India, for his treatment. He came to Baghdad on invitation and the Caliph was fully cured by him who gave him rich rewards and appointed him a translator of Sanskrit books into Arabic in his Bureau of Translation on a high salary.[18] In the course of time these Pundits translated Sanskrit books on astronomy, mathematics and medicine in collaboration with Arab scholars. The two Arab historians of sciences Ibn an-Nadim (d. 438/1047) and Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (d. 668/1270) give information about them which is not substantial.[19] Their Indian names have become so corrupt in Arabic transcription that it is very difficult to identify them and write more about them.

From the 9th to the 14th century several Arab merchants, sailors, travellers, hisorians, geograhers and other learned Arabs visited India.

Among others, mention may be made of Sulayman, the merchant (*ca.* 237/851), Abu Zayd Hasan Sirafi (*ca.* 851 A.D.), Buzurg bin Shahryar (*ca.* 342/953). al-Istakhri (*ca.* 340/951); Abul-Hasan al-Mas' udi (d. 346/957); al-Muqaddasi (*ca.* 375/985) al-Biruni (973-1048 A.D.) Ibn Batutath (d. 779/1377) and others whose travel accounts and geographical works are available in printed text editions.[20] They contain useful information about the geography of India and its socio-economic, political and religious history. Al-Biruni was perhaps the first scholar and scientist who understood the importance of Indo-Arab cultural relations. He not only translated Sanskrit works into Arabic but also made Arabic books available in Sanskrit translations.[21] While writing the history of medieval India, the historians of India do not give attention to Arabic sources which they deserve. These are essential for writing the economic and maritime history of India from the 9th at least to the 14th century.

A modern scholar records the following assessments of the information given by the Arab writers on ancient India :—

"Medieval Arabic writers on Indian topics speak of the Hindus as a people of wisdom and vision. The observations of the Arabs based on first-hand knowledge as well as reports of those who had visited India in the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries or settled there, related to many facets of Hindu life, such as their religion, customs, kingdoms, trade and sciences, pertaining to the pre-Ghanznawid India about which in the opinion of competent authorities, indigenous sources do not offer much information. Arabic writings extend India as far as Vietnam including Malaya and Indonesia and give, apart from other valuable information, vivid glimpses of the temperance and toleration of a number of Buddhist and Brahminical princes of Cambodia and Srivijaya empire of Malaya, Sumatra, Java and the neighbouring islands".[22]

From the beginning of the 13th century when a Muslim kingdom was established in Northern India till the fall of the Mughal empire in the 18th century, the cultural relation between India and the Arab world was cordial and intimate. It is not known whether Hindu scholars and scientists continued to visit Baghdad during this period or not. However, now this relation was preserved and improved by a large number of Indian Muslim scholars who travelled to Mecca, Madina, Cairo and other centres of Islamic learning in order to study under renowned learned Arabs. On the other hand, a large number of Arab

learned men specially experts in Islamic sciences, literary men and poets also visited India. Peoples from the Arab countries, Iran and Central Asia made the most important impact on the history and culture of India from the 16th to the 18th century.

Muslim kingdoms were established also in Southern India and cultural relation between the Muslim states of the South and Central India and the Arab countries was more cordial than that between the Arab countries and the Muslim states of the North who were under the influence of Iran, Afghanistan and Turkey. Even after the decline and fall of the Mughal empire, some independent states of the South and Central India such as, Mysore, Hyderabad, Bhopal and others maintained friendly and cordial relation with the Arab world.

Apart from this cultural relation, commercial and political relations between these countries also continued. Important documents and correspondence bearing on these relations are available in the archives of Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. A history of these relations may be written on the basis of this archival material.

It was around the 18th century that India lost her freedom and the Arab world lost it in the 19th century. While India was occupied by Britain, the different Arab countries became colonies of France, Britain and other European powers. Therefore, the direct contact between India and the Arab countries was adversely affected by the restrictions imposed on the movement and exchange of men and ideas between these two regions. In the end of the 19th century, the struggle for freedom started almost simultaneously in India and the Arab world and it is very likely that they drew inspiration from each other in their freedom struggle.

Prof. Maqbul Ahmad's book *Indo-Arab Relation* provides a good coverage of this relation upto the 19th century but it is not concerned with the 20th century and this centuıy is most important for Indo-Arab relations. Therefore, it would be desirable to discuss in some detail the different aspects of the Indo-Arab relations—political and diplomatic, cultural, economic and commercial in the present century.

Modern Period : Political and Diplomatic Relations

Wahhabism, a religio-political movement which started in Arabia

in the 19th century exercised influence on the Indian Muslims as for example on Syed Ahmad of Rai Bareilly who started a holy war against the British. This Wahhabism took the form of Fara'idi movement in Bengal.[23]

The founder of the pan-Islamic movement Syed Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani (1839-1897 A.D.) visited India and lived at Hyderabad for three years.[24] Although he could not convert Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) to his anti-British views, his movement did exercise some influence on a limited section of Indian Muslim intelligentia.[25] His anti-imperialist stance produced anti-British feeling in the Arab world and India. Similarly, Shaikh Rashid Raza (1865-1935 A.D.), a disciple of the great reformer of Islam, Shaik Muhammad 'Abduhu (1849-1905), visited India (Lucknow) in 1912.[26] Their Arabic journal *al-Manar* influenced the Muslims of India.

India also influenced the Arab world in various ways. Maulana Azad's (1888-1958) Arabic journal *al-Hilal* and his *Tafsir*[27] (commentary) of the Quran exercised influence on the Arab intellectuals of the 20th century. The policy of secularism and nationalism was followed by 'Arabi Pasha (1839-1911) Mustafa Kamil Pasha (d. 1326/1908), Sa'd Zaghlul Pasha (d. 1927) of Egypt and the nationalist leaders of India. Nehru always had cordial relation with Nahas Pasha (1876-1965) and Gamal 'Abdun-Naser (1918-1970). Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) supported the cause of the people of Palestine against the Israeli State and India is always supporting the Palestinian cause specially at the U.N.O. This is the policy of the present Government of India also which declares that there should be total immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories and the restoration of the national rights to the Palestinians. Mahatma Gandhi's fast undertaken in 1932 caused a great stir in the Arab world as is evideat from the journal *al-Shihab* of Algeria.[28] Nehru gave strong support to President Naser of Egypt at the time of the Anglo-French attack on the Suez Canal in 1956. This helped the growth of political co-operation in the international spheres first between India and Egypt and then between India and other countries of the Arab world.

After the achievement of independence by India in 1947, when most of the Arab countries also achieved independence,[29] the political and diplomatic relation between India and the Arab world developed rapidly for good reasons. The Indian nationalists always supported

the freedom struggle of the Arabs. Since they were ruled by one foreign power or the other, they developed a solidarity against imperialism and colonialism. Freedom from want, justice, peace, socialism and secularism are the common goals of the peoples of India and the Arab countries. Generally speaking, identity of views exist among them; most of them, if not all, claim to follow the path of non-alignment and neutrality in their foreign policy, and together they belong to the Third World. For these reasons, full diplomatic relations exist between India and all the Arab countries of West Asia and Africa.

Cultural Relations

The cultural relation gained momentum after the Second World War. The exchange of scholars, visiting Professors, exhibitions and film shows are increasing every year. A Cultural Agreement was signed between the U.A.R. and India in 1958 and a Science Agreement was signed in 1964. A Cultural Agreement with Jordan was signed in February, 1976 and with Algeria in June, 1976 respectively. Both envisaged active programme of cultural co-operation for re-inforcing the already existing political relations. The comprehensive Cultural Agreement with Jordan was to remain in force for five years. It was proposed to be achieved by reciprocal visits of Professors and experts and exchange of material in culture, science and education. They also agreed to grant scholarships to students and scientific personnel of the two countries.[80]

India and Iraq signed at New Delhi on January 15, 1976 an educational, scientific and cultural co-operation programme for 1976-77 in pursuance of the Cultural Agreement of 1973. In an agreement signed in November last, Iraq has agreed to give ten scholarships to Indian students in Arabic Studies, Archaeology and Islamic Studies. Iraq had already signed two Cultural Agreements with India in 1954 and 1973.

Technical, Scientific and Economic Co-operation

But it is the fields of trade, technology and economics that the co-operation has developed most in recent times. The Indian Technical and Economic Co-operation Programme (ITEC) is playing an important part in this development which has increased trade since 1972. One of the reasons for it is the basic concept of regional co-operation among developing countries belonging to the Third World.

India and Egypt signed at New Delhi on Feb. 2, 1973 an Agreement to co-operate in the research for the production of protein and

pesticides and in leather tanning iron-ores. food-canning and dairying during 1973-74. It expired in September 1974 and a bilateral Trade Agreement was signed with it in December 1975 for the year 1976. According to this Agreement, Egypt agreed to supply half a million tons of crude oil worth Rs. 40 crores to India. Egypt was to suply rice, rock phosphate and cotton and India was to export engineering goods, pharmaceuticals, refractories, iron and steel, paper products, jute, tobacco and spices to Egypt. The total amount of trade was to the tune of 75.28 crores in 1974-75 but it increased to 120 crores in 1976.

An Agreement was signed for economic, scientific and technical co-operation with the United Arab Emirate in January 1975 when there was steep increase in the price of petrol. The U.A.E. agreed to supply substantial quantity of crude oil to India on favourable terms. Iraq granted a loan to India in March, 1974 to meet oil import costs. In April 1975 India received aid from the OPES under the Aid to Developing Countries Programme. Kuwait gave a loan of 50 million Dollars for the Kalinidi Hydro-electric project in Karnataka in 1976 on soft terms.

The Indian Minister for External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh paid a three-day goodwill visit to Damascus from May 20-22, 1973 during which he presented India's case to Syrian leaders. In February 1976, the Indian National Congress signed a protocol with the Arab Socialist Party of Syria, which was political, cultural and commercial. They expressed satisfaction over the friendly relation between the two parties and agreed on a joint programme for sustaining and strengthening the mutual bonds of friendship and co-operation.

On February 12, 1973 India and Bahrain signed an Economic Co-operation Agreement and an Air Services Agreement in which both countries agreed to enter into a new era of co-operation in technical and economic fields.

In the third week of April, 1976 India and Libya signed a protocol for industrial co-operation which envisaged setting up of certain joint ventures. It also envisaged consultancy services to Libya, technical co-operation, training of Libyans in India and supply of materials and equipment, including plant and machinery.

Under these agreements, a large number of Indian scientists, technicians, technocrats, doctors, and scholars have been deputed to Arab countries. Some of them have either found employment in the

Arab world or established their business or industry in some Arab countries. In certain fields, India is also training Arab experts in various institutes. Thus it is found that our scientists and doctors have again started going to the Arab countries. This is reminiscent of what happened as far back as in 771 A.D.

Two Union Ministers of the present Government recently visited some Arab countries and signed portocols which will further develop the already existing economic and commercial ties between India and the Arab countries. As a result of these visits, Indian companies are expected to get contracts worth crores of rupees in Libya, Iraq, Kuwait and Jordan. It is only last month that India Iraq signed a protocol for the fourth meeting of the Indo-Iraqi Joint Commission for diversifying this co-operation in the economic and technical fields. It was in 1975 that Iraq had agreed to double its trade with India. Now she has again agreed to double her imports from India from 50 million Dollars to 100 million Dollars or Rs. 90 crores in one year. A trade fair will be held at Baghdad next year in which India has agreed to participate in a big way. Both countries have agreed to open trade centres in each other's country as a measure to increase and diversify economic relations between themselves.

The above historical survey and facts and figures show that generally speaking there is good relation and a spirit of co-operation between India and the Arab countries, but the Arabs and Indians know very little about each other's language, history and cutlure. This applies also to the educated Arabs and Indians. It may be stated that barring the Muslim students who study Arabic or pursue a regular course of study in Arab history and culture, the majority of the educated Indian Muslims also are ignorant of the history and culture of the Arabs except what is essential for their religion. It is understandable that the educated Indians and the Arabs are more interested in the politics and history of the U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Europe and England for very good reasons, Generally speaking, five Indians Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, Tagore, Iqbal and Azad are known among the educated Arabs and five Arabs: Gamal 'Abdun-Naser, Taha Husain, Khalil, Jibran Khalil, Shaikh Muhammad Abduhu and Rashid Raza are known among the educated peoples of India.

One of the causes of this ignorance on both sides is the language barrier. The number of students studying Arabic in the colleges and

universities of India is quite small. The people of India generally learn English, Russian, German, French and other foreign languages but they do not learn Arabic as a foreign language which is living and important being spoken and read from the Persian Gulf to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. Another cause may be the prejudice spread by the colonial powers in the 19th and 20th centuries. It is a fact that the Arabs and Indians obtained information about each other through European sources during this period. However, ignorance and prejudice cannot generate mutual love and respect among the peoples of India and Arab countries. Both may be eradicated if the Arabs and Indians study each other's history, geography, and learn their languages. For this purpose a number of standard books may be compiled by Indian scholars in collaboration with the Arabs. These books may be translated in all the sixteen regional languages. This dissemination of knowledge will first take place among the educated classes and then slowly and gradually among the masses. This will certainly further strengthen the bonds of friendship which already exist between India and the Arab world.

There considerations for which the history, geography and culture of the Arab countries may be taught at the colleges and universities of India as a compulsory subject. First, there is a strong link between the history of India and West Asia. The course of the history of India specially in medieval times has been influenced and determined by the history of West Asia although the history of the latter has not been influenced to that extent by the history of India. Therefore, for a correct perspective and for understanding the history of India thoroughly and completely, the study of West Asian history is essential. It is surprizing that the history of India is taught at the colleges and universities of India without the study of West Asia in the corresponding period.

Secondly, teachers, technologists engineers and doctors are in great demand in the Arab countries. A good number of unemployed Indian scientists, engineers and doctors would be able to obtain employment in them if they knew coloquial Arabic.

Thirdly, for the industrial development of India oil, petrol and raw materials will be supplied by the Arab countries and they are the potential markets for Indian goods.

Arab-Islamic Studies in Indian Universities

There are at least thirty Universities in the U.S.A. and many leading Universities in England, Europe and other parts of the world

which have separate full-fledged Department for the study of Near-East or Middle-East. They have arrangements for teaching Arabic, Persion and Turkish and the history and culture of the Middle-East.

In almost all the major universities of India and in most of the colleges under their jurisdiction, there is a Department for the study of Arabic in which mostly classical Arabic is taught but modern Arabic or spoken dialects are completely neglected. There are arrangements for the teaching of Arab-Islamic history and culure only in some universities of India. As far as I know, it is studied as a seperate subject only in the Universities of Calcutta, Delhi, Aligarh, Hyderabad and Kerala. The Department concerned at Calcutta University is named Islamic History and Culture but it has only one paper concerning the History of Islam outside India. There is an Institute of Islamic Studies at Aligarh Muslim University over and above the Department of Islamic Studies is attached to Osmania University, Hyderabad. There is a special Department of Islamic Studies at the University of Kerala.[31] Arab-Islamic history is taught in some universities of Bihar as part of World History. Under the Area study programme sponsored by the University Grants Commisson a Centre of West Asian Studies has been established first at Aligarh Muslim University. It is hoped that such centres will be established at Bhopal and other universities soon. I understand that a Department of Arab-Islamic Studies was established recently at Jamia Millia Islamiah, New Delhi.

There are many institutions in India where traditional teaching of the old style is done on the history, religion and culture of the Arabs during the Islamic period only. Of them mention may be made of Dar al-Musannifin; A'zamgarh; Calcutta Madras, Calcutta; Dar al-Ulum, Deoband; Nadwat al-Ulama', Lucknow; Institute of Oriental Studies, Rampur; Jami'a Nizamiyah, Hyderabed and others.

As regards the teaching of Indian History and Culture in Arab countries, I do not have detailed information. There is a Department of Indian Studies at Cairo University and Urdu is taught in the Institute of Languages there. Indian Archaeology and History of Arts in India is studied at Cairo University and Indian history is taught in the schools of Sudan.[32] This is most inadequate but when the facilities for the teaching of Arab history and culture will be expanded in India, the Arab countries are expected to reciprocate. Perhaps the best way to popularize the study of Indian languages and history in Arab countries

and Arabic and Arab history in India is the exchange of visits by scholars on a large scale. In this respect India can help the Arab countries by sending Indian historians for teaching the religion and culture, history and philosophy and the sciences and arts of India to the Arab students but it is a question of the foreign policy of the counrties concerned.

Proposal for an Institute of Indo-West Asian Studies

Therefore, it is desirable that an Institute of Indo-West Asian studies may be set up at a central place in India in a University town. It should be a purely academic institution divided into two sections—one devoted to the teaching and research in the language, history and culture of the Arabs and the other to those of India. It would not only provide opportunities for Indians to study the history and culture of the Arabs but it would also be a centre of study and research on the history and culture of India. There are thousands of Arabic manuscripts in the libraries of India specially in the Khuda Bukhsh Library, Patna, the Raza Library, Rampur, the Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, the State Public Library, Hyderabad and the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta and there are many scholars in India who are experts in Arabic and Islamic studies. If we can develop an institute where research facilities for the study of the history and culture of the Arabs are available, it may attract students from all parts of the Arab world. Specially those Arabs who are not so rich so that they can afford to defray the expenses of the education of their wards in the Universities of U.K., the U.S.A. and Europe may send them to this Institute for study and research in the history and culture of India and the Arabs. There are some Arab students studying at Aligarh Muslim University and other universities of India now.

It may be pointed out that the number of student at the Institute of Islamic Studies and Centre of West-Asian Study at Aligarh is small and the establishment of a new Institute will only mean duplication of work. It should be stated in reply that this Institute is essential for co-ordination work of all centres of Arab-Islamic Studies in India and its work will be different from that of the Institute and the Centre mentioned above.[33]

It should have arrangements for intensive teaching of Modern Arabic, Persian and Turkish. The study of Arab history and culture

should start from the pre-Islamic times. It would run also an orientation programme of short duration for those doctors; engineers, technicians and businessmen who visit West Asia frequently or are employed there in some capacity or the other. It would develop a library in course of time where modern books and journals published in West Asian countries and in India may be made available to scholars and the students.

I would like to conclude my address with a request to the authorities of the Indian History Congress to give their kind consideration to the proposal I have made regarding the establishment of an Indo-West Asian Institute.

Thank you.

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THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE AND INDIA

Kumar Badri Narain Singh

The war of American Independence had a great impact on the Indian political affairs. When the American colonies declared their independence, England became deeply engaged in crushing the rebellion in America. Thus France got a chance to fish in the troubled waters. France found it as a Godsent opportunity to seek revenge for injuries suffered during the War of Austrian Succession and the Seven year's War. France, Spain, Holland and the revolting American Colonies had combined against England, and thus France utilised this opportunity to regain her foothold in India. A French Minister put it quite correctly, "Providence had marked out that moment for the humiliation of England."

The most immediate effect of the American War in India was the Anglo-Maratha War. The Marathas became a strong power in India by 1770, Warren Hastings concluded the treaty of Benares with the Marathas in 1773, partly to check the growing expansionism of the Marathas in the north. As in the Carnatic and elsewhere in India, internal quarrels among Indian princes and chiefs offered an opportunity to the English to intervene in Indian affairs. The English at Bombay were then on peaceful terms with the Maratha government at Poona, but they found a golden opportunity of extending their authority by helping the cause of Raghunath Rao. The English concluded the treaty of Surat in March, 1775. The combined forces of Raghunath Rao and the English defeated the Poona troops. But after sometime the treaty of Purandhar was signed on March 1776. This treaty recognised the Poona Government and an attempt was made at establishing peace between the Marathas and the English. But very soon the treaty was violated by giving shelter to Raghoba.

The situation took a very alarming turn for the British when a French adventurer, Chevalier de St. Lubin, reached India in 1777 to propose an alliance with the Marathas. Nana Fadnavis received St. Lubin warmly and promised to grant the French a port in western India. It created suspicions in the minds of the members of the Bombay Council about French designs in south India. For the English, danger

came from all quarters, whether it was in America or in India. This made their position very difficult.

In 1777, Hastings received secret information from the British Embassy at Paris that the French were preparing a scheme for an expedition to India in order to help the enemies of the English. In 1778, news came from America about the defeat of the British at Saratoga. After this incident, France and Spain declared war against great Britain. The English in India reacted immediately to these French manoevres. In 1778, Hastings prepared a minute in which he discussed the possible effects of hostilities with France. With a view to averting the threatened danger of the Franco-Maratha alliance, Hastings planned a diplomatic counter-move. This, however, could not be turned into reality.

The Bombay government, apprehensive of the designs of the Maratha and the French at Poona, sent a force towards Poona in November 1778. On 9 January 1779, the British troops met a large Maratha army at Telegoan. The English sustained a crushing defeat in the encounter. The War ended following the convention at Wadgaon. This was a disgraceful convention for the English.

This convention was repudiated by the Governor General. Hastings now adopted measures to retrieve the prestige of the Company. He sent a strong army from Bengal which captured Ahmadabad and Bassein. Though they met with a reverse near Poona, in the meantime another English army had captured Gwalior. An English army also inflicted a defeat on Sindhia in February 1781. The effect of these victories was to increase the prestige of the English. Mahadaji Sindhia now changed his attitude and sought to ally himself with the English. The treaty of Salbai was duly signed on the 17th May, 1782. By this traty the English were confirmed in the possession of salsette and they recognised Madhava Rao Narayan as the rightful Peshwa. In short, the treaty established the *status quo ante bellum.*

The material gains of the English from this treaty were not very impressive. Nevertheless, it marks a turning point in the history of British supremacy in India. It gave them "Peace with the Marathas for twenty years" and thus left them comparatively free to fight their other enemies. But it is an exaggeration to say that the treaty "established beyond dispute the dominance of the British as the controlling

factor in Indian Politics." The company had still to reckon with the jealousy and hostility of the Marathas and Tipu.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, Mysore under Hyder and Tipu was a source of danger to the rising British power in India. The terms of the treaty of 1769 were not fulfilled by the Madras government. Hyder Ali remained on the lookout for an opportunity to strike once again. In 1779, he joined in a grand confederacy against the English, which was organised by the discontented Nizam to which the Marathas were a party. The British capture of Mahe, a small French settlement, added to his resentment. He held that the neutraity of his kingdom had thus been violated, and declared war. Outside India also France, Spain, Holland and the revolted American colonies had combined against England, and France sought to utilise this opportunity to regain her lost position in India. The Anglo-French conflict not only started the second Anglo-Mysore War but it also added seriousness to it. This war, therefore, may be regarded as the part of a wider conflict between England and France. But this time also France failed to take advantage of the English difficulties in India. In 1780, Hyder defeated an English detachment and seized Arcot. This situation was indeed a critical one for the company. According to Alfred Lyall, "The fortunes of the English in India had fallen to their lowest watermark."

But Warren Hastings soon sent to the south Sir Eyre coote who defeated Hyder severly at Porto Novo in 1781. The English captured Negapatam and Trincomali. An English force was, however, defeated by the Mysore troops. Early in 1782 a French squadron under the command of Admiral Suffren appeared in Indian waters and next came Du Chemin. After some indecisive engagements of the English with the French and the Mysore troops, active hostilities ceased with the commencement of the rainy season. Hyder was not destined to fight any longer.

Tipu, as brave and warlike as his father, continued the war against the English. Brigadier Mathews, appointed by the Bombay government to the supreme command, was captured with all his men by Tipu in 1783. On 23 June of the same year news of a peace between the English and the French reached India. Lord Macartney had been

eager for a peace with Tipu since his arrival as governor. Thus the Treaty of Mangalore was concluded in March 1784, on the basis of mutual restitution of conquests and liberation of prisoners. Warren Hastings did not like the terms of the treaty. The French Government failed to realise the importance of India or realised it too late. So, at last, the bitter hostilities that continued for several years after the war of American Independence, now stopped. But even after the restitution of territories, disputes between the English and the French in India continued till 1787 over the question of commerical privileges of the French.

Lord Cornwallis came to India bound by Pitt's India Act to refrain from following a policy of war and conquest, except for purely defensive purposes. But taking into consideration the facts of international politics, he rightly believed that Anglo-French hostility in Europe was bound to have its repercussions in India and that Tipu, allying himself with the French, would surely strike once more against the English.

As a matter of fact, the treaty of Mangalore was nothing but a 'hollow truce'. Tipu also knew that the renewal of hostilities with the English was inevitable, because both were aiming at political supremacy over the Deccan. Certain factors soon led to the third Anglo-Mysore conflict. Cornwallis took a course of action which amounted to a violation of the Act of 1784. This was, indeed, sufficient provocation to Tipu. But the immediate cause of the war was the attack on Travancore by Tipu in December, 1789. Both the Nizam and the Marathas entered into a "Triple Alliance" with the English. As last, after some preliminary negotiations, the treaty of Seringapatam was signed in March 1792. Tipu had to surrender half of his dominions. Further, Cornwallis was not at all eager to occupy the whole of Mysore. The gains of the treaty for English were of great importance as they increased the strength and domination of the English in India.

Thus the destiny of India during the war of American Independence depended upon the issue of changing circumstances in America. The war produced certain important effects which influenced the course of Indian history.

THE STUDY OF THE NORTH EAST FRONTIER OF INDIA AND ITS SOURCES : THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ASSAM ARCHIVES

V. C. Bhutani

Boundary making on the north east frontier of India was a dimension of the military strategy of the Indian General Staff before World War I. After Younghusband's withdrawal from Lhasa in 1904 the British in India were able to ignore the Himalayan frontiers because Tibet alone did not pose a problem and beyond Tibet imperial China was a decaying power. About the same time, however, a military revival was occurring in China, evidenced by the deputation of Chao-Erh-feng to reclaim Tibet into subordination to China. Chinese troops were in Lhasa when the Chinese revolution broke out in 1911. Later, resurgent China was able to devote attention to its far-lying provinces as well as to territories which it rightly or wrongly considered to have belonged to it historically. As a result an attempt had to be made to adjust the relationship and boundary between Tibet and China.

In this paper an attempt is made to identify sources and factors relevant to the study of the north eastern boundary of India. The boundary here considered is geographically the boundary between eastern Tibet and the British provinces of Assam and Burma. In practice, however, this question assumed much larger dimensions. as we shall presently see.

The expansion of the British power in India brought the British government in direct touch with large countries like Kashmir and Nepal and some smaller states like Sikkim and Bhutan. States like Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan were in intimate relationship with neighbouring Tibet which, along with them, was in a further relationship with China. At this time China was a declining power, and a number of other powers, notably Japan and Russia, were nibbling at her far-lying provinces. Two other powers, Britain and France, were ruling India and Indo-China respectively. Britain's influence had spread over places like Persia and Afghanistan where it came in conflict with Russian ambitions. The clash of Anglo-Russian interests was in turn a much wider question embracing Europe and Turkey also. As such one has to consider the relations between numerous European powers like Britain, Russia, France and Germany and Asian powers like China and Japan

and minor powers like Korea, Mongolia and Tibet. The study of these relations in a necessary background for the study of growth of British policy towards Tibet.

The growth of Tibet as a factor in British foreign policy was spread over a long period and it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that it assumed sufficient significance to influence the formation of British imperial policy and forced the British government to formulate an attitude towards Tibet and make that attitude a part of the foreign policy of Britain. Curzon's exaggerated and unjustifiable fear of Russian expansionalism was a source of constant friction between the Indian government under him and the government in Britain. The greatest result as well as the greatest tragedy of his Tibetan adventure was the increase of Chinese influence in Tibet and the exacerbation of Tibetan-Chinese relations. In lesss than ten years after the British mission to Lhasa in 1903-4 it became necessary to attempt an adjustment of Tibetan-Chinese relationship. It was a measure of the success of the British attitude towards Tibet and China that the attempt to adjust that relationship was made under British auspices. In a sense Britain was cast in the role of the honest broker, to use a phrase which was also used at the time. The making of the boundary between Tibet and Assam and Burma was almost a byproduct of the conference of the three powers.

British officers in a number of departments of the Indian and provincial governments, however, were alive to the possibilities of the situation. Adventurers, explorers and surveyors had gone into remote areas and by the time the conference sat in Simla in October 1918 the British plenipotentiary at the conference was in possession of extensive studies of the frontier between Tibet and Assam and Burma. Officers who had actually visited the frontier assumed—but they were not told—that one of the objects, of the conference was the definition of the Tibet-Assam boundary. The task of the British representative was rendered much simpler by the recommendations of the local political officers who were specifically asked to suggest a definition of the Assam-Tibet boundary. Without interfering with the progress of main discussions at the conference, the British and Tibetan representatives, in consultation with their governments. agreed in March 1914 upon the boundary between Tibet on the one hand and Assam and Burma on the other. For the first time then, this boundary had been clearly defined. What happened to that

boundary got mixed up with the exigencies of the World War, and later far more momentous questions served to divert the attention of the British and Indian governments from Tibet and its boundaries.

The study thus clearly falls into three parts. First is the clash of the imperial powers in Europe and the spilling over of that clash from Europe to the empires of those powers in Asia and elsewhere. The study of these rivalries would obviously be based on the archives of the chancellories of Europe and the private papers of the statesmen involved in the conduct of those relations. In Asia the question of the struggle between European powers should be studied from the colonial records of the subject territories. Secondly, the relations of the Indian frontier provinces with Tibet should be studied on the basis of the records of the governments of India and the governments of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan and of the provincial governments of Bengal, Assam and Burma These latter provinces were in direct touch with British consular officers in south and south-west China who were themselves subordinate to the British Minister in Peking The superior decisions in British Policy relating to China and allied questions were securely in the hands of the British foreign Office which was in telegraphic correspondence with its Ministers in St. Petersburgh and Peking. The British Minister in Peking was similarly in touch with the Viceroy of India who was himself in constant consultation with the Secretary of State for India in London. (The Viceroy was also in private correspondence with the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and other public figures who had a hand in the formulation of policy. Depending on the personality of the Viceroy, he was sometimes in private correspondence with British ambassadors also). The question of the British relations with Tibet had both Chinese and Russian dimensions which were quite immediately available to the Viceroy of India. The correspondance of the governments of Bengal, Assam and Burma with the local frontier officers is the last link in the chain starting from London. These officers were the 'men on the spot' and knew the frontier.

II

Studies of frontier affairs which have appeared so far have been based on the papers of the British government. Some use has also been made of the papers of the Indian government. Records of the government of Assam have so far received very little attention from

scholars. The frontier officials who were the eyes of the British government in this region were subject to the Assam provincial administration.

The political officers on the frontier toured extensively over the entire area under their jurisdiction. These tours led to detailed daily diaries of the touring officers, recording everything from routine observations to attitudes, temperature and rainfall and local tribal organisation, agriculture and religious life and relations with neighbouring tribes, and to the north, with Tibet. These diaries thus tell us about the nature of the contact between the tribal population of north-eastern Assam and the Tibetan monastic authorities. These diaries enable us to determine the extent of Tibetan impact in these regions. The vigilance of these officers enabled the government to get early intimation of the first Chinese intrusions into the tribal areas. For instance when in August in 1910 a party of the Chinese appeared at Rima, which was in fact tribal territory (its inhabitants regarded themselves as British subjects but the British government did not regard them as such and would not allow them to so regard themselves), the local frontier officer's telegraphic report flashed with the minimum loss of time all along the line from the frontier to the headquarters of the Assam administration, the Indian foreign Department, the India office and foreign office in London and the Minister of Peking. Later when the Chinese General Chao Erh-feng swept across eastern Tibet (1905-11) and caused a vibration in the remote areas north of tribal territories which the British Government vaguely considered its own, the first intimation came from the British consular officers in Szechuan where Chao Erh-feng's brother Chao Erh-hsun was the Chinese Viceroy. The Viceroy of szechuan gave most of the base support which enabled the Chinese forces to march across eastern Tibet to Lhasa. The early reports of the British consular officers led the British Indian authorities to intensify their vigil on this frontier. When the British Minister in Peking received instructions from the British Foreign Office to make representations to Wai-wu-pu (the Chinese foreign office) the Minister had the benefit of the detailed reports of his consular officers in south China as well as the considered view of the Indian government on the menace that such close approach of Chinese troops to the British-owned tea gardens of Assam of constituted to the peace and security of this frontier and to the attitude of the tribal populations of this region towards the nature of British jurisdiction over them.

The attitude of the British vassal states of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan was also relevant in the context of the fluctuating stock of British prestige in these regions. The Nepalese representative in Lhasa sent copious newsletters to the Prime Minister of Nepal who forwarded them *in extenso* to the British Resident in Nepal. The course of events in Lhasa was thus available at one remove to the British Indian authorities. The Political Officer in Sikkim, who was also responsible for the conduct of British relations with Bhutan, likewise reported on Tibetan frontier matters in relation to Sikkim and Bhutan as well as on the internal politics in those states. In this manner the records of these outposts have an obvious relevance and should be studied to adjudge the value and the role of those allies of the British government.

As events progressed towards an issue the attitude and the fears of the British authorities assumed form. The areas to the north of Assam were almost entirely unknown at the time. Chao Erh-feng was causing his depredations in territories which in any case the British government did not claim. But since the area to the south of the limits of Chao Erh-feng's operations was unexplored and unsurveyed and very little was known of its physical geography, it was difficult to formulate a definition of the boundary of this fronfier. It was therefore necessary that the physical outlook of the region should be more accurately ascertained. A frontier had to be one which followed as far as possible prominent and recognizable natural features and also one which was militarily defensible. Considerations of strategy were involved. So the Survey of India, the Indian General Staff and the frontier officers got together to determine the best boundary from these several points of view. Extensive programmes of exploration and survey were drawn up and carried out and a series of reports emerged from these expeditions. In the end the political officers in charge of the frontier tracts into which the whole north east frontier was administratively organized submitted their considered recommendations as to what should be the outer boundary of the north east frontier. The organization and launching of these expeditions was a saga of courage and skill which is only barely seen from the records of the Indian Foreign Department and only comes out in its full form and dimension and intricacy from a study of the records of the Assam administration. It is impossible to ignore these records of the day-to day progress and problems of these expeditions. Only occasional copies of some of these papers were forwarded by the Assam administra-

tion to the Indian Foreign Department. The latter may have had from its own point of view about all the facts relevant for the taking of decisions which had to be taken but a researcher may have a different canvas.

III

The department of the Assam administration dealing with this frontier was the Foreign Department whose records were classified in A and B series as in the case of the records of the government of India. From 1905 this department assumed the nomenclature of the Political Department. The records of this department were classified in two series called Political and Confidential Political. Both series had their further sub-series A and B. No list of these records existed but the volume of these records was not large. They contain the correspondence of the Assam administration with its frontier officers and secretariat notings and discussions. If one were only to read this series one could have a fairly complete idea of the frontier question as regarded from the point of view of the provincial authorities. The correspondence with the Indian Foreign Department is all there and occasionally also a despatch from the Governor General in Council to the Secretary of State for India or even telegraphic correspondence between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India. But the importance of the series lies in the insight that it affords into the local considerations that led the frontier officers to formulate their views. These ultimately were the foundations of the Assam-Tibet boundary.

IV

The political geography of Asia underwent some basic qualitative changes as a result of the outbreak and success of the Chinese and the Russian revolutions and at a later date of the advent of independence on the Indian subcontinent. The growth of the nationalisms of India and China eventually brought about a clash between them which was a far larger question than a mere border dispute. However, interest in this question was not much in evidence until after the India-China war of 1962. The border question then engaged the attention of some able scholars, notably Alastair Lamb (1966), Doroth Woodman (1969), P.C. Chakravarti (1970) and Parshotam Mehra (1974). All of them based their studies largely on documentation available in London. Lamb

produced what may be called a study suffering from a permanent anti-Indian slant though not perhaps a conscious pro-Chinese tilt. Woodman, Chakravarti and Mehra produced heavily documented and highly readable refutations of Lamb. Woodman and Mehra achieved what may be called a good presentation of the official view of the Indian government. Chakravarti attempted the same on a smaller scale. An objective evaluation of the evidence was not presented in any of these four studies.

To be convincing a study of this subject should comprehend the clashing imperial interests of Britain and Russia, the emerging expansionist aspirations of Japan and Germany and the lingering empire of France. Since the subject is basically a study of the China-Tibet-India triangle, it must further comprehend the history of the development of the China-Tibet relationship and of the growth of Indian, that is, British, interest in Tibet. Yet again, since issues like Chinese suzerainty in Tibet, Mongolia, etc. are also involved, the study should comprehend the nature of the Chinese polity during the period of its decline. Lamb, Woodman and Mehra have doubtless kept these factors in mind in varying proportions but they do not give us the means of understanding the role and importance of each factor mentioned above.

V

In a border region where the most prominent natural feature are mountains a suitable boundary would ordinarily follow the highest crest of the mountain range. This would be so if the range is not divided lineally between two neighbouring countries but separates the two countries by being placed laterally between them. The line of parting where the natural flow of rivers and their tributaries is either to one or the other side of the mountain is the watershed. If the mountain range is continuous the problem is resolved by taking the main crest or line of water parting as the boundary between the two countries. Where a mountain range is not continuous the problem becomes acute because of the breaks in the range through which rivers flow from one side of the main range to the other side. In such a case the boundary along the watershed crosses the rivers flowing across the range through breaks in the range or through gorges This naturally makes the boundary partly artificial and arbitrary but in any given case the solution would be to

fill up the gaps in the watershed by a linear division of the river along an imaginary line connecting two points of the watershed.

On India's north east frontier the watershed is not continuous. At least at three places along the boundary the watershed is either not there at all or the watershed is severly ignored or the boundary follows an altogether arbitrary course across rivers some of which are major rivers or tributaries of the principal river systems of the Assam Himalaya. This appears to have happened because the surveys and explorations on which the recommendations for a boundary were based were incomplete and inaccurate. Quite often the course of a river was only approximately known and was charted on the map by a broken line. Occasionally a whole range of mountain was only observed from a distance of many miles and plotted on the map with inadequate accuracy. Later surveys improved our knowledge of the geography of this region and resulted in falsifying the original 1914 description of the boundary in words which, because of the corrections in the light of later surveys, sometimes no longer tallies with the literal definition of the boundary.

in a mountain range of the dimensions of the Assam Himalaya there would naturally be a large number of rivers and their tributaries. The major rivers originating north of the main range are the following : the Chayul Chu and the Tsari Chu which cross the main range and then join south of the range to form the Subansiri; the largest river the Tsangpo, which originates at the Manasarovara lake and after circling round the Assam Himalaya turns to the south of the range as the Dihang; and the Rong Thod Chu and the Zayul Chu which join north of the range and cross south of it as the Lohit which further on joins the Dihang to form the Brahmaputra, The three sections of the Tsangpo-Dihang-Brahmaputra should be considered separately because they are very nearly separate river systems by themselves with their own tributaries. Sometimes these tributaries run opposite directions on the two sides of a range to join either the Tsangpo section or the Dihang section. The turn of the river across the Assam Himalaya marks the eastern extremity of the continuous range and the river turns at the base of this extremity. Everyone of the points where these rivers cross from the north to the south of the main range is an important break in the watershed. The boundary in the region of each of these breaks is therefore arbitrary.

EARLY BRITISH MEASURES TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC GROWTH IN LOWER BURMA

Uma Shankar Singh

Before the British conquest, economic growth was limited in lower Burma. Following the British conquest, the political and economic institutions of lower Burma were transformed as the area was rapidly drawn into a capitalistic, commercially oriented global economy. These transformations resulted in outlets for the surplus production of Burmese agriculturists and consumer rewards for their efforts. Political and economic changes led to the emergence of a new society in lower Burma which was radically different and far more complex that which had existed before British conquest.

Before the Second Anglo-Burmese War most of the people of Burma were cultivators. They farmed either royal lands or their own land which they and their ancestors had reclaimed from the jungles and swamps. Those reclaimed lands were the property of the cultivators as members of a village. Although the owner had the right to sell and dispose of his property, his family had the first right to claim it back. Since most people practised subsistence agriculture with a small surplus for taxes and barter. there was economic stability based upon widespread small holdings. Under the British several changes took place in the economy of Burma. The shift from subsistence to commercial agriculture began in Burma between the Second and Third Anglo-Burmese Wars Stimulated by an increase in demand for rice in India and Europe and helped by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the improvement in sea transportation, the British encouraged the people of Upper Burma to move South and cultivate the rich delta soils. Britain's economic policy of *laisses fare* in the nineteenth century also contributed to the development of Burma's economy in a manner suited to the economic interests of Britain and her Indian empire.

British diplomats and merchants who visited Burma in the Konbaung period clearly recognized the economic potential of the Delta region of Burma. They noted the fertility of the soil and found it suitable for cultivation of a wide range of market crops including rice, cotton, indigo, sugar, and coffee. Some Bitish observers felt that Lower Burma would provide both an excellent source of foodttuffs and raw

materials, and a fine market for British manufactured goods. Some officials also suggested that the Delta might serve as a "safety valve" for densely populated and famine-infested areas in Indian empire like Bengal.[1]

Although the British were well aware of Lower Burma's potential, they were seldom able to take advantage of the possibilities for commercial expansion which the area offered prior to its conquest in 1852. Burman rulers imposed many duties and restrictions on foreign merchants who traded at Rangoon. The Burman kings also banned the export of rice and a number of other commodities.

The refusal of the Burmans to cooperate with the British cost them their fertile southern province and their access to the sea. On December 20, 1852, Lower Burma was annexed to the Indian Empire. In the first decade after the annexation British officials were more occupied with military and administrative problems than with measures to promote economic growth. However, among the first measures taken by the British were the abrogation of the ban on the export of rice and the removal of restrictions on free trade. Although paddy exports from the Delta went primarily to Upper Burma in the first two years of British rule, by 1855-56 over half of nearly 127,000 tons of rice exported from Lower Burma was shipped overseas.[2] In 1857, the Sepoy Mutiny in India forced rice-millers and merchants in England to turn elsewhere for supply. The obvious alternative was the newly acquired Province of Pegu. The outbreak of the Civil War in the U.S.A. and the subsequent decline of the Carolinas as a source of rice for Europe further enhanced Burma's position as a major supplier to London and Europe. In the early 1860s Europe became the principal market for the Delta's rice-exports, a position it was to retain until 1910.[3]

With a strong demand from Europe and more and more Europeans inventing in processing and transport facilities in the Delta's port centres, the price of rice rose sharply and the volume of export increased. In 1867-68 exports of rice from Lower Burma totalled nearly 235,000 tons. In the 1870s the Delta's position as an exporter of rice was firmly established, and by 1872-73 over half a million tons of rice was supplied annually from the ports of Burma.

Besides the abrogation of the ban on rice exports, perhaps the single most important administrative decision in the early years of British rule *concerned the type of land revenue settlement which was to*

be established in Lower Burma. As with most of the policies the British applied and the institutions they established in the Delta, this decision was based on a blend of Indian precedents, contemporary British social and economic theory, and indigenous patterns.[4]

In the early 1850s those policies which called for direct dealings between officials and the cultivators were in favour. In the decades before the Indian Mutiny of 1857-58, the influence of English utilitarian philosophers on Indian revenue system reached its height. Thinkers like James Mill had been strongly opposed to settlements agreements which favoured a landed aristocracy and thus had been critical of Whig-oriented Permanent Settlement. They believed that profits which accrued from agricultural production should go to the state and not to intermediaries like the *zamindars* in Bengal or the *taluqdars* in Oudh. One of these systems was the *ryotwari.* It was established in Lower Burma in the decade after 1852[4]

Burma seemed an ideal province for the introduction of a settlement geared to the interests of the small landholder. In fact, the nature of the pre-British agrarian system and the structure of the rural society probably had a far greater effect on the decision to introduce the *ryotwari* settlement in Lower Burma than did the writings of utilitarian thinkers or contemporary attitudes regarding settlements in other areas. In the Konbaung period most of the land in the Delta was held and worked in small units by the actual cultivators of the soil. There was no "landed" class, comparable to the *zamindars* of Bengal, in Lower Burma. Available evidence indicates that Konbaung officials and local leaders were not large land-holders.[5] In addition, there was apparently very little tenancy or land alienation in the first decade of the British rule.[6] The absence of caste in Burmese society meant that there was no danger that high caste groups could frustrate the intent of ryotwari system by acting as intermediaries between the government and the mass of the cultivators.[7]

The government strove to make rights to land easily attainable and at the same time to ensure that holdings came to be controlled by agriculturists and not by speculators and moneylenders. Several forms of land revenue were experimented with. But two types were dominant in the decades of rapid expansion. British officials initially favoured the *patta* system under which the government granted tenure before the cultivator cleared his land. Grants were

made by local *thugyis* or district officers, depending on the size of the holding. Only persons who were able to prove that they were bona-fide agriculturists could obtain *patta* grants, which averaged between 15 to 20 acres.

The amount of land brought under cultivation by means of *patta* arrangement was small compared to the amount claimed by virtue of "squatter" tenure. Most cultivators, following pre-British precedents, became land-holders by the act of clearing and cultivating a patch of jungle or scrub. After 1876 the government recognized the squatters' tenurial rights once they had occupied and paid revenue on their holding for 12 years. Until the 12 years had passed, squatters were listed as temporary occupants. Either form of tenure gave the cultivator a permanent and heritable title to his land which he could sell, mortage or transfer. To encourage the cultivator to extend his holdings and migrate to unsettled areas, the government exempted newly occupied lands from taxation for periods ranging from 1 to 12 years and kept the rates of assessment on fallow lands extremely low. To promote immigration into the Delta, the government, waived payment of the capitation tax for the first two years after a migrant's arrival.[8]

The concern to develop land revenue systems which would advance the interests of both the cultivator and the state was only one example of the many initiatives taken by the government of India to promote economic growth within the empire. Officials in Lower Burma promoted public works and revenue concessions to attract migrants; provided relief measures for agriculturists who had been forced to abandon their land during the Second Anglo-Burma War, and supported schemes to develop new products for export and new sources of labour.[9]

Although early British administrators were well aware of the Delta's rice-growing potential, they sought also to introduce additional crops which might be sold and exported. However, most of these attempts ended in failure. In some cases, such as the projects to induce the Burmese to grow cotton and tobacco, the land of the Delta proved unsuitable. Basically the preference of the cultivators themselves was decisive. They favoured rice for which the conditions in Lower Burma were ideal and which, compared to other export crops, was easily raised, required little labour and above all was most profitable crop they could produce. Hence, rice production came to dominate the Delta's economy.

Public works to facilitate the movement of labour and export products and to make cultivation of empty lands possible were financed. Dalhousie was a strong advocate of public works and technological innovations. He stressed the need for a network of roads. As river transport in the Delta was superb, however, officials in Burma tended to give the completion of the road network low priority. As a result only about 800 miles of roads had been completed by 1873.[10] Railroads were introduced in Burma in the 1870s and the first was completed in 1877, and by 1914 railway connections had been established between most of the important rice-growing areas and the post-centres.[11] The greatest improvement in river communications resulted from the founding of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Co. in 1868. The government also financed the construction or improvement of a number of canals.

These improvements in transportation encouraged the movement of seasonal labourers, permanent-settlers, money-lenders, and merchants into the frontier areas of the Delta. They also facilitated the collection of paddy at inland market towns and its transport to Rangoon, Bassein, or Monlmeein for milling and shipping overseas. In addition, they made possible a great extension of rural retail networks, specializing in cheap imported consumer goods, which were to prove a major stimulus to production for the market on the part of the Burmese peasants.

Since Lower Burma received ample rainfall annually from south-west monsoon, there was no need for government irrigation projects to promote agrarian expansion. Embankments were, however, required to protect those areas of the Delta which were inundated annually by the flooding of the Irrawaddy river. In the decades after 1860 major embankments were constructed for this purpose.

Measures taken by the government to promote economic growth were supplemented by the activities of private firms and individual merchants and financiers. In the decades after 1852 European investors provided capital for many improvements in transport and in rice-processing industry, which were essential for agrarian development. European merchants purchased most of the surplus rice produced in Burma. They also imported consumer goods which served as incentives for indigenous cultivators to produce large surplus and extend their holdings.

More than any other factor, the favourable response of Burmese agriculturists to the incentives provided by the British and the potential

which the Delta offered made possible the rapid growth of the Burmese rice industry after 1852. The responsiveness of the Burmese agriculturists was most strikingly manifested in large-scale internal migration both from Upper Burma and other provincial divisions outside the Delta and from one region to another within the Delta itself. Immigrants played a major role in the extension of paddy cultivation into wild and sparsely populated areas of Lower Burma. In the first decade of British rule, Burmese migrants were also dominant among the labourers who built the embankments which made settlements in many areas possible and who manned the rice-mills of Rangoon and Bassein.[12] In addition, Burmese immigrants were active in internal trade and transportation, marketing, and credit provision throughout the period 1852-1941.

Besides specific measures enacted to stimulate or accommodate economic growth, the establishment of British rule meant that Lower Burma received a number of general benefits which were already in effect throughout most of the Indian sub-continent. These and other innovations introduced by the British rendered Lower Burma a safe and profitable place for foreign investment. The British, also tried the Burmese agriculturists from restrictions and obligations which had limited their mobility and productivity in pre-British era. These factors combined with the great fertility of the Delta and a rising foreign demand for its chief product, rice, resulted in economic growth and social change on a scale unequalled in South-east Asian history,

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ROLE OF MAHARANI LAKSHMI DEVI IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF NEPAL

S. G. Mishra

After the death of Prithvi Narayan Shah, the consolidator of Nepal, the government of the country became very weak. Two families—Thapas and Pandeys—fought for power. Rajendra Vir Vikram Shah, a boy of 18 came on the throne in 1816. He had two wives. The two queens were very ambitious and they began to interfere in the internal administration of the country. Party politics was at its height in the valley. Brian Hodgson was the British Resident in Kathmandu from 1829 to 1843.

The first queen was a supporter of the Pandey faction and the second that of the Thapas and Bhim Sen. At this critical time the infant son of the Senior Rani died suddenly on July 24, 1837. This was the pretext utilised for undermining Bhim Sen Thapa, who had been working as the Prime Minister of the country from 1804.[1] News was circulated that the child's death had been instigated by the Prime Minister, Bhim Sen. So Bhim Sen and his several supporters were imprisoned. At this turn of events, the Junior Maharani Lakshmi Devi intervened and all the prisoners were released. The Senior Maharani liked the end of Bhim Sen. Dissensions between the two Maharanis only served to increase the general confusion that existed in the country. But the Senior Maharani died on 6 October 1841 on her way to the plains at Hetora.[2]

This led to a conflict between Rajendra Vir Vikram Shah, the heir-apparent, and Lakshmi Devi. The heir-apparent was quite young

and was very cruel. There was a movement throughout the valley.[3] Several meetings were held on the Tundikhel parade ground to discuss the affairs of the State. At one of the meeting, the chiefs suggested that the only surviving queen should be invested with full powers as Regent.

On 7 December, 1842,[4] the draft of the petition of Right was carried by a large deputation to the Maharaja in open Durbar, where it was sanctioned, signed and duly ratified by the king. By this document considerable executive authority was transferred to the Junior queen. The chiefs hoped that the king would thus be effectively controlled by the queen who was an able lady but whose temperament resembled that of a tigress.

The people of the valley had eagerly hoped that political change would bring a period of stability and progress for the country. They had put their faith in the political wisdom of the Maharani Lakshmi Devi.[5] But she had her own plans which impelled her to adopt a policy which was prejudicial to the common interest and finally led to the Kot Massacre of 1846.

Maharani Lakshmi Devi decided to appoint Mathabar Singh Thapa the Prime Minister of Nepal. She succeeded in convincing her husband that the Thapas were the only family on whom reliance could be placed for the proper government of the country. Mathabar Singh, who had been residing at Simla, was informed privately that his return to Nepal, in the present unsettled state of affairs would secure his own advancement and tend to the welfare of the State.

Thus Mathabar Singh was appointed the Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief on 25 December 1843.[6] Maharani Lakshmi Devi had her own ambition. She wanted to declare one of her own sons as the king of Nepal as against the heir-apparent. But soon she found that Mathabar Singh would not help her in this game. So she planned for his assassination. Gagan Singh, her paramour, was a party to this conspiracy. Mathabar Singh was shot dead in the palace on 17 May 1845 at 11 P.M.

In 1846, owing to the intrigues of the Junior Maharani and the weakness of the Prime Minister, Fateh Jung, complete disorder prevailed in Nepal. Maharani Lakshmi Devi was making frantic efforts to secure succession for her son, Ranendra Vikram. She was the virtual ruler of the State. She exercised her power through Gagan Singh who was unpopular in the Court. On the night of 19 September, at 10 P.M.,

Gagan Singh was shot dead in a chamber of his own house, while he was offering devotions.

The Maharani was deeply grieved and ordered a state funeral for the deceased. The emergent meeting of all the civil functionaries and the military officers started at Hanuman Dhoka palace to find out the culprit. The Maharani sat down in the second storey of the Kot and vowed that until the assassin of so faithful a Minister should be discovered and put to death, she would take neither food nor water. The king[8] and the Prime Minister were also requested to come to the Kot.[9]

It was in this situation that the kot massacre started. The Prime Minister Fateh Jung and Kaji Dulbhangan Pandey fell down dead and Abhiman Singh was wounded. In the thick of the fight, Jung Bahadur, an important military officer was invested by the Maharani with the Wizarut and the command of the regiments in the capital. The Queen ordered—'kill and destroy my enemies'. The fighting now became a slaughter. Both sides fought desperately. The Massacre of the Kot was long[10] and bloody. Most of the chiefs and sardars were shot or murdered.

After the massacre the Maharani with Jung Bahadur possessed supreme power. But she had her own ambition. She wanted Jung Bahadur to kill the heir-apparent and declare one of her sons as king of the country. But Jung Bahadnr refused to carry out her order. She issued a written order to Jung Bahadur to assassinate the two princes born of the Senior Maharani. Refusing to carry out the illegal orders of the Maharani, Jung Bahadur sent a reply to her worded as follows".

'I received your Highness' letters. I consider it a grievous sin to carry out what you have been pleased to order me in this letter. It is my duty to inform you resolutely. And today I place before you that proper intimation. The proposition brought forward by you is wholly improper. Who would not assent that any attempt to secure or place on the throne a younger brother while the elder brother is alive is against the 'Shastras' and our royal tradition. By this, your soul, your dharma will be strained and a horrible sin will be committed. This is why I have been obliged today to submit to you that I will be unable to carry out your orders. You are only the regent, and my duty also extends towards the country and the State. I must attend to these also. Therefore forgetting this, I am unable from personal

consideration to carry out your orders. I am convinced that I must serve the country and the State. I therefore feel responsible to do what is proper. I inform you that if I get another order like this from you, you will be liable for the punishment which is awarded to those who attempt to commit such murder'.[12]

This changed attitude on Jung Bahadur's part unnerved her. She decided to remove him. So a plot was engineered to murder Jung Bahadur. But he got scent of it and decided to take stern measures against the Maharani. He was authorised by the Maharaja to take proper steps to destroy his enemies.

So in the evening General Jung Bahadur waited upon the Maharani by order of the Hair-Apparent. He delivered to her a message purporting that since she had become his bitter enemy, her residence in Nepal was no longer desirable and that she and her two sons must prepare to quit the country for the plains without delay. The Maharani, who was in a State of great alarm owing to the failure of her scheme, did not demur. She left her Basantpur palace and proceeded with her two sons to the house of the late Krishna Ram Pandit and commenced preparation for going to Benares. In the course of time, she succeeded in fixing the irresolute Maharaja in the resolve to go to Benares to expiate the bloodshed of 19 September 1846. The Maharani and her party, including the king set out on the 23 November 1846.

Thus Lakshmi Devi played a dominant role in the History of Nepal from 1843 to 1845, Her personal ambition dragged her to ruin. And Jung Bahadur proved a strong master for her. Lakshmi Devi's fate began to wane after his rise. The heir-apparent and the king also did not like the Maharani. The people of the valley had brought Lakshmi Devi at the top of the administration. But after sometime she lost the confidence of the people.

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RISE OF COMMUNISM IN MALAYA (1930-1948)

V. Suryanrayan

The political fortunes of the Malayan Communist Party (M. C. P.) have seen ups and downs during the last forty seven years of its stormy existence. This paper describes the origins of the communist movement in the Malay peninsula and traces its growth upto 1948 when the M.C.P. decided to embark on an armed struggle to put an end to British colonial rule and capture political power.

In order to understand the peculiar features of the Malayan communist movement during this period, it is necessary to keep in mind the political, social and economic features of the country. Malaya was not a single political unit, it was divided into three administrative structures, the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States and the Unfederated Malay States. The administrative diversity was accompanied by social and economic complexity. Besides the indigenous Malays, who were predominantly agriculturists and fishermen, the country was also inhabited by a large number of Chinese and Indian immigrants, who provided the backbone for the rapid economic development of Malaya in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Such plurality prevented the growth of nationalism in Malaya before the second world war. The Malaya were still loyal to the Sultans, and the non-Malays had not yet emotionally and politically become "Malayans" to take interest in local politics. Thus while the political climate of Indonesia and Vietnam was conducive to the growth of Marxist ideas, there was no anticolonial feeling in Malaya which could be exploited by the Communists. As Gene Z. Hanrahan, the historian of the early phase of the M. C. P, has written, "The Malay peninsula at this time was anything but a seething cauldron of

revolution and nationalism. It was rather a placid country, apparently well content with British colonial rule.[1]

Origins of the M. C. P.

Communist interest in Malaya came about more by accident than by design. The Indonesian revolutionaries, Alimin and Tan Malaka, tried to persuade the Comintern to start revolutionary activities in Malaya. Belonging to the same racial stock and speaking the same language, it was among the Malays that the Indonesian leaders started their political propaganda. But the Malay response was disappointing. Tan Malaka, disgusted with the political apathy of the Malays, characterised them as "lazy and contented", and concluded that the "only hope lay with the Chinese".[2] The arrest and deportation of prominent Indonesian communists in 1927 ended Indonesian efforts to sow the seeds of communism in Malaya.

The appeal of communist ideology to the Malays, even later, was negligible. Though, theoretically, like all Marxist-Leninist parties the M. C. P. was an avowedly non-communal party, its following had always come from the Chinese community. Its occasional successes, its disastrous failures, its inability to emerge as a "Malayan" force—all could be traced to the fact that communism in Malaya was essentially a Chinese phenomenon.[3]

When the Far Eastern Bureau of the Comintern decided to start communist activities in Malaya, it was through the Kuomintang (K. M. T.) that it decided to work. The K. M. T. had already opened its branches in Malaya. Based on Dr. Sun Yat Sen's principles of Nationalism (Min Tsu), People's Democracy (Min Ch'uan) and People's Livelihood (Min Sheng) and reorganised by Borodin in 1924, the K. M. T. was co-operating with the Chinese Communist Party (C. C. P.) in China. If the Chinese communists could make common cause with the K. M. T., there was no reason why such as experiment could not be attempted in Malaya. Under the cover of the K. M. T. the early communists began to work assiduously among the Chinese workers and students in Chinese schools. They formed an organisation called the Malayan Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang to rally the leftist supporters of the Party. They also organised a labour union called the South Seas General Labour Union in Singa-

pore in 1927 to co-ordinate the activities of various trade unions and also to work together with leftist trade unions outside Malaya.

The C. C. P.—K. M. T. split in 1927 brought to an end this early chapter of communist activities in Malaya. The communists had to give up the K.M. T. cover and come out into the open. On the instructions of the Comintern the leftwing elements formed the Nanyang (South Seas) Communist Party in 1928 to direct communist activities in most of Southeast Asia. On April 28, 1930 the Nanyang Communist Party was transformed into the Malayan Communist Party (M.C.P.) and was put under the direction of Comintern's Far Eastern Bureau in Shanghai. The Comintern also made available the services of a French Communist leader, Joseph Ducroux (also known as Serge Lefranc), to give the Party proper direction. Joseph Ducroux was almost immediately arrested and made a full confession of Comintern's activities in China and Southeast Asia. The British government immediately arrested most of the important leaders of the M. C. P. It was a crippling blow to the embryonic communist movement in Malaya.[4]

M. C. P. Gains in Strength

Despite this serious setback, the communists again started the tortuous process of rebuilding party branches and revolutionary morale. The Party received a boost from the world-wide economic depression which hit the rubber plantations and tin mines in Malaya badly and condemned most of the Chinese labourers to a life of abject poverty. The Chinese were inclined to consider communist ideas favourably. Party branches were soon established in every state in Malaya. In the Sixth Plenary session of the Party held in March 1934, the Party Constitution was drawn up and the leaders laid down a broad framework upon which a strong and powerful party could be built up. The Constitution declared that the objective of the Party was "to overthrow the British imperialists; eliminate their political, economic and military influence in Malaya, wipe out the last vestiges of feudalism and replace these by the formation of a Malayan People's Republic and a reconstructed and expanded democratic economy and culture".[5]

The reorganised Party, under militant leadership, immediately lunched a spate of strikes which led to growing waves of labour unrest in Malaya. At one point, in the end of 1935, communist workers took

possession of the coal mines at Batu Arang in Selangor and set up a Soviet government. The British rushed troops and after a "trial of strength" with the workers, crushed the revolt.[6]

While the M. C· P. was consolidating its strength the Japanese attacked Manchuria. The Party fully exploited the anti-Japanese feelings among the Chinese and formed anti-Japaness and anti-imperialist organisations. The most important among them was the Union of Overseas Chinese which was later reorganised into the Malayan Anti-Imperialist League. As Japanese war against China progressed, the M. C. P. multiplied its activities and succeeded in identifying itself with the political aspirations of all strata of Chinese population.

During the second half of thh 1930s and early 1940s the M. C. P. had to adjust itself to the rapidly changing policies of the international communist movement. The Seventh Congress of the Comintern in July-August 1935 called for the application of the United Front line against the rising tide of Fascism. The M.C.P. discussed the tactical line prepared by Wang Ming (who was Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party in 1931-32) and decided to form a United Front of the proletariat, the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie and to struggle for a Republic of Malaya. The new line was criticised by certain Party leaders who wanted to intensify the old form of anti-colonial struggle. Dissensions within the Party leadership grew and the Comintern despatched Lai Tek to guide and advise the Party. Lai Tek, who was considered to be a "brilliant communist" had his political apprenticeship in France and China. He soon emerged as an important leader of the M.C.P. and later became its Secretary-General. Years later, the M.C.P. found out that Lai Tek was a British agent and had "wormed his way" into the Party.[7] The Party had to further change its tactical line when the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact was signed. It was a complicated situation because the M. C. P. had to support the Chinese struggle against Japan while undermining British struggle against Germany. In February 1940, the M.C.P. adopted a ten Point Programme calling for the ejection of British imperialism and the establishment of a Malayan Democratic Republic. In September 1940, on the orders of the Communist Party of China, the M.C.P. abandoned its anti-British propaganda.[8] The situation became favourable for the M.C.P. when the Soviet Union joined the war on the side of the Allies in June 1941. The war was hailed by the M. C. P. as a war of national liberation; the British war efforts, henceforward,

demanded assistance, not sabotage. The Party offered its co-operation to the British authorities, but it was turned down by the British administrators.[9] On the eve of the Japanese occupation, the M.C.P., though illegal, was the most effective and organised political force in Malaya. It was, of course, an exclusively Chinese Party; the very few Malays and Indians had only an ornamental value.

Japanese Occupation

The days immediately following the Japanese invasion witnessed the liquidation of a large number of communist leaders. The M.C.P. later declared that Lai Tek had betrayed the Party and was working hand in glove with the Japanese. On September 1, 1942 the Central Executive of the M.C.P. decided to meet in Batu caves to discuss the Party's course of action against the Japenese invaders. Lai Tek did not turn up for the meeting. The Japenese made a surprise swoop. A pitched battle ensued. Twenty communists, some of them important leaders, were killed; seventy others were captured. The "massacre at Batu Caves" proved a severe blow to the M.C.P.

Despite this serious setback the M.C.P. gained enormous strength during the Japanese occupation. The exigencies of the war compelled the British to modify their earlier stand and accept the communist offer for co-operation. The government released the communist prisoners and established a training school to instruct communist volunteers in guerilla warfare. The communist guerillas withdrew into the jungles and started the resistance movement. Since the Chinese population was singled out for ruthless treatment and persecution by the Japanese, the number of guerillas increased; what is more, the guerillas also could establish mass bases. The military arm of the M.C.P., the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (M.P.A.J.A), had a strength of about 7,000 and the supporting civilian organisation, the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Union (M.P.A.J.U.), claimed 300,000 members. The Party proclaimed that its objective was to defeat the Japanese invaders and to establish an independent Malayan Republic.[10] Through this strategy it expected to gain maximum political advantage as an anti-Japanese force, while preserving its strength for eventual struggle against the British.

Post War Policies of the M.C.P.

The M.C.P., at the end of the second world war, was at the height of its strength and popularity. The volunteers of the M.P.A.J.A. emerged

from the jungles and received the adulation of the local population. The Party was in full control of the Malay peninsula, barring some isolated Malay villages. But it failed to capitalize on these advantages, seize governmental machinery and proclaim the independence of Malaya. Its failure was due to factional fights within the Party. The M.C.P. was in a fix about the future course of action. While the extremists advocated the Chinese line of continuing the armed struggle, the moderate wing led by Lai Tek pleaded for a return to the pre-war policy of labour organisation and mass movements. After a long period of vacillation the Party adopted the constitutional path. It later admitted that it was a grave mistake to have taken the "road of legalism". To quote the Party document:

> At the turning point, when the Japanese fascists announced their surrender, our Party implemented a right deviationist. Capitulationist and revisionist line set forth by the hidden traitor Lai Tek, gave up armed struggle, and debased the Party's programme. The programme for founding a .... democratic republic and carrying out national liberation wars was mixed into a programme to strive for self-rule thus throwing away the fruits of victory."

After the war, the British government accorded recognition to the M.C.P. and allowed it to function openly. The Party moved swiftly to seize control of the trade unions and a spate of strikes ensued. It also made some efforts to recruit members from the Malay and Indian sections of the population. However, while the Party retained its strong base among the Chinese, it could not establish rapport with the Indian workers and had no contact with the Malays.

By 1947, there were stresses and strains within the M.C.P. A large number of militant members, demoralised by inaction, had become completely disillusioned with the post-war line of peaceful struggle. The dramatic events in many Asian countries reaffirmed their arguments against the Party leadership. The Chinese communists were scoring victories against the Kuomintang and the Hukbalahap and the Vietminh had intensified their struggles.There was no reason for the M.C.P. not to follow the revolutionary wind in Asia. The crisis within the Party came to a head when Lai Tek absconded with Party funds. In the meeting of the Central Committee the moderates were dethroned and those who advocated a revolutionary line were voted to power. Chin Peng, a veteran of the second world war, was appointed Secretary General of

the Party. He and his colleagues went to China, ostensibly to clear the mystery of Lai Tek, but, in fact, to seek C.C.P.'s advice as to the future course of action. They received no help from the Chinese leaders, who were in the thick of struggle with the Kuomintang.[12] The M.C.P. established contacts with the Comintorn and its representatives, attended various international conferences like the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in London, the World Federation of Democratic Youth in Calcutta and the Second Congress of the Communist Party of India. In March 1948, the M.C.P. made a reappraisal of the Malayan situation and decided to embark on a "People's War" against British imperialists. Whether the decision was dictated by internal factors or by international considerations is a subject matter of controversy.[13] The M. C. P. has claimed that the "initiative to criticise the right capitualationist line and set up a revolutionary line" was taken "independently."[14] It is probable that both the factors were important in arriving at the decision to embark on an armed struggle.

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INFLUENCE OF SAIVISM IN THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES

Pranabananda Jash

Since the World war II the term Southeast Asia has been used to describe the area to the east of India and to the south of China which includes the Indo-China, the Malay Archipelago and the Philippines, roughly forming a circle from Burma through Indonesia to Vietnam. Heine Geldern thus observes : "Under the term Southeast Asia we include the whole of Farther India (Burma, Siam, French Indo-china, Malay), the Malay Archipelago (Dutch East-Indies, British Borneo) and the Philippine Islands".[1] The region was often described as 'Further' or 'Greater' India. Prior to Western dominance, these regions were closely connected with India, culturally and commercially. To them these regions were known as Suvarnadvipa (the island of gold) or Suvarnabhumi (the land of gold).[2]

Whatever be the precise nature and age of the process of Indian cultural alliance and influence, its extent was deep and extensive, and its impact was felt in every sphere of their cultural and religious life. Since the age of Hindu settlement in Southeast Asian countries Saivism had occupied a prime position in the domain of the Hindu religious structure. In fact, Siva was the presiding deity of the Khmer country; and throughout the Cambodian history, he enjoyed a wide popularity as is clear from his names, viz., Siva, Paramesvara, Sambhu, Tryambaka, Vibhu, Girisa, Jagatpati, Sankara, Pasupati, Isa, Isana, Hara, Rudra, Harasri, Bhava, Candesvara, Nikamesvara, Tripuradahansvara, Sri Kapalesa, Isvara, Suladhara, Srikantha, etc. Although a few Sanskrit inscription have been found in Malay Peninsula, Java, Borneo and other islands, Cambodia and Campa (modern Annam) have yielded

hundreds of them. Many of these inscriptions are fairly long; some of them even contain more than a hundred verses, some even go upto three hundred verses. These epigraphic evidences reflect the religious condition of these countries from second-third centuries onwards.

Before mentioning the condition of Saivism in Cambodia and Campa, we may provide a brief sketch of this religion in other regions of the Far Eastern countries. Saivism was practised in Burma, particularly in the coastal districts of Lower Burma, in the early times. Excavations have yielded some sculptural representations of Siva and Visnu from Thaton, Prome (Srikshetra), Pagan, Kalagangon (near Hmawaza). Visnu seems to have been in greater favour in this region.[3] Coins of the eighth century bearing the Saive symbols, *Vis.*, Nandi and trident, have been found in Vesali (Arakan), and local tradition seems to point to Bengal as the source of the people who used them.[4] A *linga* 14" in height was found in the district of Kalagangon[5] showing that this form of Saivism was also known to them.

Both Hinduism, especially Saivism, and Bnddhism flourished in Indonesia and both have left an indelible mark on the life and culture of her people. At about the beginning of the eighth century A. D., the Pauranik form of Hinduism involving the worship of the Hindu Trinity was popular in Java. The old-Java-nese *Ramayana*[6] which was probably composed in the beginning of the tenth century A. D. furnishes us with a vivid description of the appearance of a Saiva monk. While describing Ravana who came to steal Sita in the guise of a Saiva monk, the said work mentions—"He resembled a pure and upright Saiva monk, virtuous and holy; his head was smoothly shaved, except for a little tuft of hair on the crown. He expected to get a......bowl of pumpkin to attach to his shoulder belt. His monkish robe was beautifully red and was dyed with lac. He proceeded to ask for alms." *P'o-li* or Bali is the only island where Hindu cultutre has survived to this day. In religion the most interesting development in this region is the Sivaditya cult which is nothing but a combination of Saivism and the worship of Sun cult. This syncretic form of Siva and Surya was known to the Indian as Martanda-bhaira.[7] Similarly, the prevalence of Saivism in Borneo is proved by the image of Siva, Nandi, Nandisvara, Mahakala, Ganesa, Skanda and others in a cave at Kombeng.[8]

The cult of Siva was possibly introduced in *Fu-nun* by Kaundinya though we do not have any positive evidence of this.[9] King Kaundinya

II, who was originally a Brahmana from P'an-P'an (a state in the Malay Peninsula), laid much emphasis on the cult of Siva and introduced state worship of deity. How ardently this cult was cultivated and developed in this region can be from the activities of the kings. The Saiva kings would establish cities to be named after the sacred name of Siva. King Indravarman founded city named Sivapura and built a temple of Siva in that city. Siva's name was also associated with the name of other cities in Cambodia known as Lingapura, Rudralaya, etc.[10] In the early seventh century A. D., during the reign of Isanavarman I, the name of the capital of Kambuja was changed to Isanapuri which means the city of Isana, i. e. Siva.[11]

In India we find that from the seventh century A. D. onwards different Saiva sects come to the forefront. These subsects were divided according to the different forms of Siva worshipped and the ritualistic procedures followed. Thus saiva sects in the early medieaval period were divided into the following groups:[12]

(a) The Siddhants School, or the Ordinary Saivas who followed the Puranic doctrine.

(b) The Agamic Saivas, i. e., the Tamil Saivas, or the Saiva sects of the Far south; the Lingayats, or the Vira-saivas who mainly flourished in the Karnataka region; and the Kashmira Saivas.

(c) The Pasupatas and their two extremist branches, viz., the Kapalikas and the Kalamukhas.

Almost all these sub-sects of the Saivas were prevalent in these regions. In fact, the religious life of these countries especially of Cambodia, was overwhelmingly influenced by the Saiva teachers of India, though the local genius was not entirely destroyed. Here Siva was given by his Khmer followers some local names, which cannot be met with elsewhere. Siva was thus worshipped under the designation Sri Sikha-resvara, the lord of peak.[13] Again, in the Ang Chumnik inscription,[14] we hear of two *lingas*, dedicated to the god of Sri Mratakesvara. It is difficult to explain the origin and meaning of this name of the deity unless we take it to be a local name of Siva. Another local god of the Khmers, Jalangesa, also identified with Siva is known from the Prea Kev inscription.

Excavations in *Tra-kieu*, the most ancient capital of Campa, have revealed ample evidene of Indian influence in the form of Saivite and Vaishnavite shrines and bas-reliefs. In the the days of their splendour the Chams were Saivites, and Siva, his Sakti, and his two sons Ganesa and Skanda, were prominent among the gods worshipped. In this connection we may note the evidence of the Cho'-dinh inscription of Campa which throws a flood of light on the religous beliefs and practices of ancient Campa. The record runs thus :[15]

(1) Namo devaya Bhadresvara-svami-pada-prasadat agnaye tva justam karisyami

(2) Dharmamaharaja Sri Bhadravarmano yavaccandradityam tavat putrapautram moksyati

(3) Prithiviprasadat-karmmasiddhir-astu.

This inscription is followed by a short inscription-"*Sivo daso Baddhyate*", meaning 'propitiatory *dasa* is bound (to the sacrificial post)'. This inscription, like the Yupa inscription of Mulavarman of Borneo, also attests to the prevalence of faith in the Vedic religion of sacrifice. Bergaigne thus points out ; "The formula *agnaye tva justam karisyami*, for instance, appears to be borrowed from a ritual very similar to those of the *Srauta* and *Grhya-sutras*, while the addition of *Bhadresvarasvami-pada-prasadat* places the ceremony under the auspices of Siva, and also indicates an advanced stage of Saivism, the deity being adored, according to a custom we shall find perpetuated at Campa, under a name recalling that of the king who raised the temple to him. There is no introduction other than the invocation *namo devaya*, and no conclusion other than the formula *prithivi-prasadat-karmasiddhir-astu*. Yet this inscription incised with an admirable regularity, in deep and large-sized characters must be something more than the simple fancy of an idle priest."[16] The post-script seems to imply human sacrifice and there is no doubt that offering of human sacrifices to propitiate Siva was very popular among the heterodox Pasupatas. Early traces of such sacrifices in India are to be found in literary as well as in archaeological works.[17]

The Pasupata sub-sect has been mentioned in the Phnom Prah inscription of Bhavavarman II. A government official named Vidyapushpa is said to be *acsarya* of the Pasupatas. He was a poet and an adept in *sabda*, *vaiseshika* and *Nyaya (Tasya Pasupatacaryah Vidya-*

pushpahryah kavih Sabda-vaiseshika-nyayatattvartha-kritaniscayah). After wandering to many holy places he was directed, in a dream, by the god Sankara (i.e. Siva) and established a *linga* on the Tungisa-*parvata*. This god came to be known as Tungisa even in later times.[18] The Pasupatas had their *Asrama* in Tep Pranam not far from the capital city of Angkor. This sub-sect is also referred to in the Sambor Prei Kuk inscription of Isanavarman.[19] The record comprising fifteen Sanskrit verses opens with an invocation to Kadambesvara. It also records the installation of Siva-*linga* in the Saka year 549 (=627 A. D.) by Vidyavisesha, an official of king Isanavarman. This *acarya*, like Vidyapushpa, was also well versed in many spheres of learning, particularly in *sabda* (grammar), *vaiseshika*, *nyaya*, *samkhya* (*samiksha*) and Buddhism. He was an eloquent poet and knew the ways of the world. In this connection we may note the Bayang temple inscription,[20] of the Saka years 526 and 546, corresponding to 604 and 624 A. D., which contains many terms of technical import in Pasupata lore. In the second half of the opening verse and the succeeding three linese we find an exhaustive account of the religious experience and philosophical thought of India as specially adapted by the Pasupata-saivas, and the particular reference to *yoga* is noteworthy as making an interesting phase in the development of Saiva religious practices. The dominant position of the Pasupatas in Kambuja and even earlier in Fu-nan is also known from several other epigraphical evidences.

Saivism was also connected with Tantricism in these regions. During the reign of Jayavarman II (A. D. 802-850) a Brahmana from Janapada (probably in India) named Hiranyadama taught the Tantrika texts *Vinasikha*, *Nayottara*, *Sammoha* and *Sirascheda* to Sivakaivalya, the *guru* of the King.[21] P. C. Bagchi has traced these taxts in the Nepal Darbar Library.[22] Saivism was introduced in Java in the eighth-ninth centuries A. D ; of course, no clear evidence is to be found in the central Javanese inscriptions, unless words like *Sivamandala*, *Siddhayoga*, etc., have Tantric implications.[23]

In fact, in saivite temples the Cambodian maintained almost identical method of worship and other activities relating to the performance of *puja* or worship as were traditionally followed in India. Archaeological findings so far discovered prove that Saivism in the form of the Siddhantika as well as the pasupata was very popular, although other branches were not unknown.

Ordinary Saivas, who laid great emphasis on *bhakti*, followed the doctrine of the *Puranas* known as Siddhanta *marga*, according to the *Siva-purana*. A careful consideration of the *Kriya*, *yoga* and *carya* proves that these Saivas were far more moderate in their religious beliefs and ritualistic practices than the Pasupatas. Different groups of the Siddhanta school spread over a large part of India, particularly in central India. Of them, the most popular one that has been mentioned in various medieval records was the *Matta-mayura* branch. These epigraphs contain a list of the some of Saiva-*gurus* and their activities. Similarly,a critical study of the Saiva inscriptions found in the Southeast Asian regions also demonstrates that there was a great-resemblance in the activities as well as in the names of the *acaryas*. We may thus note the Vat Thipedi inscription (in the district of Siem Reap)[25] which begins with an invocation to Siva, Vishnu and Brahma and Uma. The record also contains a eulogy of King Yasovarman and his two sons, named Harshavarman I and Isanavarman II. It refers to the learned ascetic named Sikh Saiva and his endowments. It also records the construction of this particular temple and installation of three *lingas* of Siva on mount Bhadragiri and three *lingas* close to *Yasodharatataka*. According to Coedes there are enough evidences to show that the author of this inscription had received training in the Gauda country (present North Bengal).

Under the direct supervision of the Saiva-*gurus* a lare number of Saiva institutions were founded both in India and Southeast Asia. The *acaryas* were famous for their yogic austerities,[26] deep religious knowledge and construction of temples and monasteries and other beneficiary deeds. The monasteries were attached to temples and were seats of learning where the *Vedas* and other *sastras* were taught, and in the charitable houses connected with them the poor and the needy were fed and the sick and maimed were cared for. In this connection we may note the Loley (about 10 miles South-east of Angkor Vat) inscription which begins with an invocation to Siva and contains a genealogical list of king Yasovarman.[27] It is stated in the record that in the Saivite temples, besides the philosophical aspect, elaborate rituals included music and dance which made a strong appeal to the common people. It says : "Those who are poor but disciplined, have wreath in their faith and devotion should enter the temple (for worship) with flowers only. For devotion to Siva is the most valuable thing in this connection."[28] The

record further mentions that the Saivite temples served free meals to worshippers. Shrines were made free from royal corvee except in the case of foreign invasion.

Here we may refer to some Javanese inscriptions which speak of various kind of religious establishments, such as, *Prasada, Dharma, Sima kabikuan, Dharmasrama, Dharma-sima. Prasada Kabha-ktyam, Dharma kamulan,* etc. But the exact nature of these religious foundations or *Dharmas* cannot be determined. However, these religious institutions were actively engaged in their respective field of work. A Saiva foundation at Tejung seems to be referred to in a record from that place of the year 935 A.D. Again, due to increasing popularity of the Saiva faith it was found necessary to appoint *Dhramadhiaksha ring kasaivan,* i. e. Superintendent of the Saiva denomination (lit. Saivadom). Regarding the activities of these *Saiva dharmadhyaksha*, the *Nagarkrtagama* of 1365 A. D. as well as epigraphic evidence furnish a detailed information.[29]

But the most outstanding contribution of the Southeast Asian countries for the development of Saivism is the worship of Siva's footprint (Siva-pada) which is perhaps unknown among Saiva votaries in Indian religion. The worship of *Siva-Pada* was one of the most popular objects of worship among the Saivas of Cambodia. We have enough evidence of *Vishnu-pada* and *Buddha-pada*, but not of *Siva-pada.* In the Baying inscription, which we have noted earlier, mention is made of a donation of *Siva pada.* The inscription speaks of the pious deed of Vidyavindu (*Vidya divindvanta*), garndson of Brahmana named Dhruva, who had installed on the fountain foot-prints of Siva and cistern for the oblution of the god.[30] It refers to the erection in 604 A. D. of a temple where the *Siva-padas* were worshipped in the following expression : *girisasya padam* (v. 5); *Sambhoh padasyedam* (v. 8); *Pasupati padabhak* (v. 10); *Pada aisam* (v. 11); *Siva-padaya* (v. 12). The record also mentions a *tirtha* (*Salilasthana*) attached to the temple. The record also contains some terms of technical import in Pasupata lore showing the popularity and wide prevalence Pasupata Saivism in these Far Eastern countries. A stele has been found in Cambodia which bears a pair of engraved foot-prints and an inscription reading—*Siva-padadvayambhojam* (Siva's to lotus feet).[3] Again, Jayavarman V, an ardent devotee of Siva, issuing an inscription on the eleventh day of fullmoon of the Saka era 896 (—the twenty first

August, 974 A. D.) worshipped Siva in the name of *Siva-pada* and *Sivapadakalpana*.[32]

Siva was also worshipped in *linga* form which grew in those countries to be as popular as it was in India. Inscriptions refer to various kinds of *linga* made of different materials. During the reign of Bhavavarman was erected a *linga* having the brilliance of gold (*lingam haimasobham*).[33] In the Prea Ngouk inscription, we find reference to a golden linga (*suvarna-maya-linga*).[34] During the time of Suryavarman, a sage Sivavindu by name, established a crystal (*sphatika*) *linga* of Isa, i.e. Siva.[35] It was followed by *mani-linga* (*linga* made of jewels). During the time of Udayadityavarman II (c. 1049-50 A.D.), a *suvarna-linga* was established. *Sankarapandita*, who had served king Suryavarman I as his *guru*, *yajaka* (priest) and minister and who was well versed in all the science and an exponent of all the *Sastras*, became the priest of this *gold-linga*.[36]

Here we may note that the *Saiva agamas* from India speak of two types of Siva-*lingas*, movable (*cala* or *jangama*) and immovable (*acala* or *sthavara*). The former made of the earth, various metals, like gold, silver, copper. bell-metal, iron, lead, brass and tin different precious stones, viz., coral vaidurya, topaz emerald and bluestone, could be used for temporary worship (*kshanika*) and carried about. The immovable *lingas* were of ten kinds; Svayambhuva, Purana or Purva, Dvivata, Ganapatya, Asura, Sura, Arsha, Rakshasa, Manusha and Bana. The *lingas* could be plain, or with faces in which case they were called *Mukha-linga*. In a five-faced *Mukha-linga*, the central face is known as Isana and the others are Tatpurusha, Aghora, Vamadeva and Sadyojata.[37] In fact, the popularity of both these types of Siva-*linga* in these regions shows the acquaintance with this form of worship among the people of the regions.

Another interesting point is that while erecting images or *lingas* of Siva, the patrons used to name those images or *lingas* after their own name. Also there is evidence of the establishment of *Siva-lingas* after the name of the Saiva-*gurus*.[38] In some instances the shrines also used to be known by the name of the deceased king or members of the royal family. Thus, a follower of Siva would be known as *Sivaloka* or *Sivapada*. We are fortunate in having the double names of some of the kings, who had their own personal names after their favourite gods.

These double names are found in the Sdok Kok Thom inscription, dated 1052 A.D.[39] It is a long record of 340 lines of which 194 are in Sanskrit and 146 in Khmer. It relates how Jayaverman II, king of Kamboja, invited a Brahmana named Hiranyadama in order to perform some Tantrik rites. Hiranyadama established the worship of Devaraja which became the tutelary deity of Kamboja. The following are the double names of the kings referred to in this inscription :

Jayavarman II	=Paramesvara
Jayavarman III	=Vishnuloka
Indravarman	=Isvaraloka
Yasovarman	=Paramasivaloka
Harshavarman I	=Rudraloka
Isanavarman II	=Paramarudraloka
Jayavarman IV	=Paramasivapada
Harshavarman II	=Brahmaloka
Rajendravarman	=Sivaloka
Jayavarmen V	=Paramaviraloka
Suryavarman I	=Nivanapada

In Campa the kings went a bit further. In erecting *Mukha-linga* they used to represent the figure of the reigning king with their peculiar Cham dress. We find the prevalence of *linga* worship in Cambodia in the seventh century A.D. King Bhavavarman used to worship a *linga* known as Sri Gambhiresvara, while the other one was known by the name of Bhadresvara. As a staunch follower and ardent devotee of Siva he made no less than four *lingas*, the last being the name of Trayambaka. For the religious merit of his elder brother named Rajendravarman, king Jayavarman installed a Siva-*linga* as mentioned in the Prasat Damrei inscription.[40]

The practice of naming an image of a god after the denor's name was very popular during the time of Yasovarman. He erected a statue of Siva in the temple of Loley, which he named as Indravarmesvara after the name of his father Indravarma. In memory of his mother, he erected another statue of Bhavani, the consort of Siva, under the title of Rajendradevi, his mother's name being Indra Devi. He established two images of Siva known as Mahipatisvara and Rudresvara after the names of Mahipativarman and Rudravarman, his maternal grand-father and maternal uncle, respectively. The famous Prithivindresvara image of Siva was erected after the name of king Prithivindravarman. Here

the kings were totally identified with the gods. He is no other than a *Deva* (god), he is *Devaraja*. Eliot observes thus : "The most interesting and original aspect of Cambojan religion is its connection with the state and the worship of deities some-how identified with the king or with prominent personages. These features are also found in Champa and Java".[41]

The spread of Indian culture abroad thus did not result in the suppression of the indigenous style of life, but rather led to its transformation in new patterns. An outstanding evidence of the reconciliation of the local and Indian cultural materials, as mentioned earlier, is the cult of *Devaraja*, i. e. the god king, Sailendra, i.e. lord of the mountain. Jean Przyluski has shown that the mythology of the Bataks of north-eastern Sumatra was embedded in the cult of Siva, brought by the Indians. Their greatest god Batara-guru, residing in Bangdjer-Bolok (city of the mountain), corresponds to Himavat or Sailendra, and his daughter, who is believed to have created the world, is easily identified with Parvati. In his opinion : We discern under the religious elements, furnished by the Mahayana Buddhism, the ancient belief in deity, enthroned upon a high mountain, to whom, therefore, properly belongs the title of Sailendra and who has been successively identified with Siva-girisa and the supreme Buddha".[42] The supreme deity incarnated himself as the king so that the temple of the god became also the seat of king-worship. J.G. de Casparis has pointed out that the Javanese Candi combines the idea of ancestor-worship with that of the god residing on the mountain. The progenitor of a dynasty, the first king of a line, is identified with the supreme god, the lord of the mountain, and worshipped as such in the Candi.[43]

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16. K. A. N. Sastri, op. cit., pp. 50-51.
17. P. Jash, op. cit., pp. 61ff. It is to be noted in this connection that Kapalika practics which involved human sacrifices was prevalent in these regions as recorded in the Suroasa inscription of the year 1375 A. D. It is stated that the king assumed the title *kshetrajna* Viseshadharani after a Bhairava conseration, in which human sacrifice was made in the cremation ground. Seated on a corpse, he drank the blood of the victim as it was being consumed by fire.—H.B. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 161.
18. Coedes, Inscr. du Cambodge, I, p. 4; AICSEA., pp. 70—71.
19. Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient (BEFEO), XXVIII, pp. 44-45.
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23. H. B. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 149.
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26. Sivacarya, the grandson of Paramacarya (also known as *Munipungava*) is described as *vagmi* (eloquent), *tapasvi* (ascetic) and *vratasilavana* (one following the *sastric* instructions and laws of character). He was appointed by Jayavarman V and continued during the time of his son Suryavarman.—P. Bose, *The Hindu Colony of Cambodia*, pp. 205ff. In this connection we may also note that the Phum Da (a small village in Kompong Chnam province) stale inscription begins with an invocation to Siva in mystic philosophic terms which have been borrowed from the Upanishads. Jnanapriya, a Yogin, installed a *linga* there.—Bergaigne, *Journal Asiatique*, 1882, pt. I, p. 208.
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THE EMERGENCE OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE—SOME VIEWS EXAMINED

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This paper, based on the author's doctoral dissertation,[1] seeks to offer an explanation of the circumstances and factors that led to the emergence of the Aden Protectorate, different in many ways, from the ones put forth by a set of British historians and administrators in their recent works. The views examined in this paper are those of Julien Pagot authoress of 'Last Post-Aden' (1968), Eric Macro of 'Yemen and Western World' (1969) and Tom Hickinbotham, Governor of Aden colony during 1951-56, author of 'Aden' (1958).

Pagot attributes the emergence of the Aden Protectorate to the benefits of the British protection 'effectively demonstrated' during the Turkish attack of the Aden hinter land in the 1870s.[2]

This view is not supported by facts. The expulsion of the Turkish forces from Lahej in 1872 by the British did undoubtedly demonstrate

the benefits of British protection but that was not what brought about the emergence of the Aden Protectorate. In the first place, though the rulers were impressed by the British action, none of them approached the Aden Residency for protective agreements—neither immediately nor later—for the next ten years at least. The idea of an effective British Protectorate over the south-western coast of Arabia from the Ras Sair (near Aden) to the frontiers of Oman, though conceived at this time, did not owe its birth to any move of the Sultanates of the Aden hinterland for British protection but rather to the growing concern of the British after the opening of the Suez Canal to have south-western seaboard of the Arabian peninsula sealed to the outside powers including Turkey and her province of Yemen.[3]

Also, the Sultanate which did really beg British 'protection' in the later years,[4] and which actually suffered the onslaughts of the Yemeni Turks—the Amirate of Dhala—was the one which was not 'relinquished,' for a gradual absorption by the Turks as a shock absorber for the Aden colony.[5] This impressed the Sultanates all right, but against, and not in favour of, a British protectorate. The Aden Protectorate emerged not because but, in spite of that impression.

Eric Macro in 'Yemen and Western World' presents the view that it was French intrigues in the Red Sea which the British at Aden feared most, implying perhaps that the Aden Protectorate owed its evolution primarily to the French factor.[6] This view is only partial since it does not take into account the activities of the other rivals of the British, viz., the Germans, the Italians, and, above all, the Turks and their local adventurers in Yemen. The British could not ignore the activities of these powers on the other side of the Adengulf as also the occasional pinpricks one or the other power continuously[7] gave to the British at Aden through the contraband traffic in arms, ammunition, slaves and tobacco and also through interference in the conduct of British relation with the various Sultanates and Sheikhdoms.[8]

It was in the Wahidi Sultanate of Balahaf alone that the French were really active to the detriment of British interests and where the latter always found themselves helpless, owing largely to the flirtations of the Wahidi Chiefs with the French.[9] The Protectorate Treaty with the Wahidi Chief of Balahaf was concluded in 1895 amidst the climate of turmoil created by the intrigues of the French at Obokh and Jibuti.[10]

Tom Hickinbotham, the Governor of Aden during 1951-56, claims that the Aden Protectorate came into being because,

(a) the Sultanates 'invited' the British to become a permanent power;
(b) they needed a powerful friend to protect them from the 'Zeidi bully' Yemen;
(c) they were attracted by the fanwise spread of British prestige;
(d) the British on their part, needed the Sultanates' alliance to protect the Aden Colony including the harbour from Yemen and any potential enemy from the landward side, and that the emergence was by 'mutual agreement.'[10a]

The suggestion that the Sultanates invited the British to become the paramount power is not supported by facts. When the issue of a protectorate came up after 1885 it was the Amiri Sultanate alone which craved for and openly begged the protection of the British.[11] The rest of them merely watched and waited for the British to make the first move. And when that move was made the clever Sultans presented their terms and conditions in the form of additional stipends, or monthly payments, gifts and other benefits as their price for accepting British protection.[12] The British turned down the solitary invitation they received—from the Amiri Sultanate-because of its dispute-ridden frontier with the Yemen which would have involved them into an endless controversy with the Turks.[13] The Abdali, Subeihi, and Haushabi desired British protection but they were fully aware that the British needed their loyalty and would readily pay for it.[14] As for the rest, the Aqrabi, Wahidi, Dthali, Qaiti, Mahri, Fadhli, Irqa, Haura, the coastal Sultanates, were indifferent,[15] and Yafa and Aulaqui (Upper and Lower) disinterested.[16]

Hickinbotham's second argument that the Sultanates needed a powerful friend to protect them from the Zeidi domination, is to a large extent correct. Zeidi domination was the last thing the fiercely independent Shaifi people of the Aden hinterland could ask for. But then, not all of them needed a powerful friend to protect themselves, not certainly the faraway Sultanates of the Hadramaut, and of Yafa and Aulaqui. And the one which did really need the support of a powerful neighbour—the Amiri—never got it from the British.[17]

Hickinbotham's next assertion is that the Sultanates were attracted by the fanwise spread of British prestige. Did the British prestige really

spread and 'fanwise'? It must be stated that in the period between the occupation of Aden and the conclusion of the first Protectorate Treaties (1888-89) it was the British *sphere of relationship*, and not the British prestige, which spread fanwise. Even so, the relationship between the British and the Sultanates was--stipendiary-the Sultanates charged the British a stipulated amount every month, called 'stipend', as their price for not disturbing the supply laden caravans passing through their territories.[18]

The term 'prestige' used by Hickinbotham perhaps refers to the impression which the British mediation in a number of inter-Sultanate disputes created on the minds of the winning parties. In the various inter-Sultanate disputes that came up before them during the different stages of the emergence of the Aden Protectorate, the British had to take sides, which made the winner grateful but also made the loser more anti-British than before. Thus, while the winners, like the Abdali, went about and broadcast the blessings of British protection and friendship, the disgruntled ones, like the Fadhlis, actively propagated anti-British feelings among their neighbours and friends. It is not suggested that anti-British feeling was dominant--it was not--but it did exist in a considerable measure, and as long as this phenomenon lasted the British could not enjoy 'prestige'. It cannot be admitted, therefore, that the Aden Protectorate came into being because of growing British prestige in the Aden hinterland.

Hickinbotham's claim that the British needed the Sultanate's alliance to protect the Aden settlement including the harbour from Yemen and any potential enemy from the landward side, offers in some measure an explanation for the emergence of the Aden Protectorate. In the defence of the Aden colony and the harbour, the continued alliance of the adjoining Sultanates and Sheikhdoms was a vital factor. For this reason, more than anything else, the British took care never to invite the hostility of the adjoining Sultanates—Abdali, Subeihi, Fadhli, Yafa, Aulaqui, etc. These Sultanates, within and beyond the fifteen mile radius of Aden, also served as the buffer zone between the Aden Colony and the Yemen and any potential enemy from the landward side, and the British keenness for the committed loyalty of these Sultanates was an important factor in the conclusion of Protectorate Treaties with them.[19] But this accounts for the protectorate/protective Treaties with the inland and the far inland Sultanates and Sheikhdoms and only two of the coastal Sultanates namely, Abdali and Subeihi. The rest of the coastal Sultanates—

Aqrabi, Fadhli, Lower Aulaqui, Dthiabi. Qaiti and Mahri—were taken into protection to ward off threat not so much from the landside as from the seaside, from the colonial rivals of the British power, particularly France.[20]

The Aden Protectorate emerged in three phases between 1885 and 1905 under varying circumstances. The first phase began under the stress of Turkish advance on the Amiri and a few other border Sultanates and under the threat from the French, and culminated in the conclusion of Protectorate treaties with the coastal Sultanates of Subeihi Aqrabi, Fadhli, Lower Aulaqui, Wahidi (of Bir Ali), Qaiti, Mahri and Dthiabi-Irqa and Haura, a step which sealed the long coast from Aden to the frontier of Muscat and Oman to all other powers. In the attainment of this objective the British not only ignored the interests and aspirations of the harassed border Sultanates but also actually singled out one of them, the Amiri, to be used as a convenient prey for the Turkish adventures and a shock absorber for their possession in Aden and around, besides spending quite an amount on the rather indifferent and hesitant coastal Sultanates.

The second phase (1895-96) commenced in the wake of French intrigues and a fresh advance of the Turks from Yemen, and added the Inland Sultanates of Haushabi, Lower Yafa, Alawi, Wahidi of Balahaf to the Aden Protectorate, taking its northern frontier halfway towards the Yub-al-Khali desert. Haushabi, Lower Yafa and Alawi welcomed British protection but the Wahidi of Balahaf, where the French were particularly active, flirted with both the adversaries before allowing itself to be bought by the British and at a good bargain price. The Amiri's pleadings were ignored during this phase also in pursuance of the policy to allow its gradual absorption by the Turks.

The third and the final phase (1902-05) began while the Anglo Turkish boundary demarcation of the Aden Protectorate--Yemeni frontier was in progress, as a counter-measure to overcome the obstructions and hostile demeanour of the Turks and to prevent them from annexing Upper Yafa and Upper Aulaqui, the two unprotected far--inland border Sultanates. The conclusion of prolectorate/protective treaties with the reluctant and even hostile Chiefs of these Sultanates during this phase, an achievement in itself, took the frontiers of the Aden Protectorate in the north to the limits of Rub-al-Khali, thereby giving the Aden Protectorate a natural frontier in the north.[21] The Anglo Turkish Boundary

Commission defined simultaneously the western frontier—between the Aden Protectorate, including the remnants of the Amiri Sultanates, with whom a treaty of friendship was concluded in November 1904, and the Turkish province of Yemen. With this the Aden Protectorate acquired a well defined area bounded in the north by Rub al Khali, in the south by the Gulf of Aden, in the west by Yemen; and in the east by Muscat and Oman.

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3. NAI F.D. See E April 1873 79-81 No. 81.
4. NAI F.D. See E Oct. 1886 399-432 No. 422.
5. NAI F.D. See E Feb. 1887 63-100 No. 89.
6. Macro says:

   "The British in Aden were kept continuously on the alert by the French intrigues in the Red Sea both before and after the opening of the Suez Canal." Macro Eric, 'Yemen and Western World', (1969) p. 35.
7. Wingate Commission Report NAI F.D. See E Aug. 1893 437-451 p. 393.
8. Mehra, op. cit., p. 88-125 ; 147-300.
9. NAI F.D. See E Mar. 1894 543-572 Encl. I to 544.
10. Mehra, op. cit., pp.140-145.

10a. Hickinbotham says:

   "The Aden Protectorate came into being by mutual agreement and we were in fact invited to become the permanent power. Successfully to resist Yemeni domination the tribes (Sultanates) would have to unite or else ally themselves with a power capable of protecting them. Unity was at that time not practical politics so that there was, in fact, really no alternative but to find a big friend to protect them from the Zeidi bully. It was therefore with some relief that once the initial shock of our arrival had passed they turned to this new and undoubtedly power stranger for that protection which was vital to them Naturally enough it was the Turks in the immediate neighbourhood of Aden, who were the first to enter into protective agreements but gradually, as prestige spread fanwise throughout south-west Arabia, more and more Turks not under immediate domination of the Imam of lYemen came into alliance with us."

We for our part were very ready to enter into these engageements with the Turks and for nearby the same reason. We were anxious to surround our new possessions and its valuable harbour with friendly states which would act as a buffer between our property and any potential enemy from the landward side. Our motives were entirely selfish and our conduct remained so until this present century was well advaneed."

Hickinbotham, Tom., *Aden* (1958), p. 63.

11. NAI F.D. See E Oct. 1886 399-432 No. 422.
12. Mehra op. cit., pp. 61-87, 126-146, 231-280.
13. NAI F.D. See E Feb. 1887 63-100 No. 89.
14. NAI F.D. See E July 1893 247-274 No. 273.
15. Hogg' Report (1889) NAI F.D See E Feb. 1889 3-18 No. 4.
16. NAI F.D. See E June 1904 201-206 No. 201.
17. The solitary treaty between the Amiri and British made no provision for protection to Amiri from Turks—NAI F D. See E Aug. 1904 162-171 No. 164.
18. Aitchison, C.U. Treaties and Sanads Vol. XIII (1933) pp. 100-170.
19. NAI F.D. See E Feb. 1903 337-495 No. 481.
20. Mehra, op. cit., pp 61-87 ; Also see NAI F.D. See E Aug. 1895 1-51 No. 8.
21. Audhali (Beihan etc.) formally concluded a Protectorate Treaty with the British on 19 September 1914.

MARX AND ENGELS AND COLONIALISM IN IRELAND

Bipan Chandra

It is interesting and instructive to study the evolution of Marx's views on colonialism in case of a country where he (and Engels) neither assumed stagnation and immutability, nor could notice capitalism reproducing itself—I mean Ireland. This is not only basic to the study of his attitude toward colonialism in general but sheds an important light on his attitude towards colonialism in India and Asia. Moreover, Ireland's is the only case in which Marx and Engels studied the reality of colonial rule closely, concretely and in a sustained manner and, what is of equal importance, did so for purposes of political action and guidance and not mere journalism or passing and indirect comment.[1] Consequently, in Ireland, they not only did not see any destructive positive role for colonialism but also abandoned the mirror image notion of the transplantation of capitalism and therefore also its regenerative

role. Instead they saw clearly both the exploitative and the underdeveloping aspects of colonialism.

In his first comments on Ireland in 1844, Engels held that the cause of Irish misery lay not in England or in "the shameless oppression inflicted by the English" or the system of English landlordism but "at home" in the "social conditions" while the form in which this misery manifests itself was due to "the character of the people, and to their historical development." More specifically, the character of the Irish people had produced overpopulation and pressure on land since they were unfit for undertaking manufactures and had failed to develop agariculture along capitalist lines. The one fault of English was that though they "might have raised the standard or Irish civilization" they had contented themselves "with the most brutal plundering " It, therefore, followed that while "the uneducated Irish must see in the English their worst enemies, and their first hope of improvement in the conquest of national independence", in reality "Irish distress cannot be removed by an Act of Repeal." "Such an Act would, however," he added, "at once lay bare the fact that the cause of Irish misery, which now seems to come from abroad, is really to be found at home."[2] As is obvious, these views have a lot in common with Marx's comments on India in 1853. There is the condemnation of plunder and appression by England but there is also the assertion of Ireland's inherent, historically derived incapacity to develop capitalism. England's fault was that it could have remedied this incapacity but had failed to do so.

Wherein, then, lay the hope for the Irish people? In a socialist revolution in Britain, was Marx's and Engels answer in 1848. The mission of introducing capitalism and modern industry and agriculture, which the bourgeoisie of the metropolis was destined to perform and which it was performing either badly or with brutal methods and horrifying consequences, would be taken over by the revolutionary working class in power in the capitalist countries which would also lead them into national liberation. This belief, combined with the notion that the bourgeoisie and the proletariat of the advanced, capitalist nations were the only creative forces in history, was another reason, though perhaps a minor one, why Marx and Engels did not look critically at the nature of contemporary conlonialism during their early years.[3]

The shift in their views came partially in the 1850s. They took note of the gradual deterioration in the social condition of the Irish cultiva-

tors as a result of English landlordism. They now began to ascribe the prevailing "conditions of society" in Ireland to English domination, and to trace the evolution of the retrograde agrarian structure. They noticed that British rule in general "subverted the conditions of Irish society." At the same time they still believed that England was reproducing "the English system" in Irish agriculture.[4] Marx got deeply involved in Irish affairs as a result of his work in the International Working Men's Association founded in 1864 and of the role that Irish workers began to play in British trade unions and the Irish political leaders in British and U.S. politics and in the mutual relations of Britain and the U.S A. In addition, Engels started living first with Mary Burne, an Irish working woman, and later with her sister Lizzy and got personally and emotionally involved in Ireland. He visited Ireland for the first time in May 1856 and formed a first hand impression. Both Marx and Engels now began to seriously study the Irish problem. Engels even planned to write a history of Ireland. Their understanding of English colonialism in Ireland and its impact and of the response that the Irish people should make now developed over the years 1867-92.

What was, according to Marx and Engels, the impact of English colonialism on Ireland since the 16th century and especially after 1801 ?

(i) **Impact on Industry** : from 1692 to 1776, Irish manufactures were struck down, Irish towns depopulated, and the Irish people thrown back upon the land as a result of mercantilist policies, when England took protectionist measures against her own colony.[5] Near the end of the 18th century there was some development of Irish industry when the political need to conciliate the Irish during the wars of the American and French Revolutions led to the relaxation of mercantilist restrictions.[6] Then came the Union of 1801, introduction of free trade and the gradual disappearance of all Irish manufactures, including handloom weaving.[7] Thus both mercantilism and free trade achieved the same results in Ireland because of its character as a colony.[8] Irish industrial development was crushed and Ireland turned into "a purely agriculture land." The people of Ireland "had now before them the choice between the occupation of land, *at any rent*, or starvation." Thus industrial prostration led to rack-rents and growth of intermediaries in agriculture.[9]

(ii) **Impact on agriculture** : The 16th and 17th centuries were the years of the direct appropriation of Irish lands by the English settlers

and landlords.[10] During the 19th century there was competition among the tenants leading to rack-renting and subleasing and to multiplicity of intermediaries.[11] After the repeal of Corn Laws in 1846 and the introduction of free trade in agricultural products, there was increasing oppression, expropriation and eviction of cultivators. Each generation of tenants and owner-cultivators sank lower economically as a result of "rapacious" landlordism which appropriated not only their surplus but also their capital.[12] The agricultural labourers began to work "under the most precarious form of wage" and the most horrible conditions of living.[13] Rent and interest absorbed a large part of the surplus which did not, however, get invested in agricultural improvement. Nor could it, because of the economic structure, go into manufacturing. Moreover, most of the agricultural surplus was exported to England along with the export of the productivity of land.[14] The result was decrease of production and productivity,[15] though most of the londlords and big farmers gained since they were able to maximise the total appropriated surplus even when total production was falling.[16]

It is important to note that Marx noticed the clearing of estates of tenants and their consolidation into larger units (as had earlier happened in England, he said) for purposes of agriculture and pasturage,[17] increasing use of machinery in agriculture,[18] growth of "agriculture managed by capital,"[19] growth of a distinct class of agricultural labourers who were "purely wage labourers" and who were paid in cash,[20] freeing of more labour for industry,[21] and increase in the physical amount of capital employed in agriculture.[22] As pointed out earlier, 1855 he had believed that "*the Irish agricultural system is being replaced by the English system, the system of tenures by big tenures*, and *the modern capitalist* is taking the place, of the old landowner."[23]

During the 1860s and after, he no longer thought so. Apart from the entire tenor of his writing on Ireland, we find that in 1867 he described the reorganization of agriculture in Ireland as a "caricature" of the reorganization in England.[24] In *Capital*, Volume III, he explained this further. In Ireland conditions prevailed "in which ground-rent, the manner of expressing landed property in the capitalist mode of production, formally exists without the existence of the capitalist mode of production itself, i.e., without the tenant himself being an industrial capitalist, nor the type of his management being a capitalist one."[25] In 1888, Engels described the Irish social conditions as "semi-

feudal."[26] In a graphic passage in *Capital*, Volume I, Marx noted the difference between surplus labour in a capitalist country and in an agrarian colonial country such as Ireland.[27] Not even once did Marx or Engels descrice after 1866 the social development in Irish agriculture, as a result of English colonialism, as progressive or positive.

Increasingly, Marx and Engels held that the impact of English domination on the people of Ireland had been disastrous. Ireland had been ruined and artificially impoverished.[28] The condition of the mass of people in general and of the tenants and agricultural labourers and urban workers in particular had worsened.[29] Real wages had declined in recent years.[30] Despite decline in population, large scale unemployment prevailed.[31] There existed a state of general starvation.[32] The people were deteriorating physically;[33] and their character was being ruined.[34] In administration, the colonial regime followed extremely corrupt and repressive methods.[35] Marx and Engels repeatedly wrote about the instances of corruption in administration[36] and of political suppression, brutality and terror practised in Ireland, especially against political opponents.[37] They also noted most perceptively that in discussing the nature and extent of bourgeois democracy in England, the nature and extent of political oppression in the colonies should be taken into account. Thus, already in 1859, Marx wrote : "The Ionian Islands, like India, and Ireland, prove only that to be free at home, John Bull must enslave abroad."[38]

The total result of the economic, political, and cultural oppression was expressed, wrote Engels in 1870, in "the melancholy" of Irish songs representing the Irish "national disposition."[39]

No aspect of colonial impact on Ireland was described by Marx and Engels after 1867 as positive or historically progressive or regenerative. There is no dual, two-structure or two-stage model of colonial impact here[40] They specifically denied and mocked at the notion of England's civilising historical mission in Ireland.[41]

In general terms, they described English rule in Ireland as a "crime", a record of "oppression", and "destructive".[42] The destruction of the Irish handicrafts and "the separation of agriculture from domestic industry" is nowhere described as positive or progressive.[43] What is even more interesting, the break up of communal property in land is not so described either. According to them, Ireland was based on rural communities with common property in land which was periodically

redistributed among their members who paid tribute to the clan chiefs till 1600.[44] The English rulers broke up this communal property, forced the Irish chiefs to abandon the clan relationship and titles to land in favour of the English landlord-tenant relationship, and later seized the land and distributed it mostly among English landlords.[45] Far from seeing it as a positive, capitalistic step forward, Marx and Engels described this destruction of communal property as a confiscation, as taking the land from the people in favour of the English landlords and clan chiefs.[46] Similarly, they did not see consolidation of holdings, introduction of capitalist landlordism and farming, machinery, etc., and increase of capital in agriculture as historically progressive steps, because they were part and parcel of a colonial economy.[47] Marx also carefully noted the difference between Irish and English urbanisation.[48] He also took note of some growth of Irish industries and increase of capital in trade and industry, but did not see them as positive factors.[49] Thus, not the capitalist character of many of the changes in Irish economy but their foreign, English, "artificial",[50] that is their colonial, character was emphasised by Marx and Engels. They were seen as part of the process of the colonialization of the Irish economy.

In wider, more general terms, Marx and Engels clearly recognized the colonial character of Irish economy and society.[51] The essence of colonialism in Ireland, they said, was the subordination of Irish economy to the British economy and the transformation of Ireland into an agrarian appendage of industrial Britain.[52] In *Capital*, Volume I, Marx wrote : Ireland is at present only an agricultural district of England marked off by a wide channel from the country to which it yields corn, wool, cattle, industrial and military recruits".[53] Ireland, wrote Marx in 1867, was ruled in the interests of English landlords[54] and the English bourgeoisie who wanted to use it as a supplier of raw materials, a market for manufactured goods, and a place for the safe investment of capital in land.[55] Ireland also served other uses for England. It was a supplier of cheap labour and thus it helped lower English workers' wages as well as moral and material conditions.[56] The working class in England could be kept divided and politically impotent by promoting national animosities between the Irish and English workers.[57] Similarly, the ruling classes of Britain and the U.S.A. used the Irish question to promote national animosity among the two countries whenever they found it politically expedient.[58]

Thus, Marx and Engels saw most perceptively that colonialism in Ireland enabled the British ruling classes to integrate the British worker into the capitalist system and to acquire 'moral' domination, that is, hegemony over him. "In relation to the Irish worker", wrote Marx in 1870, the British worker "feels himself a member of the ruling nation". He, thus not only turned himself into a tool of colonialism but strengthened the domination of the capitalists and landlords "*over himself*".[59] We may note that this use of colonialism was an important element in the ideological hegemony of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat in the era of adult franchise; but this instrument was perfected earlier, as Marx and Engels noted, in British relationship with Ireland.

What is more important, Marx and Engels began to see that colonialism was underdeveloping the Irish Economy. Already, after his first tour of Ireland, Engels had written in May 1856 : "How often have the Irish started out to achieve something, and every time they have been crushed, politically and industrially. By consistent oppression they have been artificially converted into an utterly impoverished nation".[60] And, in 1870, he wrote to Marx : "The more I study the subject, the clearer it is to me that Ireland has been stunted in her development by the English invasion and thrown centuries back".[61] This basic aspect of Marx's and Engels' understanding of colonialism in Ireland is no discovery of mine. It was clearly grasped by the best of the later Marxists. Thus, Lenin described the under-development of Ireland under British rule as follows :[62]

> Britain owes her 'brilliant' economic development and the 'prosperity' of her industry and commerce largely to her treatment of the Irish peasantry, which recalls the misdeeds of the Russian serf-owner Saltychikha. While Britain 'flourished', Ireland moved towards extinction and remained an undeveloped, semi-barbarous, purely agrarian country, a land of poverty-stricken tenant farmers.

The political goals and strategy Marx and Engels suggested to the Irish people flowed naturally from their over-all understanding of colonialism. The only solution to the Irish social condition, they said, was the overthrow of colonialism through the repeal of the Union of 1801 and the voluntary or forcible liquidation of British domination.[63] Little could be changed or improved till this was accomplished. Another aspect of the Irish national struggle flowed from the character of the Irish agrarian economy and the foreign base of the Irish landlords :

the joining together or integration of the national question and "the agrarian revolution", of the struggle for land, for the overthrow of landlordism, and for the distribution of land to the tiller and the struggle for national liberation.[64] Marx and Engels, therefore, constantly urged the Irish workers to fight for national independence "as their first and most pressing duty, as Irishmen".[65] They went so far as to suggest that the emergence of "a purely socialist movement" would have to await the successful outcome of the national struggle and the agrarian revolution".[66] They urged the British working class to support the Irish national struggle both on grounds of internationalism and in the interests of their own struggle for emancipation and socialism.[67] Their treatment of this aspect was crucial in establishing a correct linkage between the colonial and socialist revolutions. Unfortunately, we do not have the space to discuss it here; but one of its aspects may be pointed out. Marx wrote in 1869 that in the 1850s he had believed that the English proletariat in power would emancipate Ireland but that now he believed that till Ireland became free the English working class could accomplish nothing. National revolution in Ireland was a precondition for a successful revolution in Britain. Hence, "the lever must be applied in Ireland".[68]

Marx and Engels, on their own part, took an active part not only in theoretical clarification of the issues but also in actively supporting through their journalistic activities and their work in the International Working Men's Association (or the First International) the Irish national struggle and the Irish people's right to rebel.[69]

In the end I would like to discuss an important aspect of Marx's attitude towards colonialism : why is there such a large difference in his understanding of 1850s and of the period after 1864 of the impact of colonialism on India and Ireland respectively? Before I set out to answer this question and draw certain conclusions from the answer, it should be pointed out that Marx saw little difference in the purposes, motivations, and class character of colonialism in the case of the two countries. The difference lay only in his understanding of the nature of its impact. While in the case of Ireland the impact was seen to be entirely negative, in the case of India it was seen to have played and was expected to play a certain historically positive role.

Several sources of the difference lie on the surface. Marx and Engels were physically closer to Ireland. They studied Ireland not

only through pro-colonial writings but also first hand and through primary sources and pro-Irish writers. Consequently, they were more alive to the bias of English writers and historians.[70] Because of Engels' Irish companions, Mary and Lizzy Burns, and Marx's and Engels' direct contact with the leaders of Irish workers in Britain, they had greater sympathy for as well as better knowledge of Irish affairs and Irish life and culture. Above all, they studied Ireland more deeply and seriously and with greater attention after 1866 because they had to provide guidance to the Irish and British workers and the International Working Men's Association on the Irish question which was, apart from the inherent importance assigned to it by them in relation to the socialist revolution in Britain, one of the major questions of contemporary British politics. The Indian national movement, on the other hand, was still unborn for most of the period of their comment and Indian events did not after the India Bill ih 1853 and the Revolt in 1857 disturb British politics till 1905 or even 1918.[71]

At a deeper plane, several factors come to the fore. By the 1860s the negative impact of ths free trade stage of colonialism was becoming clearer; and Marx and Engels developed their ideas of colonialism in Ireland in response to the greater transparency of the reality, for they were always willing to learn and change.[72] It should not be forgotten that their ideas on Ireland were also on the whole quite confused till after 1864, and that in the 1840s and even in 1855 they still expected Ireland to be made over into England's own image. A basic shift in their views of colonial impact occurred between 1855 and 1866.[73] In fact, as we have shown above in Section V their ideas of colonial impact on India underwent a similar shift after 1858 though occasions for the expression of these ideas were fewer. We may even postulate or at least speculate that their view of Ireland had or would have had a decisive impact on the development of their understanding of colonialism in other parts of the world. Certainly, Lenin and other followers of Marx were to base themselves on his analysis of colonialism and ntionalism in Ireland and, by developing it further, were to evolve a ruthless critique of colonialism and to wage an unrelenting struggle against it in all its forms.

However the most important reason for the difference lay in Marx's view that Indian society was inherently stagnant and impervious to

change, and that it could be destabilised and made responsive to change only through an outside impulse. They held no such assumptions for Ireland despite its non-feudal character and communal property in land before 1600. Since Ireland was capable of change from within, mere dissolution of the old by colonialism was not a positive feature. To be historically positive, a social formation must lead to economic and social development. Hence English domination of Ireland was regressive and had no historically positive aspects for it prevented positive changes and even underdeveloped Ireland. On the other hand, because Indian society was incapable of change from within and lacked internal movement, British rule was here, whatever its other negative features, historically progressive for it had destroyed this changelessness and created the potential for change. In other words, if Marx was wrong in his reading of the changeless character of Indian society, the positive aspects of his evaluation of colonial impact on India fall to the ground in terms of his own analysis of colonialism as applied to Ireland.

In case of Ireland he saw clearly that developments in the economic, social, and political fields should be seen not separately but integrally; that individual features of a society could not be seen as positive and negative; that they had to be seen within the framework of the 'whole'. For Ireland, the whole was the colonial, underdeveloping character of the economy, polity, and society. Thus at separate planes there was the growth of capital, capitalist industry and capitalist farming, the destruction of unity between industry and agriculture, and the creation of a working class in the cities and the countryside. But all these positive features were structured simultaneously with colonialism sometimes as its forms, sometimes as its agents through which it was structured, and sometimes as its unintentional byproducts. In all cases they lost their positive, developmental qualities for they were parts of the overall underdeveloping colonial structure, For the same reason the 'subversion' of the old Irish society was not seen as a positive feature, not only because Irish society was not previously stagnant but also because it was accompanied not by the growth of capitalism and productive forces as in England but by the simultaneous colonial structuring. Hence, for Ireland, Marx and Engels developed not a two sector, two stage, or dual-impact model but a single stage, colonial-impact model.

REFERENCE

1. It is therefore surprising that most of the recent authors trying to use selectively Marx's comments on India (and China) to defend, however apologetically, the record and character of modern colonialism fail to discuss his views on Ireland. For example Schlomo Avineri fails to reproduce the writings of Marx and Engels on Ireland or to discuss them in his introdution. On the other hand, most Marxist writers have always made the connection. For example, Ralph Fox, *The Colonial Policy of British Imperialism*, and David Fernbach's introduction to Karl Marx, *The First International and After*.
2. *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*, pp 272—5.
3. Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, pp. 45—50; *Communist Manifesto in the Revolution on 1848*, p. 85; Horace B. Davis, *Nationalism and Socialism*, pp. 9—11, 13, 19. Marx and Engles did not however suggest a passive role for the Irish people. Quoting Feargus O'Conner, Engels wrote in 1848 : ...the oppressed classes in both England and Ireland must fight together and conquer together..." *Ireland and the Irish Question*, p. 49.
4. *Ireland and the Irish Question*, pp. 60—61, 76.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 129. Also see pp. 123, 140, 148.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 141. Also see p. 130.
7. Ibid , pp. 131-2, 141. 148, 296. Also see *Capital*, I, p. 708; *The First International and After*, p. 73.
8. *Ireland and the Irish Question*, p, 148.
9. *Ibid* , p. 132.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-8, 140, 243-5, 261-2.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 132, 141.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 59—61, 135, 141, 143-4, 330; *Capital I*, p. 662, *Capital III*, p. 611.
13. *Capital I*, pp. 661—3.
14. *Ireland and the Irish Question*, pp. 133, 141; *Capital I*, p. 657 f. n.
15. *Ireland and the Irish Question*, pp. 122, 135-7, 141; *Capital I*, pp. 654-5, 657, 657 f. n.
16. *Ireland and the Irish Question*, p. 136, *Capital I*, p. 657
17. *Ireland and the Irish Question*, pd. 53-7, 90, 134, 134, *Capital I*, pp. 652, 665.
18. *Capital I*, p. 662.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 659 Also see *Ireland and the Irish Question*, pp 134-5, 84.
20. *Capital I*, pp. 660-661.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 659.
22. *Ibid.*, p 658.
23. *Ireland and the Irish Question*, p. 76.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
25. P. 611. Engles explained the nature of rent in Ireland in the same manner in 1890 in his letter to N. F. Danielson on 10 June 1890. *Ireland and the Irish Question*, p. 352.
26. *Ireland and the Irish Question*, p. 343.
27. pp. 662-3.

28. *Ireland and the Irish Question*, p. 84.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 122; *Capital I*, pp. 661-4.
30 *Capital I*, p. 600; *Ireland and the Irish Question*, p. 138.
31. *Capital I*, pp. 658-9, 662.
32. *Ireland and the Irish Question*, pp. 133, 141.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 137, 141.
34. Ibid., pp. 84-5; *Capital I*, pp. 661-2.
35. *Ireland and the Irish Question*, pp. 85, 281.
36. See, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 87-8.
37. See, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 164; and Jenny Marx's articles in the Paris *Marseillaise* on the Irish political prisoners. *Ibid.*, pp. 379 ff.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 86. Also see p. 83.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 271.
40. Only, there were two stages in the comprehension of the colonial phenomenon in Ireland in the thought of Marx and Engels!
41. *Ibid.*, pp 172, 200.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 302-3, and 126 respectively.
43. Probably because they could see that it was not leading to economic development or growth of capitalism. It may also be noted that they also did not see the investment of British capital in Ireland in a positive light.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 259, 279-80, 326, 352; *The Origin of the Family, Private property and the State*, in *Selected Works*, Vol. III, pp. 295-6.
45. *Ireland and the Irish Question*, pp. 242, 259, 261, 267-8 352.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 326-7, 352.
47. The agrarian legislation of the 1870s was seen by them as an effort not at reform but at the indirect protection of the interests of landlords, the winning over of the prosperous farmers, and pulling "the wool over the eyes of the public." *Ibid.*, pp 167-8, 287-8.
48. *Capital I*, pp. 662-3.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 658-9.
50. Artificial, because they denied that the existing international division of labour between England and Ireland was natural. *Ireland and the Irish Question*, pp. 190-1.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 283-303.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 190-1.
53. *Capital I*, p. 657, The appointed destiny of Ireland was that of "an English sheep-walk and cattle-pasture." *Ibid.*, p. 665. Also see *Ireland and the Irish Question*, p. 123,
54. *Ireland and the Irish Question*, p. 123. Also see p. 271.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 293. In an article written in 1885, Engels reiterated this view and said that Ireland was the prototype of England's relationship with many other lands. In the preface, written in 1892, to *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*, p. xii.
56. *Ireland and the Irish Question*, pp. 162, 293.
57. *Ibid.*, pp 162, 293-4, 301, 303.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 162, 294.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 293-4.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 286. Marx and Engels could differentiate between colonialism and regional economic disparity or so-called "internal colonialism." They saw Ireland as a colony but not Scotland which was economically developing, however differntially in comparison with other parts of Britain. Clearly, the heart of the colonial process is the underdeveloping character of the economy and its economic subordination to the metropolitan economy.
62. *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 148, quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 17-19.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-8, 125-6, 142-3, 148, 162-3, 292-5, 331. In the face of all this evidence readily available to any expert on Marxism, it is difficult to understand how Avineri could make the assertion that in 1882 Engels was not "entertaining the possibility of national wars of liberation prior to the proletarian revolution in Europe." Introduction to *Karl Marx on Colonialism aud Modernization*, p. 22. In fact, by this date, reverse was the case. As shown below, Marx and Engels now believed that proletarian revolution in Britain required the prior liquidation or colonialism in Ireland.
64. *Ireland and the Irish Question*, pp. 142, 148, 150, 161-2, 292-3, 353. The agrarian question in Ireland, wrote Marx in 1869, was "a *national* question". *Ibid.*, p. 281. England could never accomplish the necessary agrarian reforms in Ireland, he wrote in 1867. *Ibid.*, p. 148. On the other hand, Engels pointed out in 1882, a pure and simple peasant movement without any linkage with the broader national movement could also not succeed. *Ibid.*, pp. 333-5.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 303-04. Furthermore, Engels wrote in 1882, that Ireland and Poland "have not only the right but even the duty to be nationalistic before they become internationalistic... They are most internationalistic when they are genuinely nationalistic," *Ibid.*, p. 332.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 343; *The First International and After*, p. 391.
67. *Ireland and the Irish Question*, pp. 143, 148, 159, 161-3, 280-1, 284, 290, 292-4. Even in 1848 Engels had posited a common struggle between the Irish people and the English Chartists "in accordance with a common plan." *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 284. Emphasis added. Most of his other pronouncements cited in footnote 67 also make this point. He also wrote: "Any nation that oppresses another forges its own chains." *Ibid.*, p. 163. Also see p. 274.
69. See, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 118-20, 152 ff., 156, 157-8, 164 ff. Also see Davis, *Nationalism and Socialism*, p. 66.
70. Commenting on the bias of British historians of Ireland, Engels wrote in 1869: "The bourgeoisie turns everything into a commodity, hence also the writing of history. It is part of its being, of its condition for existence, to falsify all goods; it falsified the writing of history." *Ireland and the Irish Question*, p. 211. On the other hand, when writing on India or China, Marx and Engels had a tendency to believe, even when they noted their bias, not only British historians and journalists, but even officials. For example, in 1862, Marx condemned the Taipings on the basis of a report by the English Consul at Ningpo. *Marx on Colonialism and Modernization*; pp. 442-4.

71. Same is true of events in China after the Second Opium War and the suppression of the Taiping Revolution.
72. Marx and Engels were not alone in this respect, The case of the early Indian nationalists was an almost exact parallel. In fact, the true extent and character of colonialism was to be revealed only by the end of the 19th century. The Indian nationalists then set out to evolve a broad understanding of the political economy of colonialism. See Bipan Chandra, *The Rise and growth of Economic Nationalism in India.*
73. It is surprising that many commentators on Marx and colonialism fail to take note of this crucial shift.

GENESIS OF "COMMUNIST" POLAND

R. N. Varma

The emergence of a "Communist Poland" or a government "friendly" to the Soviet peoples (as the Soviet Union asserted) in Poland in 1944 makes an interesting historical, political and diplomatic study. The "Polish problem" confronted the allied powers ever since the world war II began, but a "satisfactory solution" was never found. The pattern which brought the polish government into existence was to find parallels in other countries also, giving birth to the "bloc politics and the rise of "super-powers." This paper attempts to highlight the salient features that led to such a development in Poland.

The Nazi attack on Poland on sept. 1, 1939 found the Polish government totally unprepared and the swift collapse of the Polish resistance was an indication of how weak Poland was militarily. Within a fortnight of the German attack the Polish government decided to leave the country, and requested the Rumanian government to provide transit facilities through Rumania to France where they hoped to established a government-in-exile.[1] Two days later, on Sept. 17, 1939 the Soviet government swung into action, and decided to occupy the eastern territories of Poland (according to the Nazi Soviet Pact of August 23, 1939). The Soviet military action is referrd to as a "stab in the back" by most western scholars who disregard the fact that these

areas, mostly inhabited by Ukrainians and Byelorussians, had never formed part of the ethnic Poland that was resurrected in 1918. The famous "Curzon Line," demarcating the boundaries of "undisputed Polish territories," did not envisage the inclusion of these areas in Poland. These territories were taken over by Marshal Pilsudski's forces in 1920-21 when the infant Soviet Russia was fighting the Allied military intervention. The British government refused to guarantee the frontiers thus acquired by Poland.[2] Although Soviet Russia did cede these territories by the Treaty of Riga in March, 1921, the Soviet government regularly voiced its protest against the violations of cultural autonomy of the Ukrainian and Byelorussians.[3] The demarcations that followed between the Soviet and Nazi government on September 28/29, 1939 bore very close resemblance to the "Curzon Line" of 1918-19.[4] A little later, the Soviet government decided to incorporate these territories into Ukrainia and Byelorussia.[5]

The Polish Government-in-Exile

A Polish government-in-exile emerged first in Paris (and later it shifted to London) with Gen. Wladyslaw sikorski as Prime Minister. It had the support of some centrist groups but was opposed by the extreme rightists and military groups that had ruled Poland till 1939, although President Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz belonged to them. This government established diplomatic relations with all the powers fighting the Nazi Germany.

German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941 gave a new dimension to the situation relating to Poland. The British now urged the emigrant Polish government to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet government. A few leaders of the Polish government held the view that the Soviet government first be asked to give assurances about the inviolability of the Polish boundaries as had existed on September 1, 1939 thereby implying that the Soviet Union were to give the territories acquired by it in 1939. The British government and some other leaders refrained from such a categorical commitment.

The Sikorski government established diplomatic relations with the Soviet government on July 30, 1941, and the two sides confirmed that "the Soviet-German treaties relating to territorial changes in Poland have lost their validity." It was Clear that the Soviet government was not prepared to discuss the acquisitions made by it in 1939. In a press

note issued next it was clarified by the Pravda that the Soviet government would lend full support in the struggle aganist the Nazis for a "free and independent Poland." The Soviet Union also offered a credit of one million roubles to help in the organisation of a Polish army from amongst the Poles residing in the Soviet Union. Thus, it could be hoped that both the Polish and the Soviet armies would fight together for the liberation of Poland.

The following months saw a gradual but continuous deterioration of relations between the London based Poles and the Soviet authorities. This conflict started with divergent interpretations given by the two sides to the agreement concluded by them. The Polish government refused to accept the Soviet contention that people who lived in the eastern territories of former Poland had become Soviet citizens. They maintained that the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, etc., continued to be Polish citizens. A series of acrimonious notes were exchanged between the two governments but both sides stuck to their viewpoints.

An issue which worsened the situation related to the military preparedness of the Polish army that was being organised on Soviet territory . As early as March 1942 the Soviet government expressed the opinion that the Polish divisions be sent to the front along with the Soviet forces. The Polish commander Gen. Anders, however, contended that the Polish army needed time and practice before they could be deployed. As the situation on the warfront worsened for the Soviet Union it expressed its inability to supply more than a limited ration to the Polish army. In April 1942, the Polish government in London decided to evacuate their army to the Middle East. The transfer of the Polish army was completed by August 1942.

The final blow to Soviet-Polish relations came in April 1943 when the Polish government decided to request the International Red Cross to investigate the Katyn affair- a matter in which Nazi propaganda had accused the Soviet authorities. The poles had done so without taking the Soviet authorities into confidence and the Soviet government took the decission of ' suspending" its diplimatic relations with the London Poles on April 25, 1943.

Leftists Poles in Soviet Union and Poland

Different groups of polish communists had been active in poland as well as in Soviet Union. In poland various centres, like "proletariat",

"Friends of the Soviet Union" and others, had been organised by November 1641, and they were publishing the clandestine paper "Serp-i-Molot". In January 1942 these groups united to form the party polska partia Robotnicza (polish workers' party) PPR. The party emphasised the need of organising armed resistance against the German occupation. Armed detachments, called people's Guard (Guardia Ludowa), were organised. The popularity of the PPR and its activities disturbed Delegatura, representatives of the London based poles in Warsaw, who complained of a "serious communist infiltration" among the polish masses.[9] A little later the PPR elaborated that its socio-economic objectives were based on Marxist-Lennist principles. It advocated a policy of firm friendship with the Soviet Union, and demanded that the boundaries of poland be extended to the order and the Baltic.[10] In February 1943, PPR leaders also had some dicussions with the Delegatura, but found the latter relentless in their unfriendliness towards the Soviet Union.[10] The party was led by M. Nowotko, and later Wladyslaw Gomulka became its Secretary.

A few communists, led by wanda wasilewska and Stephan Jedrychowski, had been active ever since 1939, on the Soviet territories. In order to keep alive polish culture and traditions, they had been revived by publishing journals and newspapers in the polish language and organising literary activities.[11] *Nowe Widnokregi* (New Horizons) made its appearance in January 1941. On the eve of Sikorski's visit to Soviet Union in December 1941 a group of poles had gathered in Saratov and affirmed that the future poland should build its foundations on the friendship of Soviet Union. It was obvious that these poles wanted that a close relationship be established between the poles and the Soviet peoples. While London based poles made no contact with the communist leaders the Soviet authorities also did not highlight their activities while they had diplomatic relations with the polish government in exile.

After Gen. Anders had evacuated his army, Wanda Wasilewska approached the Soviet authorities for permission to organise a Polish detachment from among the Poles still remaining on the Soviet territory. The Soviet authorities cold-shoulered this suggestion.[12] After the rupture of relations between the Soviet authorities and the London Poles the Polish communists revived their activities vigorously and formed a Union of Polish Patriots (Zwiazek Polskikh Patriots) in the Soviet Union. The Union of Polish Patriots soon started a weekly

organ, *Wolua Polska* (Free Poland), in which they attacked class-dominated Polish circles. The Union of Polish Patriots was given permission to organise a Polish division named Tadeusz Kosciuszko division[13] which received wide popularity among the Poles in the Soviet Union. Within a few months the Kosciuszko division was ready for the front.[14]

Both the Polish Workers' Party and the Union of Polish Parriots offered a convenient political alternative to the Soviet government in the next few months. The London based Poles were stuck with their anti-Soviet position and continued to entangle themselves in diplomatic labyrinth with the U.S.A. and U.K. that remained unsolved even after the war was over. Their activities show evidence of their political bankruptcy which can be attributed to their social background. They continued to occupy comfortable chairs in London and Washington when fundamental changes were taking place in Poland.

Even before the Red Army started Poland's liberation, the Polish Workers Party had established the political organ Krajowa Rada Narodowa (People's National Council) that was to be the future Polish Parliament. When the Soviet armies liberated Poland in July 1944, the Polish Workers' Party welcomed the Union of Polish Patriots and formed the Polski Komittet Wyzwoleniva Narodowego (Polish Committee of National Libration) PKWN which became the nucleus around which the future Polish government was to emerge. Thus, the new Polish government came into existence without the participation of the London-based Poles. The PKWN was the type of Polish government that assured Soviet Union ' eternal friendship".

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ORIGIN OF THE WORDS "BHUTA" OR "BHUTIA" AND "BHUTAN"

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The word "Bhuta" is very popular in ancient Indian literature. There is hardly any important text of the early days where this word is not mentioned. This word can express a variety of nuances of meaning; it has been, in different contexts, used to denote gods, men, spirits, and even elements.[1] Among the gods, Bhuta is mainly connected with Siva and Vishnu, especially with Siva, who is popularly known as Mahadeva or Bhutanatha, i.e. lord of the Bhutas. The grandsons of Prajapati (Patriarch) Daksha are also called Bhutas. It is believed that Daksha gave away his daughter Bhuti in marriage to a sage called Kasyapa, and the children became known as Bhutias or Bhutas.[2] Probably this is why the Bhutas are said to be of divine origin.[3] It is also said that Daksha gave away another of his daughters, Sati, in marriage to Siva.[4] This made the Bhutias or Bhutas relatives of Siva and followers of Rudra (a form of Siva). The Siva-Bhuta relation is so strong that Virabhadra (a part of Siva) employed the Bhutas during his raid on Daksha's sacrificial ground, where Sati renounced her life in protest against the insult offered by her father to Siva.[5]

It is also mentioned in ancient literature that Bhuta was a sage who married Bhuti, daughter of Daksha, and gave birth to the eleven Rudras.[6] Bhuta is also referred to as a son of Pauravi and Vasudeva,[7] as a Prajapati.[8] and as a member of the Rohini family.[9] It is further said that Bhutananda was a prince who ruled from Kilikila[10] after the reign of Manaus[11] and that Bhutaketu was a son of Daksa Savarni.[12]

Similarly Bhuti is sometimes given a different genealogy : she is said to have been the mother of Bhautya, a Sakti[13], wife of Pulastya,[14] destroyer of all Asuras,[15] etc. Yet another tradition describes Bhuti as a sage who obtained a son named Manu Bhautya by his disciple Shanti[16] through prayers to Agni. From these references, it may be stated that the people whom we now call Bhote or Bhuta had their origin in one of the above-mentioned familes. Perhaps it may not be inappropriate to suggest that they are descended from Bhuti, who, it is said, gave birth to the Bhutas. As the descendants of Kasyapa are described as Bhutamsa Kasyapa, Bhutaviras, etc., one might well presume that they indicated the Bhotias or Bhutanese. As for the relation of the Bhutas to Rudra, even today the Bhutanese hold Rudra in high esteem. The ancient mode of Rudra worship can still he traced among them. There cannot, therefore, be two opinions on the subject. The Bhotias or Bhutias were followers of Rudra and deseendants of Bhuti.[17] The Bhutias found in different parts of India, still worship Siva or Mahadeva, and some of their customs, both religious and cultural, are similar to those of the Hindus.[18]

In the *Mahabharata*, the early abode of the Bhutias is mentioned as Bhutilaya. This Bhutilaya refers, broadly, to the mountain regions between the Siwalik and Ladakh ranges in the Jammu and Kashmir State. In the texts of later periods Bhutavatam is indicated as the abode of the Bhutas.[19] This Bhutavatam, according to the *Vayu Purana*, is situated in the Devakuta mountain[20] in the east, near Bhutan.[21] The Bhutas worshipped their lord Bhutapati or Bhutanath, popularly known as Mahadeva, with dance and music, and the various types of musical instruments[22] that they are reported to have used during worship are common in the Bhutia rituals even today.[23]

It can, therefore, be presumed that the territory which is now known as Bhutan was the Bhutavatam of the ancient Bhutas. In other words the word "Bhutan" is a corrupt form of Bhutavatam or Bhutavat or Bhutavatastanam. As the abode of Mahadeva was regarded as

Bhutavatam, Bhutan was also known, until a few years ago, as Devarajya, i.e. the country of the Devaraja-Mahadeva.[24]

Mention may also be made in this context of a mountain peak, by name Chomo Lhari (27°N. 80°E). This peak, which is 23,844 ft high and which is also known as Chamalhari, is the highest peak in the north-west of Bhutan. It is dedicated to Mahadeva and his wife Gauri; for "Chama" means Gauri, "Lha" signifies Siva or Sankara (Mahadeva) and "ri" is mountain.[25] The continued devotion of the Bhutias to Mahadeva makes it clear that Bhutavatam was the abode of the ancient Bhutas or Bhutias and that it was the same area which is now called Bhutan.

The famous lexicon *Amarakosha*[26] also refers to Bhutavasa or Bhutanamavasa as the abode of the Bhutas. In the Bhutavasa, there were many trees of Terminalia Belerica[27] and *indraksha* or *rudraksh*-the Eleccarpus Ganitrus-producing those beads[28] which are still common in Bhutan and the adjoining hilly areas. The *rudraksha* beads, are sacred to Mahadeva, and, therefore, they were very dear to the Bhutas or Bhutias.

Gradually the Bhutias or Bhutas of Aryan origin began to intermix for purposes of trade and marriage with the Tibetan stock of the Mongolian people. With the passage of time they established their settlements in some parts of what is known as Tibet. They almost lost their original identity by becoming physiologically indistinguishable from the Tibetans. Probably it is owing to this fusion of the Bhutias with the Tibetans that people in India mistook the Tibetans for Bhutias or Bhutas (or Bhotias or Bhottas) and called their country Bhot or the land of the Bhotts. Some texts mention the Bhutias of India, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and Tibet as Bhottas and describe the country of Bhutan as Bhutanta, i.e. the end of the land of the Bhotts. This is historically not correct as in those days the area which is now known as Bhutan did not form part of any Tibetan empire.[29] Of course, this impression developed in the later period only as most of the ancient texts, including *Kavya Mimamsa* (A.D. 880-920) mention the Bhutas and Bhutias and refer to their language as Bhutabhasa[30] and not as Bhottabhasa. However, Kalhana[31] in his Rajatarangini (A.D. 1148-1149), calls the Bhutias by the name of Bhottas and refers to their territory as Bhot-land.[32] As against this, the Bhutias or Bhots residing in the different parts of India are invariably known as Bhotias or Bhots.

Some scholars suggest that Tibet was known to the Chinese as Bodyul or Bod-land, that the people were known as "Bodpas", and that the word "Bodpas" later became corrupted to "Bhotias."[33] However, in view of the cultural and historical relations of the Bhutias with the people of India, it seems probable that the Bodpas and the Bhutias were residing side by side and that after a long period of time, either the latter became mixed up with the Bodpas, or the cultural differences between them diminished to make distinction between them no longer possible.

It is also historically correct that the region which is now known as Tibet came in direct contact with China during the seventh century A.D. Hence the Chinese term "Bedyul" cannot be accepted as the original name of Tibet. Tibet had been known already for long centuries as Tribistapa. Indeed "Bod" and "Bodyul" are not terms that the Chinese originally used. The Chinese used to refer to Tibet earlier as Tu-fan and as Hsi-tsang,[34] none of which is now popular for Tibet. Besides. only a section of the Tibetans today call themselves Bodpas and refer to their country as Bod.

The words "Bod" and "Bodpas" are not unknown in ancient Indian literature. The *Matsya Purana* mentions that the descendants of the sage Vasistha were known by the Ekarseyas gotra (clan) and that the Bodpas were one of them.[35] Son of Brahma and a son-in-law of Daksha, Vasistha and his descendants lived in the Brahmaksetra,[36] which can now be identified with the Himalaya and the region north of it. Brahma had another son named Lohitya, who lived in the region along the river which is now known after his name as Lohitya or Brahmaputra (son of Brahma).[37] Similarly, the Bodpas-the grandsons of Brahma-colonized the region which the Chinese called Bodyul. This is probably how the ancient people of the region which is now known as Tibet came to be known as Bodpas.

We may thus conclude that the Bhutas or Bhutias (Bhutanese) and the Bodhpas or Bodpas are descended from people of the Aryan race who settled down in the Himalayas and the region north of it. In due course of time the Bodhpas came into close contact with people of the Mongolian stock of Central Asia. The Bhutas also came in close contact with them, so that they were mistaken for Bodhpas or Bodpas. The name "Bodhpas" or "Bodpas" underwent a gradual change to "Bhuttas" or "Bhottas" in the subsequent periods of history.

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19. *Vayu Purana*, 40. 20 and 24.

It is also mentioned in the *Skanda Purana*, Vishnu khanda, Karttika masamahatmya, 3. 43, that Lord Siva (Mahadeva) is like the banyan tree. That is, the Banyan tree is the abode of Siva and his followers, the Bhutas.

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21. I have located this devakuta mountain in the Nepal valley. For details, see Bhattacharya, op. cit., pp. 4-5. Also N. N. Vasu, *The Social History of Kamarupa*, Vol. 1, (Calcutta, 19 22), p. 37. Vasu has tried to identify the Devakuta mountain with a mountain range extending from the Bhutan hills to the hills of Assam and Kachar. This Devakuta, according to Vasu, was a frontier mountain. S. M. Ali, *The Geography of Puranas* (New Delhi, 1966), p. 107, makes an attempt to identify the Devakuta mountain with the Altin Tagh—Nam Shan range. Ibid., pp. 3, 53, 57, 99 100, 102 and 105. According to Prof. Ali, the Devakuta mountain or the Altin Tagh—Nam Shan range is situated in the Southeast of Bhadravarsa and east of the Jambu Dwipa. See maps No. 6 and 11.
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30. Dandi has mentioned in his *Kavya Darsa*, a Sanskrit work of rhetoric belonging to nearly A.D. 700, that Gunadhya's *Brihat Katha* (1st or 2nd century A.D.), betrayed the influnce of the Bhutabhasa. See J. B. Bhattacharya, ed., *Kavya Darsa*, (Calcutta 3rd edn., 1911), ch. 1. 3-8.

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31. *Rajatarangini*, 1. 312. and VIII. 2887. A. H. Savagelandor, *Tibet and Nepal*, (London, 1905), p. 30.

    This Himalayan traveller had indicated that Bhot is not Tibet and these are two separate regions, He says, 'From a strategic point of view the Askote Valley is the principal and practically the only highway, the key, as it were to all the Himalian (Himalayan) passes leading into Tibet from Bhot (both in Darma and in Bias), as well as those of western Nepal'. Another Himalayan writer observes that the Bhutias and Tibetans belong to different stocks. T.J.S.B. Negi, *Himalayan Travels* (Calcutta, 1920), p. 265. Negi has further pointed out that

in some of the cultural traditions the Bhotlas are more close to the Hindus than the Tibetan ; pp. 237-270.

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THE ROLE OF SIKKIM IN INDO-NEPALESE RELATIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Kanchanmoy Majumdar

Sikkim is a perfect example of a state the political importance of which has always been far out of proportion to its geographical extent the size of its population and the volume of its economic resources. Two factors account for this importance : Sikkim's geographical position as an opening to militarily the most vulnerable sector in the north-east frontier of India; and its close relations with Tibet, Nepal and Bhutan, the developments in which have always excited great interest in the Indian Foreign Office.

In British India's policy towards Nepal in the 19th century Sikkim often figured prominently. Nepal's attitude towards Sikkim, too, had a bearing on British India's Nepal's policy. In fact, relations between British India and Sikkim followed in the wake of Calcutta's war with Kathmandu and were politically its sequel. During the war the British won over the Raja of Sikkim, a victim of Gurkha aggression for years, whose assistance in the war was rewarded by territorial accession and a guarantee of security against external aggression. By the Treaty of

Titalya (10 February 1817), the British gave the Raja territory lying between the rivers Mechi and Tista which was wrested from Nepal and which formerly belonged to Sikkim. Soon thereafter the British also made over to the Raja tract called Morang which lay between the rivers Mechi and Mahanadi. The British object was to strengthen Sikkim as a buffer between India and Nepal.[1] In the British policy of preventing Nepalese expansion to the east and circumvallating it Sikkim constituted an important element. Calcutta took control of Sikkim's relations with Nepal; their disputes would now be subject to British mediation.[2] The boundary between the two states was delimited, the Indian government guaranteeing its inviolability.

British influence in Sikkim which followed frustrated Kathmandu's aggressive designs but not curbed its political ambitions. To Napalese policy makers events in Sikkim were of abiding interest, and any sign of anti-British feelings in the state was viewed as an opportunity for establishing Nepalese influence there. Coincidence of these feelings with turbulence in the Nepal *darbar* made the British all the more worried. This was evident in the decade preceding the establishment of the Anglophile Rana regime in Nepal, in 1846, when the Kathmandu *darbar* intermittently intrigued with the Sikkimese Raja.[3] The British were determined to prevent Nepalese embroilment in Sikkimese politics in any way, and so the Superintendent of Darjeeling[4] was asked to regain by "quiet dexterity" his political sway in the Sikkim *darbar*.[5] 'As a measure of precaution and activity, if necessary", a local corps was formed at Darjeeling to keep watch on eastern Nepal and Sikkim which was known to have received Nepalese overtures for an anti-British alliance and Kathmandu's assurance of help in the recovery of Darjeeling from the British.[6]

In the early British policy towards Sikkim Nepalese reaction was an important factor, particularly when Calcutta's relations with Kathmandu were none too happy. The idea of acquiring Darjeeling from the Raja of Sikkim, for instance, was dropped by the British several times for fear of causing in Kathmandu the impression that the step was but a prelude to British invasion of Nepal from the east.[7] The acquisition, when finally made in 1835, had the distinct object of strengthening British position in the eastern flank of Nepal. The position was further reinforced in 1849 when all the Sikkimese territory between the eastern Nepalese frontier and Darjeeling was annexed by the British. This

annexation gave the British command of two passes leading into eastern Nepal. The Sikkimese would now have no access to the plains below except through the British territory.[8]

In the Anglo-Sikkimese disputes Kathmandu's object really was to grind its own axe by either siding with the Sikkimese or the British, depending on the existing state of relations between Kathmandu and Calcutta. While in the 1840s the bitterly anti-British Pandas in Kathmandu encouraged the Anglophobe elements in the Sikkim *darbar*, the pro-British Ranas supported the British against the Raja of Sikkim. This was clear in 1849 when Lord Dalhousie took strong action against the Raja for having incarcerated Dr. A.C. Campbell, the Suprintendent of Darjeeling, and Dr. J. D. Hokker, the celebrated Botanist. Jang Bahadur Rana, who had recently come to power at Kathmandu as the Prime Minister, offered assistance to the British as a means of ingratiating himself with the latter and perhaps with the hope of some territorial reward.[9]

Although the British did not allow any Nepalese involvement in the incident, they exploited Sikkim's dread of Nepal to secure their object. The Raja of Sikkim was owed with the stern warning that if he did not submit to British demands, he would forfeit their undertaking to defend Sikkim's territorial integrity. The undertaking was deemed inconvenient by some in the government, for it involved the latter in the tangled web of Himalayan politics and exposed it to the risk of confrontation with China. But, then, ultimately the Government decided not to give up this responsibility, for it was certain to result in Nepal's absorption of both Sikkim and Bhutan; a further strengthened Nepal would have aggravated India's security problem. The defence of Darjeeling, in particular, would have needed the maintenance of a large army at an enormous cost.[10]

The Rana government resented the strong British position in Sikkim but rendered no assistance to the bid of Maharaja Thothab Namgyal, the fugitive Raja of Sikkim, to escape to Tibet through the Nepalese territory in 1892. The Nepalese authorities arrested the Raja and made him over to the commissioner of Darjeeling.[11]

The interrelations of the Himalayan states had somewhat of a restraining effect on early British policy in the area. For fear of undesirable reaction in Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet and China, the British government avoided an outright annexation of Sikkim in 1861 following a

military victory over the state. Ashley Eden, who led the British mission to Sikkim, feared a combination of the Himalyan states in a common defence against the "proverbial acquisitiveness" of the British.[12] Consequently, he had to issue a declaration disclaiming any intention to annex Sikkim. This declaration, he was convinced, kept the states away from actively supporting Sikkim,[13] because

> Had any other policy been pursued, we should, I firmly believe, have been embroiled with the whole of the frontier and the Indo-Chinese states, and the result would have been a long, tedious and most expensive war".[14]

Sikkim was a valuable buffer state in the north-east frontier of India which warded off an immediate contact between British India and the tracts to its north where Chinese influence was a political problem for the government in India.

The British policy was to isolate the Himalayan states from one another and gradually assume influence over them. The influence affected the traditional pattern of relations between the states in the sense that the political content of the relations was progressively brought under British control while the cultural content was allowed to persist. The policy was to localise political and military incidents in order to prevent their regional ramifications. In keeping with this policy the British consistently restrained Sikkimese involvement in Nepal's disputes with Tibet.

Such involvement was likely during Nepal's war with Tibet in 1855-56. Jang Bahadur was suspected of attempts at drawing Sikkim and Bhutan into the fray. He approached the British government for the passage of his army through Sikkim, for it provided an easy access to Lhasa. The British having turned down the request, Jang Bahadur reportedly sought to win over the Raja of Sikkim by assuring him assistance to recover the Morang which the British had wrested in 1849. Campbell informed the government that Jang Bahadur affected concern over Sikkim's plans to ravage the eastern tracts of Nepal at the bidding of Tibet which had traditionally intimate relations with Sikkim. Campbell was convinced that having failed to forge an offensive and defensive alliance with the Raja of Sikkim, Jang Bahadur had planned to attack the state. Dalhousie dismissed these reports as groundless, but asked the British Resident at Kathmandu to warn the Nepalese *darbar* in "courteous but very decided language" that :

the British government can never permit Nepal to possess itself of Sikkim, whether permanently or temporarily. It is resolved to act upto the treaties which were long ago framed to that effect.[16]

Earlier, during the Dogra-Tibetan war (1841-42), the British had foiled Kathmandu's scheme of joining the Dogras with the hope of annexing some Tibetan territory. The British were then worried lest Kathmandu's action should exacerbate anti-Nepalese feelings in Sikkim and draw in Bhutan and China for the defence of Tibet.

The British policy of developing the Sikkimese trade routes to central Tibet affected Nepal's traditional position in the Indo-Tibetan trade. Traditionally Nepal had held a monopolistic position in this trade which used to be carried on through Nepalese passes. The closure of the easier Sikkimese trade routes to Lhasa had been Kathmandu's policy through the ages which its treaties with Lhasa had confirmed.[17] The British road building activities in Sikkim and the development of the Sikkimese trade routes caused diversion of the Indo-Tibetan trade from the Nepalese routes with consequent loss to Kathmandu's commercial interests. Before long Nepalese merchants were obliged to make use of the Sikkimese trade routes which gave the British some control over Nepal's trade with Tibet.[18]

The British encouragement of Nepalese immigration to and settlement in Sikkim by giving them lands on favourable terms had both an economic and political motivation. The hardy Nepalese cleared tracts and turned them into arable lands; they also served the British interests as being a counterpoise to the pro-Tibetan and anti-British elements in the Lepcha population of Sikkim. Lepcha grievance against the Nepalese occupation of most arable lands which was manifested in riots led to belated British measures to check land alienation to non-Lepcha hands.[19] The ethnic problem created in Sikkim by the fast-growing Nepali population assumed in course of years a political dimension which created administrative difficulties for the British.

Both in the formulation and implementation of British India's Nepal policy Sikkim's relations with Kathmandu constituted an important element. The traditionally hostile relations between the two states enabled the British to play one off against the other and gain influence over both. This influence brought to an end the years of political instability in the north-east frontier of India besides destroying the power structure there which had caused the British not a little trouble. The

propensity of the Himalayan states to resolve their disputes by arms having been curbed, peace and tranquility in the region was gradually established.

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EGYPT UNDER SAID PASHA AND ISMAIL PASHA

Md. Qamaruddin

The importance of the viceroyalties of Said Pasha (1854-1863) and Ismail Pasha (1863-1879) in Egypt lies in the single fact that both of them carried out a number of much-needed socio-economic and political reforms.

Under Said Pasha slavery and the trade in slaves were prohibited in Egypt; the import of slaves was forbidden and the slaves living on Egyptian soil were set free. He issued a land law in 1858, granting the *fellaheen* who owned plots of land, the right to sell freely, purchase, mortgage or hand down their lands by right of succession. The corvee and other obligations stemming from the social inequality of the peasants were formally abolished.

Land reform was followed by a reform in taxes. Money tax took the place of taxes in kind. Collective taxation of whole villages by means of mutual guarantee was substituted by the individual taxation of separate peasant families. Tax gathering, which previously had been carried out by the village Shaikhs, came under the control of special functionaries.

Said also abolished the monopoly system, liquidated internal customs and granted full freedom of trade. Each *fellah* could now sow the land with what crops he sow fit, freely his harvest and transport it without government control.

Many important changes took place in the army. Said Pasha abolished a number of restrictions which had been introduced in 1841. In 1856, he received the Sultan's permission to increase the Egyptian army from 18,000 to 30,000 men. Like his grandfather, Muhammad Ali, he tried to give the army a national character and began to recruit the *fellaheen*. For the first time in the history of Egypt, Egyptians were promoted to the rank of officers. The most capable were given military education and were appointed to key posts. One of them, Arabi, quickly rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel and became Said Pasha's personal body-guard.

Said and especially Ismail pressed for Egypt's independence from the Porte. The firmans of 1866-67 occupy an important place in this

respect. The firman issued on 27 May 1866 changed the order of succession to the throne of Egypt. Instead of the old Turkish order of succession by which power passed to the eldest in the family, now it passed from father to the eldest son. The firman of 8 June 1857 granted Ismail the hereditary title of Kedive, which meant ruler in Persian, but lacked any particular sense. Now, however, the title began to single out the Egyptian ruler, who was no longer an ordinary pasha, as the governor of one of the many provinces of the Ottoman Empire. According to the firman, the Khedive received the right to conclude commercial and other agreements of a non-political character with foreign powers.

In 1873, Ismail induced the Sultan to issue a firman on Egypt's financial autonomy. Egypt gained the right to conclude loans without the permission of the Turkish Sultan. The firman was of a dual nature. On the one hand, it weakened Egypt's dependence on the ports. On the other, it made it easier for foreign banks to enslave the country by means of loans, thus increasing its dependence on foreign capitalists.

Said and Ismail continued the cultural reforms initiated by Muhammad Ali. Under Said, Arabic became the only official language of Egypt. Public education, to which much attention was devoted, developed in Arabic. The old schools, which had been closed at the time of Abbas, were reopened, and many new ones were set up. Under Ismail the number of schools increased from 185 in 1863 to 4685 in 1875, when about 100,000 pupils were enrolled. The unmber of secondary and specialised educational establishments also increased. The Egyptian National Library, a museum, scientific societies and the Cairo opera were founded. A new interest in Arab history and literature arose. Translations and original works by Egyptian poets, writers, and dramatists appeared. The well-known poet and statesmen, Mahmud Sami al-Barudi, the talented writer and publicist Ibrahim al-Muwelikhi, and the pedagogue and literary historian, Husain al-Matsafi, greatly contributed to the Arab renaissance.

THE GROTTOES OF MAI-CHI MOUNTAIN

Latika Lahiri

(Translation from original Chinese)

Primitive people lived mostly in natural caves of lime stones on the cliff. But later on, the Buddhist caves in China and else where were hewn out by human labour. The tombs on the cliff of mountains like Chia-ting[1], P'eng-shan[2], and Ch'ung-ch'ing[3], are examples of such rock-cut caves. With the introduction of Buddhism in China, cave temples were continuously hewn out of rocks. The orthodox and folk form of tombs were combined together resulting in the creation of most significant and glorious style of cave arts. All the caves from various places of Sin-kiang in the west to Kan-su, Sze-ch'uan, Shen-hsi, Ho-nan upto Shan-tung down south some places in Chiang-su unceasingly presented a brilliant splendour that cannot be compared with a flash of light coming from far distance.

Among the caves, Tun-huang[4], Mai-chi Shan, Yun Kang[5] Lung-men[6] etc. are remarkable. The art of making cave temples originated and developed according to the contemporary local style. Our sculptors (Chinese) carved religious statues on hard, inflexible stones wherever they were available. The images are generally of Buddha, Boddhisattvas, gurdian deities, flying Apsaras, devotees offering worship, etc. The sculptors described various events of endless-Jataka tale (Buddha's previous births) and different scenes of Buddha's present life. The images of Yun-kang, Lung-men and other cave temples on the mountain T'ien-Lung (Heavenly Dragon) are of the same style and they are the supreme creation of talented artists. From the time of the Northern Wei[7] (5th Century A.D.) to the last year of the Ming period[8] (the 2nd half of the 17th century) we find a continuous history of sculptures. In this stony region it is practically very difficult to carve on the hard rocks but our artists have created prolific and brilliant mural paintings. They have also made use of clay and created many clay Buddha images, starting from Bodhisattvas to flying Apsaras. The grottoes of Maichi-shan also bear testimony to the same style of the cave of Thousand Buddhas at Tun-huang. Many scholars have already been working on the mural paintings. The mural paintings of Mai-chi are like the numerous paintings of Tun-huang but unfortunately the existing

monuments are not in as perfect a condition as those of Tun-huang. At the base (of Mai-chi) clay images were made from the beginning of the 5th century AD onwards. In doing research in history of Chinese sculpture, these are absolutely important treasures.

The art of modelling an idol and the stone carving were developed from the dawn of history. Wooden figures[9] of men and women buried with the dead (some with fetters and handcuffs) have been found in the burial ground of An-yang[10] belonging to the 17th century before Christ. On the stone-tablets of the graves of important personages nothing has been recorded. But all the wooden figures and figurines, earthen wares, terra cottas belonging to various dynasties beginning from the 2nd century B C. to the period of Ming dynasty (17th century AD), spanning 2,000 years, are indispensible materials for research.

The grottoes of Mai-chi-shan are to the south-east of district T'ien-shui[11] in Kan-su province. It is about 45 li from the district T'ien-shui. Mai-chi is the western range of the Ch'in-ling[12] mountain. After going 35 li towards south-east from T'ien-shui, one finds a comparatively better and even road which leads to the opening of the mountain pass of Mai-chi. Following the course of the circuitous road along the bank of a rivulet and again after 10 li of walk, one can behold the colossal Buddha figure rising up from the surface of beautiful peak of mountain. The lofty peak looks like a seat of small pagodas. This peak has some characteristics. In shape it is conical. The base is comparatively narrow which very much looks like wheat-straw piled up in countryside. So the local people from ancient times calls it Mai-chi mountain.

During the time of the Five Dynasties[13] Ch'ueh-ming edited "The Pleasant Talks of the Members of Han-lin Academy" Yu-teng Wen-hua which says "the range of Mai-chi surpasses even Ch'ng-Wei a large tributory of the Yellow river in Shen-si, in the north and sóuth it gradually expands on both the sides. The range extends up to 500 li, half of it is Mai-chi. A piece of stone, as if sprung up abruptly, is 10,000 feet high. It looks like a lump of stone. The shape and appearance of Mai-chi was known like this to the people. It has many names, one of these is 'Half-blue sky', and the other 'Midst of Precipice'. The images of of Buddha have been chiselled out and thousand niches are hollowed out of stone. Though it is the product of human labour but some times, it seems as if it has been created by the Devas".

This short passage may be seen in T'ai-P'ing kuang-chi

Chapter 397. The Chung-ting shuo-fu

Chapter 48 also refers to the name of Yu-teng-hua. This was written in the 10th century A.D. This is the earliest reference of the cave temple of the Mai-chi mountain. But the beginning of these Buddhist rock-cut temples and monasteries was made in much earlier period. The Biography of Eminent Monks of the Liang Dynasty[14] says that during the time of the Yung-ch'u period, the monk T'an-hung spent many a rainy retreat on the Mai-chi mountain. After some years, the monk Hsuan-kao reached Mai-chi and had meetings with T'an-hung. They lived together in great amity and friendship. There were more than three hundred disciples studying under them. This shows the glorious and flourishing period of educational system prevalent there. In the cave No. 115 of the Mai-chi even now one can see the faint traces of inscriptions of ancient period. That belongs to the ninth month of the third year of the Ching-ming period (A.D. 502) of the Emperor Hsuan-Wu of the Northern-Wei Dynasty.

Chang Yuan-po constructed a monastery on the mountain and inscribed his vow in very elegant and lucid language. In the following years during the period of Pao-ting and T'ien-pe periods of the Northern Chou dynasty Tu Li-yun of Ta-tu[15] of Ch'in-chou[16] had seven Buddhist niches hewn out for his departed father. The celebrated writer Yu-hsin composed a paragraph on his behalf. This has been inscribed on the Buddhist niche of Mai-chi at the prefectural city of T'ien-shui of Ch'in-chou. It is still to be seen in the Yuan-p'i-I-wang. The original stone, tablet is already destroyed. This is the most clear and illustrious section regarding Mai-chi. Later on, during the time of the Sui, the T'ang, the Five dynasties, the Sung, the Ming and the Ching, they carved beautiful niches and images. Only during the time of the Yuan dynasty nothing was added.

The caves of Mai-chi do not possess the highly idealistic metaphysical or mystic images or mural paintings or sculptures like the caves of Thousand Buddhas at Tun-huang. The men of letters and intellectuals of successive generations visited that place.

The Mai-chi mountain is 142 metre high. The total number of niches or shrines compiled by the 'team' and the polished sculptures are 194 in number. But in the early period of Mai-chi's history the number was much larger.

The middle part of Mai-chi had fallen due to land slide; consequently the caves have been divided into two sections, eastern and western. The flyover and the tunnels have also been divided into two sections. Some of the most important caves belonging to the Eastern and Western cliff have been narrated below :—

Among the Eastern caves, the most important is the Nirvana cave. the corridor of Thousand Buddhas. On the San-hua (scattered flowers) terrace there is a pavillion of seven Buddhas and in the Niu-erh Calf-Hall there is also the same pavillion with saven Buddhas. The plan is really monolithic.

The Nirvana cave (No. 1 Mai-chi) was hewn out during the later part of the Northern-wei dynasty (beginning of the 6th century A.D.). The special significance of this cave is that it has six stone pillars in front in a row. As a matter of fact, it looks like groves of Sze-ch'uan. The images had been repaired during the time of the Ming dynasty but these still maintain the original style of the Northern-Wei dynasty.

The corridor of Thousand Buddhas, hewn out during the Northern-Wei period (5th century A.D.), is 32 ft, in length. The rows of clay images of Buddhas have been very closely carved on the barren womb (middle part of the mountain) in front of the cliff in two tiers, upper and lower. About 258 such images still exist. Many of them have been painted and repaired during the later periods. But there are few images which still retain original form.

The pavillion of Seven Buddhas on the San-hua cave is the monolithic structure among all the caves of Mai-chi. A steep pavillion with seven separate chambers supported by eight long pillars had been carved out in Han style on the wall of the over-hanging cliff which is 50 metres high from the base. In between every two long pillars there is a niche of Buddha. This has been mentioned by Yu-hsin in the 'Inscriptions on the niches of Buddha at Mai-chi' : "Li Chun-hsin, the governor of Ta-tu registered as a native of Su-chih, a devout Buddhist lived as a recluse under a three, carvedseven Buddha niches on the walls of the south cliff to make offerings for his departed father. Similarly he also built a stupa. It looks as if someone has worked at quartz-crystal and appears like a magnificient full moon, a glowing fresh lotus. It manifests the luminous Sumeru (the central mountain peak of the Buddhist universe). People enjoyed the fragrant smell. In this wild

world they opened a hall to expound the doctrine which is like a fragrant mountain. This is more peaceful and quiet abode of Buddha."

At the extremities of each of these Seven Buddhist niches on the wall, there are seven borders on the wall, and in each of the borders there are frescoes of four celestial musicians, *i.e.*, Gandharvas. These seven beautiful paintings on the strip of the wall belong to comparatively later period. The style of the painting is of the Sui[17] and the early part of the T'ang period.[18] There are about seventy-five clay images in this cave. The image of the Devaraja (Indra) was repaired during the Sung period,[19] some of the Buddha and Bodhisattva images were repaired during the time of the Ming and the following Ch'ing period.[20]

Niu-erh Hall (Mai-chi No. 5), smaller than the Seven Buddha Pavillion, has four pillars built in Han style, in between two pillars there are three Buddhist niches. Each of the heavenly flower slabs of the niches contains beautiful mural painting. On the top of the pillars a square peck-shaped box is worth mentioning. Though the image of the Devaraja at the base of the Niu-erh Hall had been repaired during the time of the Ming rulers, the powerful and majestic demeanour still greatly moves the human heart.

The series of chambers of the Han style in the thirtieth cave of Mai-chi, the caves of Chambers and the style of stone-pillars are fully preserved. From these construction and architectural designs, it is easily presumed that it belonged to the Han nationality. The cave No. 43 of Mai-chi has four stone pillars but a part of the pillars has already been destroyed. On the top of the pillars these are sculptures of Padmasana Buddhas. In this style and expression we can find an unique example of synthesis of Indian and Chinese fine arts.

The three most important caves hewn out on the Western Cliff belonged to the last period of the Northern-wei dynasty (beginning of the 6th century A.D.). Among these caves, the longest one is the Hall of Thousand Buddhas. It is also called Stone Tablet-cave (Mai-chi cave No. 133). The inner construction of the cave is very complicated. The halls of ancient and comparatively later periods are extremely big. The carved beam painted pillars, carved beams of the roofs, the lintels of doors are all chiselled out of rocks. It is said in the "T'ai-p'ing-kuang-chi" chuan 397 preface, 'the Ten Thousand Bodhisattva Hall which has been mentioned here is nothing but the Hall of Thousand Buddhas. The 3½ft high standing Buddha in welcoming posture at the

main entrance was sculptured during the times of the T'ang and was repaired during the Sung period. This image of Buddha expresses profound compassion and tranquility. Two hands are joined in a very reposeful mood to welcome the guests; it evokes benign, delicate and gentle feelings. This image is best creation of the artists.

The thousand Buddha images have been stripped by robbers and bandits. In the garbhagrha (inner chamber) of the cave there are more than twenty pedestals for images. Among these, 18 pedestals are well planned and properly arranged. There are also five pieces of stone-tablets. One of these tablets bears the sketch of most touching stories regarding the incident in the Lohus Sutra the Bible of Mahayana where Sakyamuni by the power of his preaching caused Prabhutaratna, a Buddh of ancient past to reappear beside him.

Going ahead up to the top of the covered way along the precipice on the west, one reaches the highest place, the Deva Hall cave, and remembers the poignant description of Wang Jen-wu, the poet of the late T'ang period : "ascending the highest peak if one suspends 10,000 ft ladder in space one can ordinarily share the uniformity of white cloud. In front of the caves, the rows of mountains look very small. The setting Sun bisect equally the top of the Deva Hall. The peak is inaccessible and the road is dangerous. So very few people go there. The ancient grottoes are very strong and everlasting which are going to remain permanently. I want to transmit the names on the horizon, so I earnestly raise my hand brushing away the stone." On the fore wall of the Deva Hall there is an exceptionally beautiful mural painting depicting a battle scene.

The 127th cave of Mai-chi is the smallest of all the three big caves, but it has a number of mural paintings. The 165th cave was also hewn out during the time of the Northern-wei dynasty but it went under major repair during the Sung period. Majority of these images are influenced by the Sung style. There are images of two women offering prayers in the "Temple of Statues" belonging to the Sung period. The divine feelings exuding from them appear life-like, and they wear fluttering dresses. These masterpieces belong to the 12th century A.D. Recently the ancient temple in the Anscestral Hall of the Chin on the Tzai-ling range in Shan-hsi and at Mai-chi has yielded such type of rare objects.

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3. Chung king in Szc-ch'uan, forming also the district city of Pa Lat. 29°34', Long. 106°50³.
4. Post-town near An-hsi, in Kan -su Province, Lat. 39°40', Long. 95°05'. About 30 li west of the Capital.
5. In of Ta-tung, Inner Mongolia, modern Shensi province.
6. In Ho-nan.
7. House of Toba. Northern Wei dynasty A. D. 386-532.
8. A. D. 1368—1644.
9. In ancient times bundles of straws were made to represent human beings called Ch'u-ling (Straw soul). These straw bundles were then carried to the grave and buried along with the dead as their attendants. During the time of the Chou dynasty (1122-256 B. C.) wooden figures of men and women having springs in them by which they could move easily were buried with the dead. Later on, the practice of burying living persons became common. Vide Mencions, Chapter III, 6.
10. District in Msu-chou Fu. Kiang-su (Chiang-su) Lat. 34°29'; Long 116°41'.
11. A prefecture in Kan-su, Lat. 34°56'; long. 104°44.
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13. A. D. 907—960. Posterior Liang, A. D. 907—923, Posterior T'ang A. D. 923—936, Posterior Chin A. D. 936—947, Posterior Han A. D. 947—951, Posterior Chou A. D. 951-960.
14. A. D. 502—557.
15. Paking an Imperial prefecture in Chihli, Lat. 39°57', Long, 116°29'. It was called Ta-tu during the time of the Yuan Dynasty.
16. Feudal State comprising Kung-Ch'ang Fu, Kan-su and Shen-sl.
17. A. D. 581-618.
18. A. D. 618-907.
19. A. D. 960-1127 (North) A. D. 1127-1279 (South)
20. A. D. 1644-1912.

AN INDIAN IN REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE 1793-1794

Anirudha Ray

This is the story of Ahmed Khan, son the Nawab of Broach deposed by the English of November, 1772, in his brief exile of France during the French Revolution of 1793-94. The material is gathered from

the despatches preserved at the Archives of the Ministry of External Affairs Paris comprising mostly the correspondences and Acts of the Committee of Public Safety and the Commission of Foreign Affairs (later changed into External Relations).[1]

In November 1773, the English overran, with little defficulty, the fortified city of Broach, with the loss of General Wedderburn[2]. Nawab Muazzes Khan died immediately after[3] and his four sons, Murazit Khan Ahmed Khan, Enver Ali Khan and Ehiuddin Khan were imprisoned by the English. The Government in England ordered the restitution of the city to the children but the Bombay Council did not execute the order[4] and instead handed over the city to the Marathas in the Treaty of Salbai in 1783. The city was again invaded and taken by the British in 1805.[5]

Meanwhile, after a stay of five months under the control of the Engllsh, the four brothers with some servants escaped and went to Constantinople by way of Bassora and Bagdad[6]. Two brothers stayed at Constantinople and Murazit Khan and Ahmed Khan, with a servant, found a ship to Marseille. Their object was to go to the court of London to plead for the restitution of their property. They asked for a carriage to go to Lyon[7]. This was around April, 1793[8]

By the end of 1792, repture between France and England was imminent and by the middle of 1793, led by Pitt, the European coalition took the field. While they won notable victories, the entire Midi region revolted against the Republicans. By July 1793, route to Paris was open and Toulen occupied by the Royalists, although Marseilles remained loyal to the Republicans. Lyon also fell. But by the end of 1793, the Republicans retook Toulon and Lyon and pushed the enemy to the frontier, although the threat of invasion was not yet over.[9]

Meanwhile economic difficulties were sufficiently felt in France[10]. The English attempted a fiscal blocade of France and found that it was impossible to execute—a failure understood by Napoleon not much later with chargin. But Pitt's secret connection with the foreign bankers at France, coupled with the zeal of the "sans-coulottes" of Paris,[11] led to the flight of capital from France to outside. By September 1793, the value of French money fell by 73% compared to that of 1790. The Republicans in reply, fixed the price at 30% higher than that of 1790 and wages at 50% of the same period, although the timid housewives did not protest much to pay more than the official price line.[12]

Republicans, as a result, took more stringent measures which finally led to the Reign of Terror and the near suspension of the Rights of Man. Already on January 1, 1793, a 12 members committee of General defence had been set-up to save the country of enemies from within and without. Since it had proved inadequate, the Assembly created a Committee of Public Safety on April 6, 1793. Mainly led by Danton, it had its first session on April 7 and practically ran the government during the crisis till the fall Robespierre on July, 28, 1794, after which it occupied itself only with war and diplomacy.[13] Ahmed Khan and Murazzit Khan arrived at Marseille during this tumultous time.

Immediately after their arrival at Marseilles, the elder brother, Murazit Khan, fell sick and the Chamber of Commerce of Marseilles took charge of him by sending him to the hospital in May.[14] By July, he had been discharged[15] but not fully recovered yet.[16] By then, they had amassed a debt of £ 4322, 9 s. The Municipality of Marseilles, therefore, sent them to the House of Public Charity. From the beginning of 1794, the chief of the Municipality had taken charge of them, often spending from his own pockets. Troubles of the year 1793 had prevented him from contracting Paris, where they wanted to go.[17] On March 5, he could send his official intimation to the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, who in his reply of March 19, wanted to know the details and the object of their visit.[18] By the third week of April, they reached Paris, with an escort of one unknown French, who himself paid for his journey.[19] But by this time, Murazit Khan had died[20] and Ahmed Khan had arrived with his servant at Paris, the most sophisticated capital of Europe, without any knowledge of any European language[21] but still resolved to go to England.

In late April, Ahmed Khan, broken-hearted by the loss of his brother, met the Commissioner of External Relations (previously Foreign Affairs). who sent him to Ruffin, official interpreter of oriental languages in the Commission. His story checked by the Commission.[22] and his case was placed before the Committee of Public Safety, then led by Robespierre, Carnot and Barere. The Committee wanted to extend hospitality to this foreigner and authorised the Commission to pay him 1200, from the secret fund of the Commission, to continue his voyage with a passport.[23] Ahmed's petition, in Persian with a French translation by Ruffin, was also presented. Ahmed Khan was then living in

rue Richelieu, in front of the National Liberary at Hotel do Valois[24] and had already written in Persian his case history.

Although the Committee decided to allow Ahmed Khan to continue his voyage, it seems that the Commissioner of External Relation was reluctant to arrange his exit immediately and have him watched by security people.[25]

Ruffin had however met Ahmed Khan several times and had long session with him. He had certified Ahmed Khan to be extremely intelligent and sincere.[27] In view of his misfortune and inexperience, Ruffin himself propsed to keep Ahmed Khan and his servant in his house, to "fulfill the hospitality which the Republic desires to accord to him"[28]. Ahmed Khan was eager to learn French, although in his own interest, he should have learnt English.[29] Ruffin, therefore, informed the Commission of his desire to accept Ahmed Khan and his house and teach him French.[30] The Commissioner of External Relations sent an order to the Mayor of the Commune of Versailles, dated May 15, 1794, authorising Ruffin to receive them till their departure.[31] The Committee of Public Safety, in its meeting of May 15,[32] accepted the offer of Ruffin, allowed Ahmed Khan to stay in France temporarily and fixed an amount of £ 300 per month for the expenses to be incurred for the stay of Ahmed Khan £ 300 was given to the unknown French who had accompanied Ahmed Khan to Paris from Marseilles. The servant of Ahmed Khan was however, to be sent to Marseilies. In a letter to Ruffin on May 18, the Commissionar of External Relations made these points clear and sent £ 350 to him.[33]

By May 20, Ahmed Khan had gone to the house of Ruffin at Avenue Saint-Cloud at Versailles and was welcomed by a cousin of Ruffin. On the same day, Ruffin translated in French a letter of Ahmed Khan, dated May 15, in which Ahmed Khan had thanked the French for their generosity and expressed his eagerness to learn French. However, he requested that his servant, to whom he was very much attached, should be allowed to remain with him as was the custom in Arabia and Turkey.[34]

By May 31, Ruffin reported the good progress made by Ahmed Khan in learning French but pointed out that if the servant was to be sent to Marseilles, he must be paid his salary, which was in arrears, an Ahmed Khan had paid him only for two months since his arrival.[35]

On the same day, the Commissoner allotted £ 400 for the salary and voyage of the servant.[36]

On May 19, Ahmed Khan, along with Ruffin had gone to the Municipal Council (House of the Commune) to get his stay at Versailles registered. He was invited by the President of the Assembly to participate in its deliberations and to look upon all the citizens of the Commune as his friends and brothers. Because of his religious feelings he was allowed to wear his turban without any attachment of any symbol. In spite of this, Ahmed Khan was in a depressed and melancholy mood. He grieved for his dead brother and missed his servant, with whom he could converse in his own language, while fear of death was haunting him throughout,[37] probably aggravated by the reign of terror unleashed in France.[38]

By the beginning of July, Ahmed Khan could speak French[39], although he continued to remain aloof and withdrawn. After great difficulty, Ruffin found out that it was due to his longing for news of his two brothers in Turkey and the loss of his brother.[40] Other material factors began to weigh on him as economic difficulties began to be felt.

Since his arrival at Versailles in the middle of May, Ahmad Khan was wearing coat, trousers, silken underwear and muslin turban. With an expected stay of a few more months in France, a replacement of clothes would be necessary, which would cost around £360, which seemed to shock both him and Ruffin.[41] Therefore, Ahmed Khan now desired to go to England within two months to try his fortune there and wished to inform his brothers at Constantinople through diplomatic channels. He also desired to go to Paris to plead his case to the Commissioner.[42]

The chief of the 1st Division in the commission, Citizen Otto, pointed out to Ruffin, on July 7, that since May 20 till June 17, Ahmed Khan had received £ 960 beside £ 440 for his servant and it would be impossible to pay him again. His visit to Paris was not approved of due to unnecessary expenditure.[43] At the same time, information was sent through diplomatic channels of Turkey to his brothers.[44]

On August 14, Ruffin was in a position to inform citizen Buchot Commissioner of External Relations that Ahmed Khan had learnt the French language well and translated the *Rights of Man* into Persian as his homage to the French nation. He also reported that Ahmed Khan was the only Muslim known to him (Ruffin was born in Turkey), apart from Jihac Bey, and old page of Sultan Mustapha, to write in

French language and that the "Indian had become the carrier of light", like Tipoo Sahib who was drilling his Muslim soldiers in the European fashion.[45]

On August 17, the Commission of External Relations resolved that the Persian translation should be deposited in the National Library at Paris "as a precious monument of the homage rendered to the true principles of the Society by an inhabitant of Asia".[46] By that time, the reign of terror had ended with the guillotine of Robespierre on July 28 and the Republic was struggling to frame a new constitution. With the release of prisoners, interest had been focussed on the *Rights of Man and Citizen.* On November 29, the new members of the Committee of Public Safety authorised, on the report of the Commission of External Relations, to arrange for the exit of Ahmed Khan by the Swiss frontier.[47] This was the last mention of Ahmed Khan in contemporary French documents.

One can divide the stay of Ahmed Khan in France into two phases. The first phase, ending with his arrival at Paris, was marked by the difficulties faced by a foreigner who did not know the language of the country and was, moreover, drawn inexorably and unwillingly into the crossfire of the revolution. It was a time when the Republic was in danger of being invaded, with the apprehension of a possible economic collapse of the regime. Even in such a critical situation, the Indians were treated in a hospital at Marseille and looked after by the officials, sometimes at their own expense, for months on end. If we remember that this was done in spite of rising prices and flight of capital from France, we can appreciate the revolutionary ardour of the Republic to take care of two almost unknown Indians living on debt with no immediate hope of repayment.

The second phase, from the arrival of Ahmad Khan at Paris at the end of April 1794 till his exit from France at the end of November the same year, reveals an understandable hesitation on the part of the officials to accept him, at least in the beginning. This hesitancy was dispelled by the very warm reports of the official interpreter, Ruffin, whose undiluted praise for Ahmed Khan's ability and sincerety, had given some sort of hope to persons dealing with diplomacy and foreign affairs.[48] What these hopes were is not clear, although there is mention of a "Project"[49] and the possibility of utilising Ahmad Khan. These were never been spelt out. That some kind of a proposal to make use

of him was put forward is seen in the sudden change of the decision of the committee from arranging his exit from France to a temporary stay.[50] It is possible that, given the anti-English sentiment in France, the diplomats would have like to politicise the issue—English oppression in the colonies. But that line was never adopted. May be they were far too involved in the reign of terror and its aftermath to concern themselves with a possible furore in Europe over the invasion of a small and obscure kingdom and the death of its unknown ruler.

The documents bring out clearly that administration in France during the Revolution functioned with remarkable speed and efficiency. Almost the same day or on the next communications were written and delivered by hand to the person concerned. As a result, Ahmed Khan, so far unknown, deeply in debt and in a country where the situation was extremely critical, without the knowledge of the language, suffered no material discomfort as a refugee. As a matter of fact, he was given the right to participate in the local assembly, which certainly brings out the fact that the French were willing to apply the concept of fraternity to the fullest extent even to a foreigner. That the revolutionary ardour was still clear can not be disputed.

The character of Ahmed Khan comes out the brightest, Facing hardships unknown to the son of a Nawab, with the death of his father and loss of his property, he took great risk in reaching Constantinople and managed to set his foot on the soil of France[51] to pursue his object of reaching England. The death of his elder brother and the heavy debt he incurred did not deter him from reaching Paris and appealing to the authorities to facilitate his journey. Overriding the customs of his religion, he wore the European dress and never asked for charity for his material comforts. Even in the midst of temporary security, he showed great concern for his servant who was to be separated from him and for his two brothers he left behind at Constantinople. As a fitting gesture to the French hospitality and kindness shown to him, he learnt French in a remarkably short time and translated the *Rights of Man* in Persian, the first Asian to do so. It is also fitting that the French appreciated this homage to their Nation by depositing the document in the National Library at Paris as a work of honour by this lonely Indian in exile in pursuit of Justice that never came.

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3. *AE* ; Memoire presented by Ahmed Khan to the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, 1794, f. 102, translated in French by Ruffin in ff. 101-102 v., dated April 25, 1974.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Imperial Gazetteer of India, *op. cit*
6. *AE., Memoire.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. This is confirmed by an official communication from Marseille to the Commissiner of Foreign Affairs, dated March 15, 1794 (*AE.*, ff. 94-94 v.), which gives the month of their arrival.
9. Georges Lefebvre : *La Revolution Francaise*, Paris, 1968, pp. 396-322.
10. For the economic difficulties of this period, see Lefebvre, *op. cit.*, pp. 322-326.
11. Albert Sebul : *Les Sans-coulottes Parisiens en l'an II*, Paris, 1962.
12. For the private accounts of the price-rise, particularly in Paris, see Jean Rebiquet: : *La Vie Quotidienne au temps de la Revolution*, Paris, 1938, pp. 94-107; also see, Sobul, op. cit., pp. 52-53. By June 1793, potate was selling 700% more than the price of June 1790, while the rise of the price of mutton was 63% and salted pork 33%. Sebul conceded that the price was so variable that it is not easy to indicate the rise (pp. 52-53).
13. For a brief history of the activities of the Committee o Public Safety, see Marc Bouloiseau : *Le Comite du Salut Public*, Paris, 1968.
14. *AE.*, communication from Marseille, March 15, 1794, f. 94.
15. *Ibid.*, f. 94.
16. In his Memoire, Ahmed Khan stated that his brother did not recover (*op. cit.*, f. 101 v.), but the communication from Marseille stated that the "sick person has been cured" (*op. cit.*, f. 94).
17. Information relating to Marseille came from the official communication, op. cit.
18. *AE.*, Letter of the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, March 19, 1794, ff. 95-96.
19. Report by Commissioner, April 26, 1794, ff. 103-103 v. The exact date of their arrival is not known.

20. There is some ambiguity regarding the death of Murazit Khan. It appears from the records that he died at Marseille while a much later report by the Comissioner to Turkey stated that the elder brother died at Lyon (*AE.*, Report on the brothers, f. 132, undated). Ahmed Khan's own Memoire stated that he died after an illness of one year (*op. cit.*, f 101 v), not specifying the place where he died.
21. Report by the Commissioner, April 26, *op. cit.*, f. 103.
22. *Ibid*, f. 103 v.
23. Extrait des Registres du Comite du Salut Pudlic de la Convention Nationale, *AE.*, ff. 104-104 v.
24. Letter of Ruffin, May 4, 1974, f. 105.
25. This is evident from the letter of Ruffin dated May 4.
26. *AE.*, Extrait des Registres du Comite du Salut Public, May 10, f. 106.
27. Report by the Commissioner, April 26, *op. cit.*
28. Letter of Ruffin to citizen Buchol, Commissioner of External Relations, dated Versailles, May 14, 1794, ff. 108-108 v. It appears that the proposal of Ruffin came after the decision taken at the Commission to suspend the voyage of Ahmed Khan and take him to Versailles.
29. *Ibid*, f. 109 v.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Letter of the Commissioner to the Mayor of the Commune of Versailles, dated Paris, May 15, 1794, along with the case roport of Ahmed Khan, f. 113.
32. Report of the Committee, May 15, 1794 on Ahmed Khan, Indian, ff. 111-111 v.
33. Letter of the Commissioner to Ruffin at Avenue Saint-Cloud, Versailles, dated Paris, May 18, 1794, ff. 112-112 v.
34. Letter of Ahmed Khan (in Persian) to the Commissioner of External Affairs, May 15, 1794, f. 117 ; French translation by Ruffin, dated Versailles, May 220, 1794, ff. 115-116.
35. Repot of Ruffin to Commissioner Buchot, dated Versailles, May 31, ff. 121-121 v; also, Letter of Ruffin to citizen Otto, chief of the 1st Division of Commission of External Relations, dated Versailles, May 31, ff. 122-122 v.
36. Report by the Commissioner on domestic of Ahmed Khan, dated Paris, May 31, f. 123.
37. Letter of Ruffin dated Versailles, May 19, ff. 113-124 v.
38. Lefebvre, *op. cit.*, pp. 414-422. It cost the lives of 1376 persons during the summer of 1794.
39. Letter of Ruffin, dated Versailles, July 3, f 126 to Citizen Otto, chief of the Division.
40. Letter of Ruffin to citizen Otto, dated Versaille, July 4, ff 127-128.
41. *Ibid.* Ahmed Khan wanted summer clothes and the expenses would come to another 360. But he has assured that if he could leave within two months, the new clothes would not be necessary.
42. *Ibid.*

43. Letter to Ruffin, dated Paris, July 7, ff 131-131v. He however suggested that the committee of Public Safety be requested to grant more fund for Ahmed Khan.
44. Report on the brothers by the cheif of 1st Division, no date, f 132. The brothers were living at Sectary either at the house of Ruman Bey or at the house of darwish Abdullah hindy at Constantinople.
45. Letter of Ruffin to citizen Bouchet, Commissionar of External Relations, dated, Versailles, August 14, ff 133-135.
46. Minutes of the meeting of the Commission of External Relations, dated Paris, August 14, ff 136-136v. This is followed by a letter to Ruffin on the same day, informing the decision of the commission and also requesting him to present one copy to the Committee of Public Safety by the Commission, with the request that this may be deposited in the National Library, Paris (f 138), On September 9, Ruffin sent to Buchot, Commissionar of External Relations, a copy of the manuscript of Ahmed Khan, with the request that Ahmed Khan would like to appear before the Committee of Public Safety (Letter of Ruffin, dated Versailles, September 9, ff 139-139v. A few days later, Buchot sent this copy the Public Instructor for deposition in the National Library, Paris (Letter of Buchot to Public Instructor, ff 140-140v).
47. Extract of the Register of the Committee of Public Safety, November 29, f 149.
48. From the very beginning, Ruffin found Ahmed Khan having an "excellent education and profound candour" (Report, April 26, *op. cit.*, f 103). On the basis of same reports, the Commission remarked that "Ahmed Khan has shown great interest to learn French language and it would be of utility to the Republic and to the Commission if it was pushed" (Report, May 15, *op. cit.*, ff 111-111v) etc.
49. Report by the Commission, April 26, *op. cit.*, f 103v.
50. On May 10, 1974, the decision was taken by the Committee of Public Safety to areange for the continuation of travel of Ahmed Khan (extract, *op. cit* , ff 104-104v). Before that on May 4, Ruffin has already taken a move for a temperary stay of Ahmed Khan in France (Letter of Ruffin, *op. cit.*, ff 105-105v). Bombay 14, the decision of the Committee was changed and Ahmed Khan was allowed to say (Letter of Ruffin, May 14, *op. cit.*, ff 108-108v). Curiously, there is no record of the change of the decision of the Committee and it may be surmised with caution that the Committee of Public Safety never formally changed the decision and it was done at the instance of the cheif of the 1st Division for the reasons unknown.
51. According to the petition of Ahmed Khan, written in Persian and translated in French, they reached Muscat by an Arab dhow after eluding the control of the British. From there they reached Constantinople *via* Bassara and Bagdad. Two brother, including Ahmed Khan, then went to Salonica from where they took a ship for Marseilles (Memoire of Ahmed Khan, *op. cit.*, f 101).
52. Again and again Ahmed Khan asked for permission to leave for England, the last one recorded was on July 4 Letter of Ruffin, *op. cit.*, ff 127-127v).

THARRAWADDY REBELLION IN BURMA

S. R. Chakravarty

The violent opposition to British rule in Burma, which began following annexation, could not be totally suppressed in spite of heavy repression. The British had to face opposition intermittently. The organizers and participants of these violent resistance movements had few links with the nascent western educated nationalists during the budding period of Burmese national liberation movement. Nor was there any coordination among the different groups engaged in similar type of activities in different areas. But the national movement in the 1920s brought them together.

A section of English educated nationalists, being influenced by Indian revolutionaries, started organising revolutionary activities around the middle 1920s. The Burma Revolutionary Association (or Army) was formed. It devoted its full energy to create the revolutionary atmosphere in Burma. It built secret cells in different parts of the country, established close links with the Bengal revolutionaries and organised propaganda though secret meetings, and distributing leaflets. It endeavoured to convince the people of the need for "self-rule". They propagated that "liberty", "good government" "real education" cannot be given by a people to another. Sacrifices had to be made for obtaining these. No system of government can be beneficient which does not foster self-reliance. Freedom is the birth right of a nation and no nation has any right to rule over another. To stir up the people, these revolutionaries revealed the guilt of the British in Burma. They considered imperialism a vicious institution founded on force and fraud. Another association—Coupon Preachers Association—was also active since 1927. It was mainly confined to Tharrawaddy district in Lower Burma. It encouraged people "to commit acts of violence or intimidation". This association was so active in violent actions that the government had to declare it unlawful.[1]

The propaganda, continued by these revolutionaries for years together had the effect of creating a revolutionary atmosphere in different parts of Burma. This found expression in the Tharrawaddy rebelion which broke out on December 22, 1930. The outbreak took place in the form of violent attack on police stations, other governmental

institutions and on people who were found to be helping the government. Shortly the rebellion spread like wild fire in the districts of Yamethin, Insein and Hensada. From these places it further spread into the northern districts of Thayetmyo, Prome and other places of Upper Burma. Pegu, Rangoon, Bassein, Moulmain, Minbu, Toungoo, etc. also felt the weight of it. The semi-independent Shan states, too, could not escape from the fire of this rebellion. The rebellion thus was a widespread one. Its volume, velocity, wideness and duration can well be compared with the 1857 rising in India. The British Indian Empire, perhaps, had not seen such a serious disturbance since 1857.

Burma government had to employ its whole energy for more than one year to quell it. More than two divisions of regular army along with air and naval wings of the government of India were deployed to suppress this country-wide outbreak. 4441 men, 66 women and 86 children under 16 years of age were arrested in connection with the rebellion. 18 men were sentenced to death. Many were sentenced to life imprisionment. To suppress the rebellion the military and police brutally tortured even the innocent people of the affected areas. Innocent people were killed without trial,[3]

The rebellion was a determined effort to overthrow the alien government.[4] Its organiser, Saya San, was aiming to capture political power. He declared himself King and asked the people to follow him in his move to drive out the foreigners.

Some writers have observed that the rebellion was a peasant uprising which had originated from a desire to ameliorate the distress caused by the world-wide depression of 1930. Actually this outbreak was neither a peasant uprising nor was it due primarily to the economic situation in the country, though it broke out in, and was confined mostly to, the rural areas, it was prepared and led by English educated Burmes nationalists who belonged to the middle classes. Soe Thein-led General Council worked as brain behind this rebellion. Moreover, the main slogan of the rebellion was the overthrow of British rule. Thus it was neither prepared or led by the peasants nor the basic aim was confined to their demands. In fact, it was a terrorist outbreak like these that had happened in India and Southeast Asia during the 1920s and the 1930s. As for the distressful economic condition, the world wide depression touched Burma at the beginning of 1930, whereas preparations for the rebellion had started long back during

1925-26. Since 1928, in fact, the revolutionaries had been staging small scale local risings as "prelude to the Tharrawaddy rebellion"[4] Economic distress only helped the leaders to exploit the situation in their favour and to gather people round them.

Saya San and other revolutionaries were greatly influenced by developments in India. There are references to a few Indians who took part in the rebellion. Saya San wrote on 14. December 1929, "Our party has decided not to separate Burma from India, and it is when we follow the lead of India (Lit. when the elder brother dances, the younger brother should dance, andwhen the elder brother sits the younger brother should sit too) that we are acting according to the spirit of the decision".

Sa ya San formed an association with the following objects :

1. To resist the forcible collection of the capitation tax on-non-agricultural property in Lower Burma and Thathameda (tax on non-agricultural property) in Upper Burma;
2. To offer civil resistance against oppressive forest laws which deprived villagers of the free use of bamboo and timber for domestic purposes;
3. To oppose the forcible separation of Burma from India.[5]

Apart from San Yan's private diary, there were a few leaflets, issued on the eve of this rebellion, which idealised the role of Indian revolutionaries in the freedom struggle. These leaflets asked the people of Burma to follow the path of Indian revolutionaries : "My brothers of Burma. Open your eyes, look around without fear, without terror. Shake off dull sloth and see that our Indian brothers are going into the world......their blood is going. For the truth, with honesty in their hearts, they open the gates of the new road—a straight wide road for us. For us all, for the sake of our young ones, they have devoted themselves to the sacred cause. They want another life—the life of Freedom, the life of truth and justice, of goodness for all."[6]

It is not unlikely that Saya San had also come in contact with the Indian revolutionaries who were then active in the different cities and towns of Burma. Through U Ottama[7] also he must have had good connections with the Bengal revolutionaries. Besides, there is enough evidence which points out that there were some Indians who worked as leaders in the Tharrawady rebellion. It would be worthwhile to quote a Government report which informs that the "Government forces scored

a success in the Western area of the Tharrawaddy District . . . in an encounter with rebels . . . . The rebels were led by an Indian named Muttu Krishna, who while escaping from this defeat was met by another party and wounded and captured."[8]

The government on this occasion attempted to create rift between Indians and Burmans. They spread rumours in the name of the rebellion that in the event of its success, Burma would be for Burmans alone, all foreigners would be exempted from the payment of the debts due to Chettyars and the lands would be taken back from Indians and distributed free of cost among Burman peasants.[9] Immediately after the spread of this rumour, the head quarters of the revolution refuted the government propaganda and clarified that "English men only are our enemies; we will only suppress the enemies, we do not wish to oppress Indians."

The outbreak failed to achieve its declared objectives, as had happened in the case of such movements in India and Southeast Asia. Nonetheless, it left a legacy which strengthened the fighting spirit of the Burmans during subsequent movements.

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INDO-U.S. TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION (1948-1949)

(Proposal negotiated and shelved)

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Through the *New York Times* and diplomatic sources it has come to light that a treaty as noted above was contemplated and secretly negotiated between the great democracies of the world. (See particularly The *New York Times*, December 22, 1948 p, 6, and November 13, 1949 p. 53). The treaty was shelved and the report is dated on an unlucky number (of date) thirteenth in *New York Times*. The source is as high as Loy Henderson. The Long drawn correspondence on the subject which ended in a 'draw' is yet to come to me from the American Library, New Delhi where I have booked it for issue to me.

The American Government has released mass of diplomatic papers of the concerned period and the most interesting revealation is that, as believed, the U.S. was not interested in an Independent Kashmir and Adlai E. Stevension certainly did not go to Kashmir for this. (Report on Documents—have appeared in Indian and world Press). It may also be mentioned that the round the clock landings of U. S. Air Force Transport Planes with military hardware at Calcutta were not reported by the Indian Press in 1962 at the instance of Government of India. (American News Papers covered the details).

The proposed treaty is in fact a surprising discovery in view of India's Independent foreign policy and Indo-U.S. differences on world issues, East-West relations, cold War, Military Aid, the threat of Communism, etc.

This, however, remains a fact that India and U. S. had no direct cause for quarrel so far as matters between the two countries only were concerned. India did try to improve bi-lateral relations and even formalise them by a treaty, if possible, without infringing its sovereignity and independent Foreign Policy as has been done in case of Indo-Soviet Treaty of 1971.

THE JALAYIRS AND AMIR TAIMUR

Syed Jamaluddin

Nobles formed the backbone of the Timurid empire. The role of different groups of the nobility in the evolution, sustenance and even in the decline of the Timurid empire has, therefore, to be examined carefully. On the basis of the evidence contained in some major Timurid chronicles an attempt has been made in this paper to study the relationship between Amir Timur and the Jalayirs, an important section of the Timurid nobility.

The Jalayirs belonged to Turkicised Mongol families.[1] They appear to have settled down in the time of Chingiz when they were now in possession of definite territory.[2] Earlier only the members of the Khan's family could get a fief. This practice was changed by Chingiz to the extent that fiefs began to be allotted to the chiefs of powerful clans.[3] Hence the Jalayir clan received Khojand.[4]

In 1305 the power of the Central Asian Mongols was on the decline, paving the way for the rise of the Chaghatay state.[5] The Khanate came to be divided into two parts, the east and the west. The nomads of Mawarannahr (Transoxiana), i.e. the western part of the former Khanate, called themselves Chaghatay and their eastern neighbours in Kashgharia as free-booters-jatta.[6] When Qazan Khan attempted to strengthen the central government in Mawarannahr, he met with strong opposition from the ulus amirs. Consequently Qazan Khan was killed in 1347 in a battle against a Turkish Amir Qazaghan.[7] With the downfall of Qazan the real power passed into the hands of the Turkish amirs while the Khans were still retained to become mere figure-heads.[8] Mawarannahr produced a man like Amir Timur whose descendants finally dispensed with the nominal Khans. During the ten years between 1360-70 when Timur assumed the leadership of the Barlas clan, and finally succeeded in overcoming his main rival in Mawarannahr, he fought many battles against the Moghuls and the Turkish amirs and emerged successful.

Timur first came into contact with the Jalayirs in 1360 when the Jatta ruler Tughluq Timur Khan made an expedition into the Kingdom of Mawarannahr. In the course of expedition when the reconnoitring party of the Jatta crossed the river of Khojand, Amir Bayazid Jalayir

together with his clan joined them.[9] Amir Haji Barlas instead of offering resistance left for Khorasar while Timur applied his mind to avoiding a conflict with the Jatta forces.[10] His overtures were successful and he was made by the amirs of Jatta the governor of Kesh and its neighbouring area.[11] After this, Amir Timur together with Amir Khizar Yasuri gathered a large army. Meanwhile the Jatta forces withdrew from Mawarannahr and Bayazid Jalayir, with his whole clan, joined Timur and Khizar Yasuri.[12] Timur and Amir Husayn then attended to consolidating their position in Mawarnnnhr and asked Amir Bayazid Jalair to pay attention towards Tughluq Timur.[13] He was later called back by Timur and sent to help Amir Husain against Amir Tughluq Salduz.[14]

Timur himself moved very cautiously with regard to the Turkish amirs. But he also invited enmity of Amir Khizar Yasuri.[15] Bayazid Jalair and Amir Haji also had plans to kill Amir Khizar.[16] Now the three amirs joined together to suppress Amir Khizar who was defeated in the ensuing battle. Thereupon Timur entrusted Bayazid Jalair and Amir Haji with the administration of their territories.[17] Timur attached importance to the Jalayirs since they were in the posion of Khojand wherefrom a watch could be kept on the country of Jatta.

Timur's position was yet far from being sound due to foreign invasions and domestic rivalries. The solidarity of the amirs was always exposed to their personal greed and clannish interests. Thus it happened that when in 1361 Tughlaq Timur Khan invaded Mawarannahr and arrived at Khojand, Amir Bayazid Jalair made submission.[18] Amir Bayan Salduz and Amir Haji Barlas also submitted themselves to the Khan.[19] Meanwhile the Khan had given orders to capture Bayazir Talayir and put him to death. Amir Haji, in apprehension of a similar fate, fled towards Kesh. Tughlaq Timur Khan summoned Amir Timur to the court and when the latter arrived, he gave him a warm welcome and appointed him governor of Kesh and Karman.[20] Now the Khan turned towards Amir Husayn who fled. Tughluq Timur entrusted the whole administration of the state to Amir Timur and left Mawarannahr. Timur, however, found it difficult to administer the State and fled in search of Amir Husayn.[21]

Timur and Husayn then worked together for establishing their supremacy in Mawarannahr. They were successful in overcoming their foreign and domestic enemies and seizing power in Mawarannahr.[22]

Husayn became chief amir and Timur his lieutenant. This relationship had been endorsed by matrimonial alliance.[23] But their relations soon became strained. Between 1366 and 1370 Timur was alternately at war with Husayn and friendly with his enemies.[24] He made full use of the mutual bickerings of the amirs to attain his objectives.[25]

The amirs who felt jealous of the fortunes of Timur also tried to incite Amir Husayn against him. Amir Ali Darvesh Jalayir, son of Bayazid Jalayir, was one of them. It is to be noted that Husayn's daughter was married to Amir Bayazid Jalayir and was the mother of Ali Darvesh. The Jalayirs, in league with other amirs like Musa and Farhad, tried to take advantage of the strained relations between Timur and Husayn. Thus Ali Darvesh, Musa and Farhad sent a false letter to Amir Husayn to the effect that Timur was making plans to oppose him.[26] Amir Husayn summoned Timur to Samarqand to give his explanation. Timur proceeded towards Samarqand without delaly to convince him of his fidelity:[27] When Ali Darvesh Jalayir and the accomplice heard the news of Timur's departure for Samarqand, they became afraid and fled towards Khojand,[28] the territory entrusted to the Jalayirs.

Shir Bahram and Bahram Jalayir did not have faith in Husayn. One day Timur took them into confidence and said that Amir Husayn had no faith in them and, therefore, the situation demands that they should array forces without any delay and get ready.[29] They agreed with Timur. This is how Timur secured success in striking a division among the Jalayirs and allied to himself Bahram Jalayir whose services were soon to be employed against his own clan. Bahram Jalayir also saw immediate advantage in an alliance with Timur. Timur then decided the course of action. Shir Bahram was sent to Khatlan to collect troops.[30] But Amir Husayn won him over to his side by "machination" and "trick"[31] Timur also despatched Bahram Jalayir together with some other amirs to Khojand to bring the Jalayir clan under control and capture Ali Darvesh Jalayir and Amir Musa who were the cause of discord.[32] When they learnt about the arrival of the amirs, they took to flight. Bahram Jalayir then assembled the ulus[33] of Jalair and himself became the ruler of the vilayat of Khojand.[34] However, he realised that it was difficult to withstand the opposition of the Khan and Amir Husayn and therefore proceeded with his clan

to join Amir Timur and on his way killed the followers of Ali Darvesh Jalayir.[35]

Timur became indignant with Bahram Jalayir during the course of his invasion on Samarqand. When Khojand, Kaikhusrati and Bahram Jalayir were sitting in Timur crossed the river of Tashkent along with 7,000 soldiers whom they had brought from the Jatta.[36] They were waiting for Timur to come. When Timur arrived there he found Bahram Jalayir somewhat indifferent.[37] Moreover, Timur had become jealous owing to the fact that the Khan had issued an order that the troops and clan of that vilayat should gather around Bahram Jalayir whom he had put in possession of that vilayat (i.e. Tashkant)[38] Bahram Jalayir who earlier used to show him great affection and had promised his support against Husayn and had for this reason become the ruler of his people with the help of Timur. But this time he was not the same loyal amir for besides other things he had brought under his possession some of the villages there belonging to Timur on the plea that he was collecting state dues for the Khan.[39]

Having failed to obtain support from Bahram Jalayir[40] Timur sent Sar Bogha Jalayir[41], and Aq Bogha Bahadur to Jatta to secure help from Amir Shamsuddin and Haji Beg.[42] And when Sar Bogha and Aq Bogha came back with the news that a large army was arriving from Jatta, Amir Husayn became alarmed and sought peace with Timur.[43] Again Timur did not lose the opportunity of using divisions among the Jalayirs to his own advantage when he entrusted Sar Bogha Jalayir with an important mission.

In 1370 Sar Bogha Jalayir together with Amir Musa, Amir Daud, Amir Jaku, Abbas Bahadur, Amir Aq Bogha, Ikhi Bahadur Shaikh Ali Bahadur conferred with Timur on the attitude of Amir Husayn and expressed their desire of making a concerted effort to get rid of him.[44] Barthold points out that the main cause of the risings against Husayn was his wish to reside and keep his treasure in a fortified town, for which he had chosen Balkh, where he could feel independent of the members of the tribe.[45] Timur himself led the malcontents. Husayn was deposed and killed and his wealth confiscated.[46] The ladies of his harem were divided among the amirs. Timur took to himself the widow of Husayn, Sarai Mulk Khanim,[47] who was a daughter of Qazam Khan. By this marriage Timur became related with the Khan's family and acquired the right to the title of gurkan (son-in-law) which gave

him supremacy over the other amirs. Another widow of Husayn, Sunaj Qutlugh Agha, who was a daughter of Tarmashirin Khan[48] (1326-1334), was married to Bahram Jalayir.[49] Bahram's name does not appear in the list of the amirs who took part in the conference to decide the fate of Husayn. However, he might have joined the advarsaries of Husayn in the meantime as is clear from his getting a share in the booty. Through his marriage with the daughter of Tarmashirin Khan, Bahram Jalayir, too, might have felt elevated and if not superior than equal to Timur in social status.

After the death of Tughluq Timur Khan the country of Jatta fell into disorder and Amir Kamaruddin tried to assume supreme authority but he met with oppositon from the Amirs.[50] Timur deemed it advisable to lead an expedition to Jatta. Kapak Timur, who was appointed to administer the region, turned rebellions. At this juncture Bahram Jalayir, who had been left in Tashkent because of the displeasure of Timur, arrived.[51] Amir Timur sent him, along with Amir Abbas, Khitai Bahadur and Shaikh Ali Bahadur, towards Almatu to suppress Kapak. They attacked the enemy and then arrived at a peace with them.[52] Meanwhile the discontented people of the Jalayir clan, whose fidelity Bahram had suspected, left to see Timur.[53] Timur did not approve of the peace and invaded the country in person.[54]

Thereafter Bahram Jalayir does not figure in history. After his death the leadership of the clan passed over to his son Adil Shah Jalayir. Adil Shah took part in Timur's third invasion of Jatta. When Timur, in the course of his march against Kamaruddin, reached Khojand, Adil Shah observed all the ceremonies and obeisance connected with felicitating the amir.[55] But he had really the design of taking him by surprise in the midst of the rejoicings. Timur detected the evil intentions of the conspirators and retired to his camp.[56] Later Adil Shah confessed before Timur that he together with some other man had hatched a plot against him.[57] Timur pretended as if he had not heard anything, and showed him great favour.[58] This was the time of winter and Timur did not want to invite any trouble in that season. But after the winter had passed, the other conspirators Shaikh Mohammad Bayan Salduz and Ali Darvesh Jalayir, both of whom had rebelled earlier too, were tried and put to death.

Once again Adil Shah together with Sar Bogha Jalayir rose in rebellion in 1375. Timur sent Prince Jahangir as head of the vanguard

to deal with the rebels and himself followed with a large army. The rebels after having lost the battle fled towards the deserts of Qichdaq and entered the service of Urus Khan.[59] Timur returned victorious to Samerqand where he divided the tribe of Jalayir between his amirs and thus scattered them and appointed his son Omar Shaikh governor of Andakan.[60] Barthold observes that the measure taken against the Jalayirs corresponds to the modern disbanding of a military unit.[61]

In 1376 when Timur had just come out of grief over the death of his son Jahangir, he received news that Adeil Shah was wandering about the hills of Qarajiq with a few persons. Timur despatched Barat Khwaja Kukildash and Ilchi Bogha with fifteen horsemen who found Adil Shah and his men in a place called Aq Sume[62] and put him to death.[63]

Sar Bogha Jalayir, who had rebelled along with Adil Shah and fled, now returned to the court after two years' absence. He was pardoned and entrusted with the government of his own tribe of Jalayirs.[64] In 1375 Timur had scattered the tribe of Jalayir by dividing them among his amirs. Now with the assumption of leadership of the tribe by Sar Bogha, the tribe was once again united. Barthold's statement that the Jalayirs were disbanded is, therefore, only partly true since they remained scattered only for a brief period. But their old position was shattered. In subsequent history we do not find any reference to them except when one Ahmad Jalayir is characterised as Tajik.[65] Timur regarded a Tajik as a man devoid of military valour and not dangerous to his enemies.[66]

The relationship between Amir Timur and the Jalayirs was, thus alternately that of conflict and cordiality. Timur had the ambition to become the supreme rule in Mawarannahr. The Jalayirs could not reconcile themselves to subordination and the rise of Timur to the position of the chief amir. Although they promised his support against Amir Husain, the then chief amir, they did not come forward when Timur set out to liquidate the amir. But Timur was most of the time successful in drawing support from one or the other section of the Jalayirs by his diplomatic and strategic skill.

The Jalayirs had reasons to lay claim to a similar status as that of Timur and his tribe. They were one of the four principals who had settled in Mawarannahr, Arfat, Qanclin and Barlas being the other three. Jalayirs had fought together with Timur and Husayn to liberate Mawarannahr from the Jatta ruler. Besides, like Amir Timur, the

Jalayirs also had matrimonial ties with the family of Amir Husayn and the Khan. Moreover, the Jalayirs were not the only people who rebelled against Timur. There were many attempts by the Turkish amirs at revolt.

From various instances of rebellion we can safely presume that they were directed against the concentration of power in the hands of a single amir. The revolts of the amirs, however, coluld not become effective because they were in most of the cases isolated and individual incidents. Timur successfully used the bickerings among the amirs to dislodge his opponents. He also made use of the divisions among the Jalayirs in order to weaken them. The Jalayirs, on their part, constantly struggled for an autonomous position of the tribe as against centralized authority and centralized government. On the other hand, Timur, for all practical purposes, was aspiring for an imperial position which obviously ran counter to the interests of the Jalayirs. Timur's fortifications and besides other things his patronage to the influential ulama in the main towns had shown the direction in which he was moving There was resistance to these developments from certain sections of the Timurid nobility. Of them the Jalayirs proved the most stubborn opponents of Timur. They made several attempts to create disorder and check the rise of Timur but were eventually reduced to the position of a non-entity in the new political and administrative structure under Timur.

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2. Barthold, op, cit, Vol, p, 53,
3. Ibia.
4. Ibid.
5. Barthold, *op. cit.*, Vol, I, p. 51.
6. *Ibid*, p. 54.
7. Qazaghan was a prince of the tribe of Tait. Tarikh-I-Rashidi, Eng. tr. Ross, Patna, 1973, p. 20 n. z. (Hitherfrom,
8. Barthold, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 137.
9. TR, p. 16.
10. Ibid, p. 18.
11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.
13. *Zafarnama* by Sharafuddin Yazdi, Calcutta, 1887, Vol. I, p. 49 (Hitherfrom ZN).
14. Ibid, p. 54.
15. Ibid, p. 55.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid, pp. 56-57.
19. ZN, I, p. 58; TR, p. 19.
20. TR, pp. 19-20.
21. TR, p. 22.
22. Barthold, p. cit., Vol. II, p. 17.
23. Husayn's Sister, Uljay-Turkan-agha was married to Timun.
24. Barthold, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 18.
25. ZN, Vol. I, p. 114.
26. ZN, Vol. I, pp. 114-115; HS, III/3, p. 408.
27. ZN, Vol. I, p. 115.
28. Ibid.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.* p. 117.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid*, p. 118.
33. Vlus literally means a tribe, people, nation.
34. ZN, Vol. I, p. 118.
35. *Ibid.*
36. ZN, Vol. I, p. 159.
37. Ibid. p. 160.
38. Ibid, p. 159.
39. Ibid. p. 160.
40. *Ibid*, p. 165.
41. Sar Bogha Jalayir had previously distinguished himself Timur's enemies in Kesh, ZN, I, pp. 129-130, p. 135.
42. ZN, Vo. I. p. 166.
43. *Ibid*, p. 167.
44. *Ibid*, pp. 191-192.
45. Barthold, *op. cit*,, Vol. I, p. 57.
46. ZN, Vol. I, p. 205.
47. Was niece of Amir Musa.
48. Barthold tells us that Tarmashirin became Muslim and that his conversion to Islam and his indiffer ence to popular customs aroused the discontent of the Mongols (Vol. I, 134).
49. ZN, Vol. I, p. 207.
50. TR, p. 39.
51. ZN, Vol. I, p. 227.
52. Ibid, p, 228; TR, p. 39.

53. ZN, Vol. I, p. 228.
54. TR, p. 39,
55. ZN. Vol. I, p. 258; TR p. 43.
56. ZN, Vol. I, p. 258; TR p. 43.
57. ZN, Vol. I, p. 259; TR, p. 43.
58. ZN, Vol. I, 259; TR, p. 43.
59. ZN, Vol. I, p. 264; TR, 45.
60. ZN, Vol. I, p. 264; TR, p. 45.
61. Barthold, Op. cit. Vol. I, p. 58; also Vol. II, p. 26.
62. Aqsuma is a direction postar column (mil) built on the summit of the mountains of Qarajiq, to serve as a watch tower whence one may look out over the plains of the Qibchaq. ZN, Vol. I, p. 283, TR, p. 49.
63. ZN, Vol. I, p. 283; TR, p. 49.
64. ZN, Vol. I, p. 283; TR, p. 49. ZN, Vol. I, p. 283. HS, III/3, p. 426.
65. ZN, Vol. II, p. 584.
66. Barthold, op. cit, Vol. II, p. 24.

TIMUR'S METHODS OF ADMINISTRATION

Mrs. Mansura Haider

Timur, the son of a chieftain of the Barlas tribe ascended the throne of Central Asia[1] in 1370. To establish his sway over a Mongolian Empire, he had to contend not only with his rival kinsmen of Turco-Mongol tribes but with a variety of forces eager to overthrow the Mongol regime. They included the displaced members of the former ruling dynasties associated with the Mongol regime by a system of tax farming, a strong religious group of divines (*khwajagan* and *sadat*) well entrenched in Central Asia and actively involved in politics, a militant class of tribal chiefs, a powerful Turco-Mongolian nobility frequently indulging in the making and deposing of Khans, a strong merchant class, not only monopolising the trade but also serving as the financial agents of the Mongolian ruling power and the 'insurgent' revolutionary groups of the *Sarbadars* (volunteers). Such a large number of opponents which had emerged under the later Mongol rulers, due to the indifference of the Mongols to the tasks of administration, had converted Central Asia into a Congeries of states where each 'noble or noyon aspired for kingship and each person possessing a sword became ambi-

tious.'[2] Racial rivalries and clannish prejudices[3] further divided the heterogeneous population of the Turks, Mongols, Tajiks, Arabs and others. The complex social structure both facilitated and complicated the task of Timur who moved in a calculated manner quite confident of his success and issuing tokens to those who had helped him during his earlier days, promising them an ample reward as soon as he attained power.[4]

From the very beginning of his career, Timur had been associated with the intrigues of the upper aristocracy and tribal leaders and naturally knew the antidote to any crisis. In the first place, he strengthened his position by establishing matrimonial relations. Is all, he had eighteen wives two Mughal princesses, two 'Chiness'(*Khatai*) and the rest belonging to various other tribes like Qunghrat, Taijut, Dughlat and others.[5] Timur tried to win the friendship of the leaders of *Sarbadars* and sought the help of religious divines.[6] Since the Mongols formed the bulk of his forces, Timur ensured their support by keeping a puppet Khan on the throne. Ibn-i Arab says that "the Turks forsooth have tribes and a race like the Arab tribes" and that "Timur was one of the four vizirs with whom was the hinge of evil and good since they were the eyes of the kingdoms and by their advice affairs were directed and each of these vizirs was to his own tribe a tall wick for the lamp of its counsels in the houses of its habitation."[7] The four tribes namely Arlat, Jalair, Qauchin and Barlas which were already firmly rooted in Central Asia gave wholehearted support to Timur. Being a good general and unscrupulous diplomat,[8] Timur conquered and collected the wealth but he remembered to kill the kings for they held "Sultanate by continuous succession," due to which Timur's kingdom "would lack a solid foundation."[9] Like the Ottomans, Timur also preferred to shift the paraphernalia (*ahali w mawali*) and tribal population and even saints from the conquered places to prevent the growth of rival centres of power and influence.[10]

Once he had attained power, Timur asserted in one of his letters to Bayazid, "I am the soldier of Allah, created out of His wrath to whom dominion is entrusted against those who merit His wrath,"[11] and consequently he informed the governor of Haleb "that all men were subject to his rule and that the one whom he appointed was Khalifa and Imam; that it was fitting that he himself should be the Ruler whom all other kings of the world should serve and obey."[12]

In fact Timur's expansionist policy was dictated by the constant need for booty and an ambition for occupying all trade routes and agricultural zones. Obviously, the state which he built had to be military in its orientation. Unlike Chingiz, however, he wanted not only to conquer but also to govern. A well-developed administrative machinery had existed in Central Asia earlier but the disintegration which followed the unsuccessful reign of later Mongols had obliterated every sign of it. Timur, therefore, had a difficult task to perform but he did it in a way that his dynasty could rule over the empire for a century more.

A 14th century traveller, Al Hasan, the Arab, says that Timur had prepared a code of laws for administration which, however, has not reached us. Ibn-i Arab, however, refers to a speech of Timur delivered at Siwas to a general assembly containing his general Views.[13]

The dominant groups in Timur's empire, were no more than pawns on a chess-board whom he cleverly moved in order to win the game. The ruling classes in Timur's empire comprised three groups of upper middle and lower strata.

(a) Members of the ruling family, the upper aristocracy at the centre consisting of nobles and high officials, the *noyons*, the religious groups of *Khwajagan* and *sadat*.

(b) The middle strata consisted of provincial aristocracy with nobles, officers and landed proprietors.

(c) The third group of lower aristocracy consisting of *rais*, *dehdars* (chiefs of villages) and petty officials. It cannot be stated categorically whether a land holding class also existed in lower aristocracy.

The hierarchy was always emphasised and everywhere maintained religiously. In military array, in court, in festive ceremonies, each man knew his place and position for any change (deliberately or inadvertently) could have disastrous consequences.[14]

Although a large number of officers were appointed by Timur, a system of checks and balances existed at all levels. Manz nicely sums up the situation when he says that Timur "was more eager to prevent independent action than to use his men efficiently" and that "he controlled his subordinates not by fitting them into defined places within a system but by a series of shifts and combinations which prevented them from gaining too secure a foothold."[19]

Accordingly a campaign was led by a group and not by an individual to avoid the bestowing of laurels upon one. Timur changd

his naibs (deputies) in Samarqand every time he was out. This "impermanence of appointments" was deliberate. So was the 'evenhanded attitude' of Timur towards his sons and grandsons.[16]

In the upper aristocracy the highest officer in civil affairs was the Prime Minister known as *diwan-i ala* or wazir. Apparently the two posts were synonymous, and the distinction between the *diwan* and *wazir* existing in the Ottoman empire was not found in Timur's domain. Each *diwan-i-ala* or *wazir* had a number of *diwans, ahl-i diwans* or *sahib-i diwans, mubashir, zabitan, bitakchi, navisandagan, muhassils* and others to help him.

Ibn-i Arab Shah refers to a number of officials involved in Timur's administration like the *diwans*, the *munshi* (secretary), the chief *sadr*, judges, *qazis*, and the commander-in-chief of the army. Among his *Khassan-i dargah* Arabshah mentions the names of Sulaiman Shah Qumari, Saifuddin Allahdad, Shah Malik, Shaikh Nuruddin.[17] In Samarqand, however, Ali Sher the naib was held in high esteem by Timur who consulted him in all affairs and preferred his advice on others.[18]

The entire empire was divided into provinces assigned to the members of the ruling family. The Chief units of the empire were *Wilayat, buluk* (districts) *mauza, qariya* (deh or village).[19] The rulers of the cities were called *naiban-i-shahr.*[20] The headman of the town was called *Rais*[21] and that of village a *dehdar.*

The *wilayats* were called *souyurghals* though they were hardly different from the military grants (*iqta*) of the Turks. The reference first to *souyurghal* in the sense of *iqta* is found in the state of Jalairs in the second half of the XIV century.[22] The *yirlights* with royal seal *altamgha* were issued at the time of assignment to the princes. An *ataliq, nawab* or deputy of the king was nominated "to look after and supervise the big and small administrative affairs of the province." An army and a group of *umra-i-uzzam* also were appointed to assist the prince and his *nawab* in arranging the affairs.[23] This delegation of power by Timur to his sons and nobles was to solve administrative problems, to ensure a regular *mal o kharaj* to treasury and to facilitate the maintenance of a regular army. Barthold says that the princes were more powerful than the *ataliqs* or *nawabs* as the latter could not assert much because the army was controlled by the prince.[24] Manz, however believes that though princes had a small personal army, "they did not have command over all the troops levied in their provinces.[25] A study of the

sources reveals that *souyurghal* holders were fully controlled by the centre, since their appointment a was liable to termination at any time.

The big *souyurghals* were assigned only to princes. The towns of smaller *souyurghals* could be assigned to the nobles also by Timur personally.[26] In all the big and small *souyurghals* both civil and military officers were appointed by Timur. His governors had "elastic powers.'[27] But even the princes were tried, and punished ruthlessly for faults.[28] The nobles were given such *souyurghals* as were usually far away from their native places so as to rule out local influence. The governorship, *niyabat* of a province or town, was transferable.[29] After the death of a governor, his successor, be he a son, was appointed by Timur himself.[30]

In addition to the *souyurghal* holder, and *naib*, a *darugha* was also appointed in the provinces for the maintenance of law and order, supervision of public works and for the collection of taxes.[31] Jean Aubin's view that the governor of a province might be called either *hakim* or *daruqha*[32] can be true of the rulers of small places only. Since there is no mention of *darugha* in connection with extortion, it seems that they were nat directly dealing with finance or collection of revenue. Man'z view that *darugha*'s presence in his jurisdiction was not necessary simply because certain officers appointed as *darugha* are later on described as participating in the campaigns of Timur leads to two inferences. First, that the posts were frequently transferred from one person to another and the *darugha*'s term might end before his joining the campaign. Secondly, that the *darugha* was the perfect of a town and the commander of the forces and this necessitated his presence in the campaigns.

Arab Shah categorically says that the rulers of the provinces and the governors "stayed on the thresholds of servitude and slavery."[33] Promotions were not easily granted.[34] Timur had a network of spies outside and inside the empire.[35] *Souyurghals* were assigned either in lieu of salary or as gift to the nobels but such *Inam* grants were few.

It seems that Timur maintained close contact with people by constantly touring his empire meeting the officers and discussing personalities.[36]

Ibn-i Arab, Yazdi and Khwadmir state that during Timur's stay in Eligan, the dignitaries (*ashraf o ayan*) of Iran and Turan visited him to congratulate him on his victory against Ottomans. During this meeting Timur did not want to confine his general discussions instead he enqui-

red from the learned men about the situation in their respective *wilayats* and about the financial states (*Kafiyat-i-maishat*) of their *hakims* and *darughas*. Consequently, each one of them told Timur about condition in their territories. Timur immediately appointed a group of learned scholars (*ashab-i-darso fatwa*) along with honest *amirs* and a set of two persons was sent to the different corners of the empire to investigate the affairs of *hakims* (governors) and *ummals* (revenue collectors) and punish the guilty officers and repay the victims of undue extortion from treasury.[37] At another time, Timr happened to be near Murghab when the *re'aya* (peasantry) of that place complained against their *darugha* Chechaktu Abaq. Immediately, he ordered that the culprit should be killed.[38] Timur was approached even by the petty officers of the empire.[39] The nobles also saw the king to discuss with him the problems concerning their territory.[40] On certain days "Timur gave secret audience for affairs of his state and took advice for matters of importance which were decided daily in his presence.". The final court of appeal was Timur himself. Three times a week open justice unto meanest in his Imperial majesty."[41] Usually Timur administered justice in public "clad in a red robe". All the three departments of justice were supervised by him and all the decisions were certified by him.[42]

Hafiz Abru says that the *souyurghal*, *Inam*, *Iqta*, pensions of the deserving and grants of the members of the royal family, nobility, officers, religious groups, military and servants were all fixed personally by Timur. Annexation or assignment was ordered only by him and was confirmed by his signatures. Once Timur noticed that the *amirs* and noyons were becoming richer due to increasing booty and surplus revenue. He decided to balance the amount by increasing the number of their army. In a big assembly which was attended by all the high and low military official and noyons, he ordered fresh undertakings to the effect that the additional fixed number of soldiers should immediately be recruited and brought at *arzgah* at the appointed time.[43]

Timur personally "checked the accounts quarterly and within one hour all the ordinary and extra-ordinary expenses."[44] Timur appointed his own nominees for collection of revenue from various places.[45] It seems that the regular checking of provincial revenue was also done. Once the clerks brought arrears lying against Aidku to the notice of the Khan. The matter was investigated by the *diwan-i ala*.

Since Aidku was the son-in-law of Timur's cousin, she interfered and after the payment of 100 tuman-i kepeki to the royal treasury, Kirman was reassigned to Aidku.[46]

Like the *wazirs* in the Ottoman Empire, Timur's *wazirs* were also exposed to severe punishments. We have the example of Ismail who had to beg from people at the palace daily and whatever he acquired was not more than the *kharj-i-muhassilan*.[47] Contemporary accounts are full of such examples of deterrent punishment. clavigo says that Timur's ambassadors and officers were quite a terror for the population, that villagers "knowing of their arrival forthwith take to flight with all speed as though devil is after them. Merchants close their shutters taking to flight. As they go they will call out to one another *elchi* for wtih the arrival of ambassadors they know that a black-day is on them ..those men always behave thus ..for they boast that in carrying out the commamds of their lord Timur they may press to his service even to kill and any for none may oppose them a marvel to note how throughout the countryside everyone lived in terror of these messengers.[48]

Clavijo noticed how brutally the 'Tartars' treated the Persian peasants. The guides and various officers from the court sent to meet and conduct the ambassadors everywhere enforced their demands with the whip and a shower of blows.[49] At Ferricor, a large town, Clavijo saw that the inhabitants had run away due to the mistrust of the soldiers of Timur's army and that it was now about 12 days since he and his Tartar hordes had passed through this place where in truth very visibly the troops had wrought much havoc.[50]

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14. Even in marriage ceremony in 807 at Kan-i gul, the main pandal which could accommodate 10-12 thousand people was reserved mainly for the princes, sadat, noyons, qazis and others in the upper aristocracy (*akabir wayan*), whereas the provincial nobility and the gentry were to sit outside at an arrow's distance from the pandal. In battle array also, the *muchulka* was demanded in advance stating the place of each and to ensure that none changes his station. Even the places of meat and bread sellers were fixed by Timur who personally enquired their welfare and gave them *dastmuzdi* (labour fee?) (H. Siyar, 528); *Ibn-i Arab.* Pers. tr. 280.
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INDIANS AND COTTON LEGISLATION IN UGANDA (1918-37)

Kauleshwar Rai

The apathetic attitude of the British government towards Indian cotton manufacturers created a crisis in the cotton industry in Uganda. These enterprising people had penetrated deep into the savannah, the forest and swamp, visiting the homesteads of the peasants, irrespective of risks arising from disease, lack of police protection, traces of cannibalism and the primitiveness of the country. Prior to 1904 experiments in the production of cotton had only been made on a very small and purely tentative scale. In 1904 Messrs Linton & Brand reported that the development of the richest districts of Uganda depended on the introduction of Indian farmers for cotton cultivation,[1] because Europeans were disinclined to settle in the cotton districts on account of lack of capital, unhealthiness of the climate, and the difficulties relating to labour and marketing. But gradually the natives and Europeans began to show an increasing interest in cotton cultivation. Big European cotton farms were established and its wholesale trade fell in their hands.

At the end of the world war I the cotton industry in Uganda was in a state of arrested growth owing to heavy rains and various epidemics.[2] By this time a most interesting feature in the development of the industy was the increasing importance of the Indian merchants, who seemed likely to become the dominant factor in the cotton trade. The great bulk of cotton which they bought was shipped to Bombay, where there

was an increasing demand, while Japan was a ready buyer of any surplus from the Bombay market.

This state of affairs became intolerable to the protectorate government and it passed the Uganda Cotton Rules in 1918 in such a fashion as to exclude Indians from the cotton trade. The application of the cotton rules hit hard the cotton firm of Messrs. Narandas Rajram & Co., Bombay,[3] in particular, and was harmful to the interests of Indian traders in general. These rules prescribed certain norms for buying unginned cotton. A license was required to buy cotton as well as to establish ginneries and buying posts. The district commissioner was given discretion to refuse license on certain grounds. The Uganda government passed orders to the district commissioners not to issue buying licenses within a five-mile radius of existing ginneries. It gave a sort of buying monopoly and artificial protection to the smaller ginneries in the interior a good many of which were owend by European British subjects. It cut off supplies to the bigger ginneries at the ports, viz., Jinja and Kampala, which were owned by British Indian subjects and a French firm.

It might be mentioned here that Indians were the first to introduce Uganda cotton to Indian mills in 1914 and since then they had been able to popularise the use of Uganda cotton with Indian mills for spinning finer fibres. The increased imports of Uganda cotton to Bombay had in their turn brought about a remarkable increase in Indian trade and in Indian owned ginneries in Uganda. Indians had grave apprehension that the five-mile radius monopoly favouring smaller ginneries in the interior districts would seriously handicap Indian trade and Indian ginneries, which were mostly clustered at ports, by cutting off their supplies.

The most curious part of it all was that the order was passed on medical grounds under the heading 'The Prevention of Diseases Ordinance' of 15 February 1919. Nowhere in the world was cotton seed treated as a special plague carrier and there was no earthly reason why transport of seed cotton from one part to another on the Lake Victoria Nyanza only should be prohibited on so-called medical grounds, while seed cotton could be brought from one place to another by land and shipped from the Lake Kioga and other lakes.

The cotton trade in Uganda was in Indian hands, and ginning constituted nearly 90% of the industrial output of Uganda. In 1920 out fo 119 ginneries, Indians owned 32, In 1927 on less than 125 out of 189

ginneries belonged to them.[4] But owing to the operation of cotton legislations of 1918 and 1919, which favoured the Lancashire cotton interests, Indians engaged in cotton trade suffered a lot.[5]

The antagonism of Lancashire cotton magnates to Indian traders stemmed from two causes. The competition from Indian traders not only pushed up the price of cotton but also meant that the amount available for Lancashire was considerably diminished. Further, the export of long staple cotton from East Africa to India was likely to lead to the production of fine fibres and fabrics in India itself which was calculated to adversely affect the Indian market for Lancashire piece goods. In fact the shorter distance to East Africa and the protection afforded by the tariff were certain to tilt the scales heavily in favour of Indian manufactures. Uganda cotton was becoming more and more popular in India as was evident from the increasing volume of its export to India. The value of exported cotton rose from Rs. 96 lakhs in 1922-23 to Rs. 207 lakhs in 1923-24.[6]

In order to discourage the Indian cotton trade in Uganda the policy of free trade was abandoned, close control on the industry was established and restrictions on Indian middlemen began to be imposed. The enactment of the Cotton Ordinance of 1926 embodied all the restrictive measures taken up to that year. The first successful attempt to establish exclusive European control over the cotton trade was made in Buganda in 1928, when the ginners formed the Buganda Seed Cotton Buying & Ginning Association to bny cotton direct from the grower and to gin it in their own ginneries. Oviously, it was aimed at the exclusion of Indian middlemen from the cotton industry.[7]

In order to protect their interests the Indian middlemen formed a Free Traders' Union of Uganda at a conference at Jinja in September 1928. They also drew the attention of the government to their disadvantages. They contended that the formation of Buganda Seed Cotton Buyiny and Ginning Association had resulted in the passing of the cotton transport into the hands of about 70 ginners and throwing out of a large number of native and Indian transport workers. It had also deprived hundreds of native clerks and labourers of their jobs. The African peasants were naturally alarmed. Protective organizations of natives sprang up in Buganda and Busoga.

The government was perturbed that cotton cultivation would receive a set-back. No immediate steps were, however, taken. The Free

Traders' Union of Indians suggested some measures to ease the situation, such as abolition of Buganda Association of Europeans, a minimum price for cotton. erection of ginneries in suitable districts by the government, etc. They also asked for a Royal Commission to enquire into the effects of the activities of the Buganda Association on the cotton situation. A deputation of the Free Traders' Union of Indians waited upon the Chief Secretary to the government of the protectorate in December 1928 but failed to obtain any satisfactory assurance from it.[8]

Formation of European syndicates on the lines of Buganda Buying Ginning Association all over the Protectorate in 1929 evoked strong protest from African peasantry. The marketing of cotton was consequently held up for a prolonged period in certain areas. The government at last had to accept the suggestion of the Free Traders' Union to appoint a commission of enquiry. Accordingly Uganda prices Enquiry Commission was appointed which examined the problems relating to cotton trade in 1929.[9]

The Uganda Prices Enquiry commission found that cotton prices paid to the grower had been badly affected by the formation of combines.[10] Therefore, supporting the Free Traders Union's proposal, it recommended that government should fix minimum prices for growers.[11] But it did not favour the suppression of the cotton buying and ginning syndicates. Instead it wanted them to be encouraged and assisted. In regard to Indian middlemen it adopted a distinctly hostile attitude and stated that they should be reduced to the position of agents and wage-earners.

Accordingly the government proceeded at once to take measures for the encouragement of syndicates, for fixing the minimum price of cotton and for restricting the activities of middlemen. In 1933 the Cotton Zone Ordinance was passed which favoured the European ginneries. The Indian middlemen again raised a storm of protest. But they were carrying on a losing fight.[12]

Representations from Indians continued to be made against the unreasonably exorbitant ginning fees fixed by the Cotton Zone Ordinance. A memorandum on the issue was submitted to K.P.S. Menon, the Indian governments delegate to Zanzibar, who had gone on a visit to Uganda in 1934. In 1935 the middlemen made a strong representation to the Uganda government demanding reasonable fee for ginning. Following the representation a Committee of Enquiry was appointed in

1936 to examine the cotton question in the Protectorate. It was appointed on the demand of the middlemen but it had no representation from among them. On the contrary, six owners of ginneries were appointed non-official members of the committee. Manibhai Vias and Pirbhai Lalji were allowed to speak before the committee on the maximum ginning charge, but their statements were scarcely heard and hardly recorded. The middlemen were naturally critical of the manner in which the committee was appointed and functioned.[13]

The report of the committee came as a shock to the middlemen. They were neither to be kept informed of the formula for the minimum price to be paid to the growers nor to be given representation on the Price Fixation Committee. But the most shocking aspect of the enquiry was the consistently hostile and discourteous attitude of the Chairman of the committee, the Director of Agriculture. He maintained that the interests of the middlemen were negligible and deserved no consideration. He regarded the middlemen buyers as completely redundant.[14]

Undoubtedly the proceedings of the Committe of Enquiry were vitiated by the high handedness of the Chairman who was already committed to anti-middlemen views. His recommendations and observations with regard to middlemen were not only disappointing but offensively derisive. As the whole commercial life of Uganda was built on the cornerstone of cotton, the middlemen in the trade, if eliminated, would have been thrown out of employment. Other trades were not open to them on account of restrictive marketing and traffic legislation. Feelings naturally ran high among Indians, as also among the natives, Cases of demonstration and resort to direct action against such exploitative laws were often reported.[15]

In the circumstances it was not surprising that in the spring of 1937 middlemen, traders, African growers and transport workers combined and founded the Middlemen and Cotton Growers Society Ltd. The Society approached the government with a charter of demands which sought consideration of the middlemen's position, a standardised ginning rate, a ginning site for the Society and permission for the natives to function as marketers of lint. The government flatly refused to concede the demands. Further representations were made in vain in November 1937. In fact the Protectorate government deliberately followed a policy of squeezing out Indian middlemen from the cotton industry of Uganda.[16]

Most of the people affected were Indian immigrants from Khaira and Surat districts of Gujarat. There had been continuous emigration from these districts to Uganda in every cotton season. They were trying to seek employment as cotton buyers, engineers, fitters, administrative workers and produce commission agents. Uganda had infinite possibilities for small Indian skilled artisans, middlemen traders and small farmers. But the government of the Protectorate pursued such an economic policy as tended to exclude Indian immigrants from all economic opportunities.

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SECTION V

HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, NUMISMATICS AND EPIGRAPHY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

B. R. Gopal

Jnananandamayam devam nirmalasphatikakritim
adharam sarvavidyanam Hayagrivam upasmahe
Namah sadase

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates,

The authorities of the Indian History Congress have placed upon me a great responsibility by electing me President of this Section—the so-called Section Five—of the XXXVIII Session being held in this historic city of Bhuvaneshwar. I deem it a great honour done to me. Last year, at Calicut, my predecessor who had been similarly honoured, had, somehow, expressed a doubt about the continuance of this, then five year old, section though he hoped that it would not be so. In the light of this when a few months thereafter, I received a communication from the Secretary of the Indian History Congress, I could not believe myself, for, far from closing down, the authorities had strengthened it by including the specialized fields of Historical Archaeology and Numismatics to Epigraphy. Thus, today, this is an enlarged section. How far I am worthy of this honour I do not know. Yet, I feel that it is a recognition of the humble service I have rendered in the field of Epigraphy. I take this opportunity to thank the authorities of the Indian History Congress for this. I endeavour in my humble way to discharge the responsibility and prove worthy of the confidence they have reposed in me. It is but proper here to express my gratitude to the authorities of the Mysore University and to Dr. H.M. Nayak, Director, Institute of Kannada Studies who have entrusted upon me the task of revising and reprinting the volumes *Epigraphia Carnatica*, which work is in no small measure responsible for this honour.

I should here remember with reverence those giants in the field of epigraphical research, Sri N. Lakshminarayana Rao, Dr. D.C. Sircar. Sri H. K. Narasimhaswamy and late Dr. P. B. Desai who not only introduced me to epigraphical studies but constantly encouraged and goaded me to dive deeper into the vast ocean of knowledge that epigraphy has been. If today I have stood before you, it is because of their loving care, and also the patronage I received from the Archaeo-

logical Survey of India for almost a decade. My association with the teaching of History and Archaeology in the two Universities—Karnatak and Mysore—for more than a decade has led me to newer fields. With this august assembly of scholars I share my thoughts about these fields of knowledge. I crave your indulgence for a few minutes. I would be happy if my loud thinking sets you to muse over the matter and further the cause of studies in these fields.

The importance of these subjects of study is too well known to be repeated here. They offer the basic source-materials for the reconstruction of our history.

Historical Archaeology may be defined as a study of the material remains of the society from the beginning of the historical period. Its study could thus commence from Buddha and Mahavira in so far as North India is concerned and from the time of Mauryan rule in the South. The scope of this subject would thus be quite vast. When we say material remains, coins would, strictly speaking, become a part of Historical Archaeology. But the study of coins—Numismatics—has now grown to be an independent science by itself, if I may be permitted to say so. Epigraphs cannot be strictly regarded as material remains. They are verbal remains and are to be treated as documents and so they cannot be a part of Historical Archaeology. But what about monuments ? Yes, monuments, being material remains, become subjects of study under Historical Archaeology. They are no doubt studied under Art and Architecture. But in re-constructing the history of human ideas, religious and aesthetic, a study of monuments would be of great help.

Much work has no doubt been done in this field. Quite a number of sites of historical importance have come under the archaeologist's spade—Lauriya Nandangarh, Patna and Rajgir in Bihar, Mathura, Piprahwa, Vaisali, Kusinagara. Sarnath, Ahichchhatra, Kausami etc. in U. P., Ujjain and Eran in M. P., Bairat, Sambhar and Nagari in Rajasthan, Dwaraka, Bharukachchha, Lisukheda in Gujarat, Brahmapuri, Nasik, Ter in Maharashtra, Amaravati, Nagarjunikonda, Gudimallam, Salihundam, Dharanikota, Peddabankur and Gazulabanda in Andhra Pradesh, Sisupalgarh and Ratnagiri in Orissa, Arikamedu, Kanchipuram, Kaveripattinam and Uraiyur in Tamil Nadu, Banavasi and Vadagaon-Madhavapur, Chandravalli, Brahmagiri and Maski. in Karnataka. The *Indian Archaeological Reviews* published by the Archaeological Survey of India give us some idea about the important

and interesting discoveries made in the sites noted above as also others. However, we are not in a position to get greater details for want of Reports of Excavations of many such sites which have not been published as yet. It is indeed gratifying to note that several State Departments of Archaeology as also the University Departments of Ancient Indian History are stepping up archaeological studies through teaching and field work.

Shri Vijayakanta Mishra, the Superintending Archaeologist of the Mid-Southern Circle, Bangalore told me that in course of some clearance work done at Vaisali he fell upon several paintings as also an inscription. These paintings are as yet to be studied and published by him. At Aihole in Karnataka similar clearance work has brought to light another apsidal structure, besides the Durga temple. These and the remnants of two such at Banavasi would make one feel that it is probably not necessary to associate such of them with Buddhism. It could as well be stated that in these places of Karnataka experiments were being made to evolve such a style.

Another site in Karnataka is Vadagaon—Madhavapur, a suburb of Belgaum. The Department of Ancient Indian History and the Kannada Research Institute of the Karnatak University have been excavating the site here from 1972. A Brahmi inscription of circa 1st century B.C., found here as early as 1945, had revealed the prevalence of Vedic religion in this region. In 1964 lead coins were found here. One of them bore the name of *Siri Satakarni*, a Satavahana king. These led to the excavation of the site. Six brick structures and four circular wells have till now been noticed. The excavation has shed interesting light on the life pattern of the people of this region from 2nd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D., when the rural culture steadily developed into an urban stage. The remnants of the exposed structures are civilian as also religious suggesting the architectural achievements of the township. The coins, beads, pottery and terracotta figures suggest trade contacts with neighbouring regions.

At Banavasi, one of the ancient cities of Karnataka, excavations were conducated for four seasons more than six years ago under the auspices of the Department of Ancient History of the Mysore University, headed by the late Dr. M. Seshadri, Unfortunately, reports on these excavations have not been published and hence the scholars are not in a position to know details.

I may be permitted to state that the value of such excavations would be lost if the reports are not published. Since these excavations are conducted with the permission of the Archaeological Survey of India, it would be in the interest of knowledge that the permitting authorities also lay down a condition that the reports must be published within a reasonable time.

Sannati, in Gulbarga district of Karnataka, is a very promising Buddhist site. Several surface finds, of terracottas, sculptures etc clearly associate them with Satavahana or probably even pre-Satavahana period. Exploration by the State Department of Archaeology at Mahagaon, Hanganahallihal, Hirenandur and other sites near by has yielded glazed ceramic sherds, beads, etc., akin to the ones found at Sannati. At Jewargi and Anbi limestone schist slabs bearing carvings, in three panels, of the *chaitya* arch, the donor couple with attendants and the bullock cart and bulls, are found. Some of them bear inscriptions in Brahmi Late Dr. P.B. Desai published a note on the finds at Sannati, almost 6 years ago, in the pages of the *Karanatak University Journal*. The present Director of Archaeology in Katnataka has explored the region. But the site as such is still awaiting the spade of the archaeologist'.

Dr. Margabandhu, now at Baroda, undertook a study of the early historic life of the people, specially of South India, based on the material remains found at sites like Naga junikonda, Amaravati, Banavasi, Kaveripattinam etc. But his thesis is yet to be published.

With the help of a U.G.C. grant, Dr. A Sundara of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy of the Karnatak University has undertaken a survey of the rock paintings and bruisings of North Karnataka. He has discovered rock paintings at Badami and Aihole. Those at Aihole located close to the edge of the megalithic site on the hill-plateau consist of geometrical designs in red ochre. These may be associated with the megalithic culture. But, the one at Badami is definitely of the early Chalukya period. It has a thin carrier of lime on which are found the drawings of three persons approaching a person of importance who is found seated. Some interesting sculptures and even temples are noticed by him. A seated, two winged Durga holding sword and shield, with an owl beside her, zooanthropomarphic figure of Nagaraja, one with four hands and another, found at Huyilgol, with two hands holding lotuses are noteworthy.

No temples of prominently Rashtrakuta style have survived in Karnataka. But now the Directorate of Archaeology of the State has brought to light two representative Rashtrakuta temples at Sirival, near Malkhed, the Rashtrakuta capital. It is stated that these temples represent the fusion of Rashtrakuta and Pallava art. One of the pillars found nearby has a lion motif at the base, a much coveted sign of the Pallavas.

Dr. P. Gururaja Bhatt has carried out extensive survey of Jaina monuments and sculptures in North Karnataka with the help of a grant from the Jnanapitha.

The archaeology of the medieval period has not attracted the attention it deserves. The standing monuments and the abundant literary works provide good deal of information about the life and culture of the people—a probable reason for neglect. Yet, of late, some work is done in this field also. Recent excavations at Golconda, Champaner and Purana Qila at Delhi have brought to light a good number of structures pertaining to the Qutb Shahis, the Sultans of Gujarat and the rulers of the Sultanate and Mughul period. The excavations at Golconda, undertaken by the Archaeological Department of Andhra Pradesh, have brought to light a mosque with three arched openings, a part of a palace complex, residential quarters and guard rooms. At Champaner, the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology of the University of Baroda has unearthed the complete street plan and habitation pattern of the site with interesting details of office buildings, palaces, mosques and the like. The excavation of the Purana Qila has shown the cultural sequence down to the Mughal period. The Rajput period was represented by five structural phases, one of them showing floors with ovens. Sherds of glazed ware, earthern lamps, pieces of Chinese porcelain and a few coins are of the Mughal period.

The Mid-Southern circle of the Archaeological Survey of India headed by Shri S.R. Rao has conducted some trial excavations at Halebid and Hampi. In the latter place Shri Rao is reported to have discovered a sculpture identified by him as that of Purandaradasa, a saint of the period of Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara.

It may be noted that there is a great need to study in detail the Islamic monuments. It would be welcome if the Archaeological Survey of India establishes a separate wing for the study of such medieval

Monuments like mosques, tombs, madarasas, etc. which are slowly being destroyed by natural as well as human forces.

About three years ago, Shri S. R. Rao conducted some sort of trial excavation at Srirangapattana which was the earlier capital of the Wodeyars of Mysore. It revealed remnants of an old palace (?) building. But the details are not forthcoming and perhaps the work was not continued there.

I have already said that in a sense, as material remains, the study of coins also should come under Historical Archaeology. But from the days of Col. Tod who in 1824 published a paper dealing with Greek, Parthian and Roman coins, a host of scholars like Wilson, Cunningham, Vincent Smith, John Allan, Whitehead, Bhagavanlal Indraji, R. G. Bhandarkar, A.S. Altekar, Paramesvarilal Gupta, V.V. Mirashi, A. K. Narain, A. N. Lahri, D. C. Sircar K. D.Bajpai and others have evinced great interest in numismatic studies, and made noteworthy contributions. The founding of the Numismatic Society of India is a great step and through its Journal several hoards of coins have come to light. Our knowledge has been greatly enriched. It is for this reason and also probably due to the fact that there were no numismatists in the Survey, that the Archaeological Survey did not evince greater interest in numismatic studies. However, a good number of coins are stored in the circle offices and also the several museums in the country; a descriptive catalogue of these coins would be of great help in reconstructing more specially the socio-religious and economic history. Dr. D.C. Sircar started listing coins in the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy.* Coins preserved in the office of then Govt. Epigraphist for India were thus noticed in those Reports for 7 years from 1957-58 to 1963-64, whereafter it has been discontinued. But, recently, the Archaeological Survey has come forward to offer greater service. An officer has been now appointed in the office of the Chief Epigraphist to the Govt. of India, specially for Numismatics. Since the legends on the coins are to be correctly deciphered and interpreted it would fall in the periphery of Epigraphy also. It is hoped that this would facilitate publication of papers connected with Numismatics, in greater numbers, in the volumes of *Epigraphic Indica.* In would be welcome if catalogues of coins preserved and collected afresh in the several circle offices are separately published at least in the form of Memoirs.

I must here refer to the *Bibliography of Indian Coins* published by Shri N.R. Singhal, in two parts, which gives a summary of all papers on Indian Numismatics down to 1950. Coins from South India have not received that much of attention of scholars as those of Notrh India. There are very few books worthy of mention dealing with the coins of South India. *Coins of Karnataka* by Dr. A.V. Narasimha Murthy of the Mysore University is a welcome book under the circumstances. The coins of several ruling dynasties of Karnataka noticed in the *Mysore Archaeological Reports* have been collected and reported in a chronological and dynastic order. This would be a useful book for students of Numismatics. Two other works also deserve to be mentioned here. One is the *Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies* by Dr. D.C. Sircar and the other *Second Supplementary Catalogue of Coins*, Vol. I, by Shri S.P. Basu both of them published by the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in March and July of this year.

Coins are discovered quite often in course of explorations or excavations. I have already referred to the discovery of lead coins, in 1964 referring to Siri Satakarni. The trenches dug out in the site at Vadagaon-Madhavapur have yielded a good number of coins. From and near the brick structures excavated more than 100 coins, punch-marked and potin, belonging to the pre-Satavahana and Satavahana periods have been collected. The punch-marked coins are of thin sheets of base silver or silver coated copper with symbols like that of Sun, punched on them. They are square, rectangular or polygonal, resembling similar ones found in North India from the 4th century B.C. onwards and in the South between 2nd century B.C. and 2nd century A.D. Potin coins contain symbols like the hill with river, tree within railing, bow and arrow etc. on one side and bow and arrow on another side with legends like *Vasithiputasa* or *Maharathisa*, around in a few cases.

The Director of Archaeology of Karnataka has reported the discovery of 46 gold coins in Dharwar district, belonging to the Roman emperors. Hidden in a pot they were discovered while ploughing a field at Akki Alur. Thay are said to belong to Augustus (29 B.C.—14 A D.) Antonius, Pius (138-161 A.D.) Theodosius II (408-450 A D,), Marcian (450-457 A.D.), Leo I (457-474) Zeno, (474-491 A.D.), Anastasius (491-518 A.D.) and Justinius I (518-527 A.D.). In view of the

fact that very few coins of the later Roman rulers are found in South India, this discovery assumes importance. Struck at Constantinople, these indicate a new era of trade contact with the Roman world during the 5th-6th centuries A.D.

I now come to epigraphical studies. A bulk of epigraphs are brought to light year by year by the Epigraphical branch of the Archeological Survey of India. Before I notice here some important inscriptions brought to light in the last two years, I wish to record here what Sri S. R. Rao has to say about the Indus script. He delivered a series of lectures in several Universities in the U. S. A. in October last. I quote from his letter to me in this regard.

It is gratifying to record here that besides Indian scholars several experts in ancient scripts and languages from Germany and U.S.A. have endorsed the methodology of my decipherment and identification of the language of Indus seals as pre-Vedic Sanskrit. For example, Prof. Ignace J Gelb, the decipherer of Hittite Hieroglyphs observed (that) . Rao's identification of the consonantal signs and the vowel-indicators in the Indus Script, which is crucial to decipherment, is convincing." He added that "the language appears to be Indo-European, which may not be surprising when we think of a parallel in the decipherment of Linear B." Prof. Barry Fell, former Harvard Professor and W. de Grummond also hold this view. The acceptance of the Indus language as Indo-European were discussed by epigraphists, Sumerologists and linguists. Within any linguistic group, it was conceded, there is often a diversity of racial types. The ethnic affinities of the Harappans in the Indus Valley and Gujarat show that the physical types include those labelled as Aryan in Iran and Caucus regions. The pre-Vedic Sanskrit-speaking Harappans must have been, considered *mrtdhravacah* by the Vedic Aryans since archaic Sanskrit spoken by the former was deemed an imperfect language. There must have been other ethnic groups too, speaking this or some other language, but the dominant language as reflected in the seals belongs to the Indo-European (Sanskrit) family. It may be relevant to note here that P.r (Puru) and D.rh (Druhu) mentioned as 'Protectors' in Indus seals may be the same as the Purus and Drahyus mentioned in the Rigveda and the former considered as *mridhravachah*. Anthropologist Chanda thinks that these two (the Purus and Druhus) belonged to the Alpine group

and got mixed up with the Nordics. We have also evidence of Alpine type in Indus cities. The rituals observed by the Harappan population at Lothal and Kalibangan *viz.*, fire worship and animal sacrifice are not different from those of Vedic Aryans.

Coming back to the question of the evolution of the Indus script over a thousand years (2400-1300 B.C.), we have now clear evidence from Mohenjodaro itself, where, by 1900 B C, almost all the pictures such as the pipal leaf, bird, insect, hill etc. were dropped and only linear (called cursive by Gelb) are retained Twenty seals from Dale's excavation lend ample support to my view that in the Late Harappan times the Indus script had been simplified into an alphabetic system comprising only 20 or 21 signs as against the earlier syllabary consisting of pictures and cursive and linear signs numbering about 59 (sixty if stray ones are included)."

Sri Rao has "also examined the question of Indus language being Sumerian or Dravidian. Since it is an inflexional language with case-endings clearly indicated therein it is not agglutinative and therefore not Sumerian. The reasons for precluding Dravidian have been mentioned earlier. The presence of conjunct consonants and use of multiple consonant groups at the beginning of words. the presence of signs for distinguishing the voiced and voiceless stops in Indus script besides the use of separate signs for numerals may be noted here.

Recently Fairservis has come out with a theory that the Indus language was Dravidian. He considers the so-called 'comb' sign as representing the status of an individual and reads an inscription as *aya piranti tiru.* What is essential to note here is the failure to distinguish between signs with varying number of strokes and between compound and basic signs even in giving a word—value. Hence the arguments advanced in favour of Dravidian are not convincing especially because the very methodology of analysing and assigning word-value is defective.

I have examined the basic concepts of the Harappans as made known to us from the readings of the seals. The concepts of a Supreme God in addition to other gods, the concept of Cosmic and moral order, the division of Universe, Time etc. into three, (*Rta*), three-fold division of man's qualities (*Trda*) and concretisation of nature's qualities and applying them to God and Ruler, are common to the Harappans and the Rigvedic people. The Harappans considered the ruler,

whose names are also mentioned on seals, as benevolent (*bhaga*), able (*dáksha*), auspicious (*bhadra*), eminent (*sada*), powerful (*saka*), manly (*vrsha*), friend (*oma*) protector (*pa, trata*) etc.

The seals mention names such as Gara, Atr (Atri), Sasa (an Atreya) and Baka, as also certain territories. The occurrence of names Saka= son or descendant of Saka, Baka=s/o Baka, Gara=s/o Gara, Mana= s/o Mana etc reminds us of similiar patronymics in the Rigveda. These and other evidences adduced by me earlier will, I hope, convince the scholars that Indian language was mainly pre—Vedic sanskrit."

I now deal with recent discoveries.

Maurya Ashoka seems to have taken to the practice of presenting himself before epigraphists and historians through his edicts found in one cornor or another of his vast empire almost every year. A new version of his I Minor Rock Edict was found at Panguraria, in Madhya Pradesh. The introductory part of this is comparable with the ones at Brahmagiri, Siddapura, and Jatinga Ramesvara. Here he is found addressing Kumara [Samva ?] in the course of his pilgrimage to U (O) punitha—vihara in Manemadesa. We know that he had placed his princes at Tosali in Orissa, Ujjayini in Madhya Pradesh and Takshsaila, besides the one at Suvarnagiri in Karnataka. The present record shows that yet another Kumara had been stationed near Panguraria.

This year, about two months back, two more versions of minor edicts of Asoka have been discovered at Nittur in Bellary District of Karnataka. Controversies whipped up in the Newspapers about the claim of this discovery apart, these edicts themselves are interesting because of the fact that both of them add to the list of a small number of edicts mentioning the king by name as Asoka. Of the four that so mention the name, there are from Karnataka. I had an opportunity of making a cursory study of the estampages of the edicts copied by the Department of Ancient Indian history of Karnatak University. One of them is almost a copy of the Koppal edicts. The present edict. concludes with the expression *Asoka aha tatheti.* The other one is almost a copy of the second part of the Brahamgiri edict. Exposed to weather through hundreds of years, considerable portions of the edicts are worn out thus presenting difficulties in getting a correct and complete text. A faulty text of this is published in the latest issue of *Karnataka Bharati*, the Kannada Quarterly of Karnatak University. A critical study of

the edicts is being published in *Epigraphia Indica* by the Chief Epigraphist.

At Kankali Tila in Uttara Pradesh was discovered a Brahmi record, in mixed dialect, belonging to the rule of *maharaja*, *rajatiraja* Kanishka and dated the year 5, *grishma* 4, 10th day. It states that the stone is a gift of Visakhamita, wife of Vesuka, daughter-in-law of Krishnabala and daughter of Budhila of Nirvargga community belonging to Kottiyagana, Brahmadasiya-Kula and (Jachivaghrita)-sakha.

Sri M. N. Katti, Dy. Superintending Archaeologist of the Southern Circle, at Madras. has noticed an inscription of Kanishka inscribed on a pillar lying unnoticed for decades in the precincts of the circle office at Agra. This record in Brahmi, is in Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit. It records the setting up of the pillar by a *bhikshu* and registers some gift. A person belonging to (Ri)shtisenasa-gotra is one of the recipients of the gift. The details are lost. The record is important because it is dated the 16th regnal year ofKanishka I, which is the highest regnal year of this king, not known hitherto. It is also the first record of the king to be found on a votive pillar.

At Hampi, the famous capital of Vijayanagara, have been found two early records which push back the antiquity of this medieval city by several ceuturies. One of them found near the site called *mahanavami dibba* is in Brahmi characters of c. 1-2nd cent. A.D. It refers to a *danam* But the detaiis are lost. Yet another record is in Kannada and belongs to the period of the Chalukyas of Kalyana.

A sanskrit record in Siddhamatrika characters of 7th-8th century A.D., discovered at Nalanda, introduces a hitherto unknown ruling family of Brahma-kshatriya community. It records the installation of an immage of Buddha by Prathamasiva or Purnavarma son of Bhasiva and probably a yunger brother of Rahila. *Sandhivigrahi* Durgadatta, described as having obtained the position of *Maharaja*, composed the record which was engraved by Madhava, son of Nagara-sutradhara Vamana.

A good number of copper plate grants have come to light in these two years. Two of them are discovered by the Tamil Nadu Department of Archeology. One set belongs to the reign of the Pallava king Aparajita. It is stated therein that he was the son of Kampavarman through princes Vijaya. The king is said to be a devotee of lord Subrahmanya. The record seems to put an end to the controversy about the parentage

of Aparajita. That he was the son of Kampavarman becomes clear now. The second set belongs to the Chola king Parantaka and contains an account of the genealogy commencing from Ko-Chengannan.

A copper-plate grant of Kadamba Mrigesavarma dated his 6th regnal year is discovered by the Department of Ancient Indian History of the Karnatak University. It refers to grants made earlier by Priyavrata and Mandhatrivarma. The record was written by Kirttivarma.

As many as six sets of copper-plate grants have been discovered by Dr. M. S. Nagaraja Rao, the Director of Archaeology and Museums of Karnatak. The Ittagi copper-plate of Kadamba Jayakesi I of Goa mentions his father and grandfather as Shashtha and Guhaladeva respectively. The record refers to some controversy that existed with regard to the fixation of the revenue boundaries of the village Ittagi. To solve it, Jayakesi himself came to the village with his minister and fixed the boundaries. The village Ittagi is said to have been inhabited by scholars proficient in *Vedas* etc.

At Narihalla were found two sets of copperplates. One of them, dated 1047 A.D. belongs to Somesvara I, the later Chalukya of Kalyana. The Seal of the plate has the boar emblem and the legend '*Chaluky abharana*'. This is the only copper-plate grant known of Somesvara I and the only one with a seal of this type. Another grant dated 1224 A. D. of the reign-period of Hoysalo Narasimha II records the construction of a *trikutachala* by Anilayya-dandanayaka, in the village, Sripura, dedicated to the deities Amritesvara and Lakshminarayana.

Two sets of copper-plate grants were found at Anekannambadi. They belong to the Hoysala rulers Narasimha III and Somesvara respectively dated 1219 A. D , and 1242 A.D. The latter record registers a gift of the village Aneyakallavadi-mahagiama, renamed Kambapura, by Kambayya-dandadhipa. The village was divided into 110 *vrittis*, 10 of which were kept aside for teaching *Vedas* and the remaning made over to Brahmanas who were to pay 168 *gadyanas* as *kattugutta pindadana*.

At Kondappanayakanpatti in the North Arcot District of Tamil Nadu is found an interesting record in Tamil, of c. 12th cent. A. D. engraved on a slab in a field adjacent to a cart-track, this record states that it was the *peru-vali* (high-way) of Adiyama (II) and the distance to Navartavalam is 29 *kadam* from the spot. Thus, this is a mile-stone record. One such record is found at Papinayakanahalli in Dharmapuri

District. This throws light on the trade routes of those days and shows that the distances were indicated through such mile-stones.

Another record of c. 16th cent. A. D., in Tamil verse, found at Gingee in the South Arcot District, gives a formula to arrive at the number of the corresponding Kali year of a given of the Saka era. Accordingly, if 3179 years are added to the number of the given Saka year (expired), one would get the corresponding Kali year of the Saka year. The record seems to have been composed by Hariharaputtan whose obeisance is also recorded.

Of the outstanding discoveries and their subsequent acquisition by the Indian Museum, its Director has kindly brought to my notice a terracotta plaque with an inscription dated 1800 A.D., which records a case of *Sati.*

Thanks to the large number of inscriptions discovered and published, today we know fairly in detail the political history of the major ruling dynasties. But the part played by the minor and so called feudatory families has to be now assessed. Kingship in India very much depended upon the personality of the king and quite often a weak ruler is overthrown by a stronger feudatory. These feudatories thus were the main pillars of power. But not much is known about them. There is a need of making regional studies for that purpose. Histories of regions and cultural centres may be selected as subjects for Ph.D. theses. In Karnataka and Mysore Universities work is done or being done on such subjects like *Chittoor Through the Ages*, *Kanchipuram in Relation to South Indian History*, *Tirumalavadt—A Study*, and the like. Deccan College poona, has published few works in Historical Archaeology and Cultural Ethnography.

It is very esscential that research workers be given training in Epigarphy. They should themselves be in a position to decipher the inscriptions. Students should have also a good knowledge of languages, essentially Sanskrit, and other regional languages. This would facilitate interpretation of inscriptions. In the South for the first time a Diploma Course in Epigraphy was started by the late Dr. P. B. Desai in the Karnatak University. This was followed by the Mysore University. The Tamil Nadu government is also conducting short term courses.

It is very much desirable that epigraphists and historians should turn to literature. Many historical details could be gleaned from the

literary works. Hence the literary works could be examined thoroughly to collect historical information which could be cross-checked with the help of the contemporary epigraphs. Works of Panini and Kalidasa have been studied from that angle. Quite a number of literary works in Kannada and Telugu, for example, could be studied from this point of view.

In the revised volumes of *Epigraphia Carnatica* the metres of all the verses in the inscriptions, be they in poetry or a mixture of poetry and prose, have been identified. This would help one to gauge the extent of impact of Sanskrit language and prosody on other languages. For students of Linguistics also epigraphy is a mine of source material.

It is common knowledge that there are several words used in inscription whose meanings are not clear. Through passage of time many of those words have lost their usage. It is essential that such words may be collected and interpreted properly. In this context mention may be made of the *Epigraphlcal Glossary*, published by Dr. D. C. Sircar. In an Appendix to *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol, III, Sri T. N. Subramanian has given a glossary of such Tamil terms. Dr. S. H. Ritti of the Karnatak University has prepared one such glossary of kannada terms. However, the difficulty is in giving the exact importance of such terms. It is possible for one to say that such and such a word is the name of a tax, a designation of an officer and the like. But what was the exact nature of the tax, the exact duties of such an officer etc. are, as yet, not clear. It would be worth while if these could be explained. Emphasis being laid on the use of regional languages in administration these days, many such terms could conveniently be brought into usage.

This brings me to the question of publications because, for any such works noted above we should have texts of inscriptions. So far as epigraphy is concerned, practically the only agency which is wholly devoted to the collection and publication of inscriptions is the Epigraphical branch of the Archaeological Survey of India. No doubt some State Governments and Universities are now engaged in such work.

The government of Andhra Pradesh has now published some volumes of inscriptions. It has also brought out 2 volumes of *Epigraphia Andhrica.* But, of late, there appears to have been some delay. The Kannada Research Institute of the Karnatak University also had engaged itself in bringing out volumes of inscriptions of which six have been published in the *Karnataka Inscriptions* series. Even here the work

has slowed down. The Institute of Kannada Studies of the same University has recently brought out 3 volumes. Two of them are lists of inscriptions of Dharwar and Bijapur districts published or noticed in different publications. This is a sort of compilation useful for a limited number of scholars, to know the references. Another volume is entitled *Dharwar Taluk Inscriptions*. This contains texts of inscriptions from Dharwar taluk, already published elsewhere. Transliterated texts and translations as also a summary are now added. Such publications are no doubt useful. But, care ought to be taken to avoid duplication. It would be more useful if published records are brought to light. The Tamil Nadu Government has also brought out epigraphical publications through its Directorate of Archaeology.

The project of revision and reprint of *Epigraphia Carnatica* volumes, undertaken by the Institute of Kannada Studies of the Mysore University, has brought out 6 volumes within 5 years of the commencement of the project. It is no doubt a good suggestion that all the inscriptions should be examined once again in the original. But my experience has been that many of the original stones have now disappeared. Recopying af all available inscriptions is not only time-consuming, but expensive. In view of the fact that there is a great demand for these volumes, the best that could be possibly done under the circumstances is being done.

As I said above, the bulk of epigraphical work is being done by the Epigraphical branch of the Archaeological Survey of India. Almost every year it has been said that the publications of this branch are lagging far behind. I may be permitted to place a few figures here. The *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy* became bulkier from 1954-55, when the branch was strengthened by the appointment of more number of assistants and officers. In the B list containing the list of stone inscriptions copied and examined in that office, 566 inscriptions were noticed in the year 1956-57. It rose to 970 in 1961-62 and to 1482 in the next year. But thenceforward there has been a steady decline. The number came down to 327 in 1969-70. In the year 1975-76 it stood at 269. At one stage publications of the *Annual Reports* as well as *Epigraphia Indica* had reached an up-to-date stage. But, later, for the last 15 years it is again far behind the schedule. I learn that all parts of the volume meant for the year 1971-72 have now been sent to the press by the present Chief Epigraphist.

The texts of inscriptions, specially of South India, are published in the *South Indian Inscriptions* series. But as on date only 20 volumes have been published. All of them had been sent to the press between 1955-60, but have taken a decade or more to see the light of day. Four volumes prepared years back have recently been sent to the press. One or two more volumes are still in cold storage, in manuscript form.

It has been a good sign that in the last two years the present Chief Epigraphist has taken up the matter seriously. One volume of inscriptions from Srirangam which had slept, like lord Ranganatha, for more than a dozen years, has now been sent to the press and its printing is likely to be completed in a few months. Archaeological Survey also seems to have changed its policy and come forward to get those volumes printed in private printing presses. Recently, the Survey has assigned to several epigraphists outside the Survey the work of publishing texts of inscriptions of different ruling dynasties in the series of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.

In the recent years the Indian Council of Historical Research has come forward to publish these source materials in series of volumes. It has drafted the assistance of good number of epigraphists and historians in this venture. Dr. T.V. Mahalingam's *Topographical Lists of Inscriptions of Tamilnadu* and the *Inscriptions of Pallavas* are now being published by the ICHR. Dr. Mahalingam and myself undertook to prepare the *Topographical List of Vijayanagara Inscriptions* found all over the country up-to-date. This work has been completed and is to go to the press shortly. Dr. K. V. Ramesh, the Superintending Epigraphist, prepared a volume of Inscriptions of the Western Gangas which also have now to be published. Dynastic list of inscriptions of the Mauryas, the Ikshvakus and the Guptas are reported to have been prepared in the office of the chief Epigraphist under the direction of Sri P.R. Srinivasan. I have myself prepared a similar list of Chalukyas of Badami and Kalyana.

I may be permitted to make a few suggestions, in this regard. I learn that the Archaeological Survey of India has come forward to enlist the help of scholars working in similar fields in the Universities of the country, in not only speeding up the publications but also in matters of explorations and excavations. A co-ordination is being established between the University Departments and the Survey. Quite often, for want of finances, the several departments in the Universities find themselves

unable to have a regular technical staff like draftsman, photographer, artist etc. It would be very good if the University Departments are fully equipped with regular full time technical staff. However, wherever such staff is not available in the Universities, the Survey can depute its technical staff to excavations conducted by the University Departments, for those periods when the excavations are conducted and also at a later stage when the reports are to be prepared. It would be a great help to the Departments to bring out excavation reports speedily.

So far as the inscriptions are concerned, the Survey could assign preparation of volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions* to individual scholars outside the Survey, as it has already done in some cases, and supply them all the estampages of inscriptions. There is an urgent need of copying all the inscriptions more so in South India. As years pass by, the loose inscribed slabs would vanish. With a regular trained staff, the Epigraphical branch can take up the survey work vigorously. What has been surveyed is too small an area as against the vast areas in the South. This work should be concentrated upon and the *Reports* published early. I would be very happy if those districts, the inscription from where are taken up for publication in *Epigraphia Carnatica* could be surveyed by the epigraphical branch and the estampages supplied. This would be a great help in revising the volumes of *Epigraphia Carnatica* in the true sense.

From what all I have said above you might have as well inferred that my information is confined mostly to South India. I agree. But I am helpless since there is no means of getting information from all over. Despite my appeal to those whom I could contact, I have not been able to gather more than what I have referred to. This makes me feel that there is a need for a common forum through which scholars would be in a position to know what is happening in regions far beyond their own. There are now 3 Societies—The Archaeological, Numismatic and Epigraphical—of India which meet annually in different places and periods. It would be better if these bodies could, at least once in 3 years, meet together at a common place. This would enable scholars in different fields to exchange notes.

A few years ago in some Journals an abstract of papers published in different Journals on allied topics was being published. This practice appears to have been given up. The Journals published by the three societies could as well now contain abstracts of papers. They could also

bring to light important discoveries made in the year. In fact, there is a great need of knowing the several research topics worked upon in different Universities for the Ph.D. theses and other research projects.

Before I conclude I wish to place on record my sincere thanks to the following who have assisted me by supplying information and offering their comments: Dr. S. H, Ritti, Professor, Drs. B. K. Gururaja Rao and A. Sundara, Readers and Dr. (Miss) S. L. Shantakumari, Lecturer of the Department of Ancient Indian History of Karnatak University, Dr. Z. A. Desai, Director of Epigraphy, Sjts. P. R. Srinivasan the Chief Epigraphist and K. G. Krishnan, the Superintending Epigraphist, Sri Vijayakanta Mishra and Dr.C. Margabandhu, Superintending Archaeologists, Sri M. N Katti, Deputy Superintending Archaeologist—all of the Archaeological Survey of India, the Director, Indian Museums, Calcutta, Sri S. R. Rao, Jawaharlal Nehru Fellow, and Dr. M. S. Nagaraja Rao Director of Archaeology and Museums of Karnataka. Sri Kadkol has typed the manuscript of this address.

Esteemed friends, I thank you all for your patient hearing.

Jai Hind

EARLIEST TERRACOTTA FIGURINES FROM GANGA-YAMUNA DOAB

R. C. Gaur

Since the excavation at Hastinapura[1] in 1951-52, a large number of sites yielding the Ochre Coloured Pottery (OCP) have been explored in the Doab extending over an area of 300X200 km. and about a dozen of of them excavated. Of all the sites, Lal Qila[2] situated on the left bank of Kalinadi, a tributary of Ganga in the Bulandshahar Distt. of Uttar Pradesh, excavated by the author, is the first site where for the first time definite evidence of habitation and associated artifacts has been brought to light.

The site has retained all the necessary features of its habitational pattern including well-preserved floor, remnants of brick-structures, terracotta objects including typical human figurines, bangles and beads, stone, bone and copper objects. Out of these objects two hand-made terracotta female human figurines deserve our special attention.

One of them (9.2X5.5 cm.) is quite fascinatiug (PLATE—I) and though considerably broken is a good state of preservation. The prominent characteristics of it include: a short fore-head, semi-circular head flattish at the back, bulging eyes with holes in the centre denoting the pupil, a pinched parrot-beaked nose, finger pressed cheeks, broad jaw with protruding lips divided by a horizontal slit, a protruding chin and an elongated neck. It has prominent straight breasts with pointed nipples (left breast partially broken). The noteworthy feature is that the stumpy shoulders have transverse hole either to suspend the figurine with the help of a cord or flcit at a convenient place with two nails. However, the arms are broken. It is of dull red and unslipped.

The other figurine (length 6.3 cm.) is not only considerably broken but also badly corroded. Though its facial details, particularly the nose, slit-mouth and bulging eyes, are similar to the former one it has been modelled in a different fashion (PLATE—II). While it does not have prominent breasts, it has hands of which only a part of the left arm has survived. Moreover, it has a longer neck and more flattish

head at the back. The rest of the body including right breast is broken. Unlike the former one, this figurine has traces of fine red-slip over a grey surface.

The two figurines, though each modelled some-what differently, possess a common physiognomy and therefore, they appear anthropologically of great significance. More so, as they do not provide any resemblance with any known terracotta figurine—religious or secular-found in the Indo-Pak region. Though it is neither desirable nor easy to determine any racial affiliation of these figurines on the basis of their physical features, is cannot be definitely said that the specimens are not broadly models of contemporary women. Instances are not looking in the Indian terracotta art, particularly during Sunga-Kushana period, which provide true physical features of the various ethnic[3] groups. Be that as it may, it would be, however, worth-while to attempt here briefly the possible identification of the authors of the culture to whom these figurines belonged.

So far three claims have been put forward to identify these people: namely the Aryans, the refugee Harappans and the indigenous people of the Upper Ganga valley. The first claim has already been convincingly refuted by Lal.[4] The second claim has also lost ground since the OCP complex as a whole including its copper-hoard has no close affinity with the Harappan deposits, though some signs of its influence are detactable. So far as the hypothesis of indigenous origin is concerned firm evidence is lacking. The OCP complex and its copper hoards are too advanced to admit of the possibility of independent origin in the Doab. There is neither evidence of preceding culture to inspire its growth nor any stratigraphical evidence of evolution. Therefore. we have to look elsewhere for its sources. A different picture has recently emerged as a result of extensive exploration in the Panjab, Haryana, Rajasthan and various regions of Pakistan. Some of these sites have been excavated and the results have broadly shown cultural affinity with the OCP complex of the Doab.

Surprisingly, pre-Harappan evidences from Saraikhola,[5] Amri[6] and Kot-Diji[7] in the Indus valley appear nearer to the deposit of Lal Qila. Perhaps a similar evidence also occurred in the Period II at Gumla[8] recently excavated by Dani in the Gomal valley. Surface finding of the Kot-Dijian ceramic have been made at widely distributed sites in

Pakistan. All these factors bring a clear impression that the OCP of the Doab and the pre-Harappan deposits of the Indus valley are closely associated and belong to the same stock. This immediately suggests that sometime in the middle of the third millennium B. C. a sizeable population of the pre-Harappans moved towards the east as far as the Central Doab perhaps *via* the *Saraswati* and *Drisadvati* tract. Obviously this may have been related to the Harappan penetration in the Indus Valley. Those who were left behind could not escape the Harappan impact.

The above date of pre-Harappan migration is also corroborated by the thermoluminiscent-dating of the twelve sherds from four sites: Atranjikhera[9] (Distt. Etah), Lal Qila (Distt. Bulandshahar), Jhinjhina and Nasirpur (both in Distt. Muzaffarnagar) determined by the Archaeological Research Laboratory at Oxford.[10] The dates put the OCP culture broadly in the time bracket of 2650-1170 B.C., which suggests that the OCP culture preceded, co-existed with and even survived the Harappan culture.[11] However, the cultural deposit at Lal Qila is to be placed approximately between 2030-1730 B.C.

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11. It is surprising that no terracotta human figurine has so far been reported from the pre-Harappan levels in the Indus Valley. It is therefore possible that the OCP people (the descendants of the pre-Harappans might have drawn their inspiration in this field from the Harappans.

METAL TECHNOLOGY DURING THE KUSHANA PERIOD

S. P. Singh

Generally every site of Kushana period has yielded a large variety of articles of metal like iron, copper, lead and bronze. Some of the metal items appear to have been depicted in the sculptures,[1] terracottas[2] and coins[3] of the period. The evidence clearly confirms that metal workers[4] (*vattakaras*) including needle-makers[5] (*avaskara*), blacksmith[6] (*lohakara*), coppersmith[7] (*tamrakutta*) and goldsmiths[8] (*Suvaranakara*) had attained highly developed metal technology. A few sites like Noh[9] (Dist. Bharatpur, Rajasthan) Shamalji[10] (Dist. Sabarkantha, Gujarat), Tripuri[11] (Dist. Jabalpur, M.P.) and Saradkel[12] (Dist. Ranchi, Bihar) appear to have yielded remains of workshops. Literary sources as well as the metal objects found during excavations reveal that various technical processes were employed in manufacturing metal objects. Some of them deserve our attention :

(A) Hammering :

Vessels, tools and armaments were generally prepared from metal by hammering process. Obviously it was the simplest and most convenient process to produce a desired item. This process has been very nicely depicted on a sculpture from Sanchi.[13] According to *Milind-Panho*[14], some of the desired objects were made from sheet metal. Large vessels, particularly cauldrons, cooking pots[15], helmets[16] and arrow-heads,[17] were hammered in pieces and subsequently rivetted[18] or soldered together. Anvils found at Tripuri,[19] Saradket,[20] Hastinapura[21] and Sirkap[22] (Taxila, Pakistan) and hammers from the last two sites clearly indicate that the metal was beaten on anvils. The late punch-marked coins recovered from Sonkh[23] (Dist. Mathura, U.P.), Tripuri[24] and Eran[25] appear to have been also made by hammering process.

(B) Solid Casting :

Small items like utensils,[26] statutes,[27] coins,[28] etc.[29] were made of solid metal with the help of moulds. The moulds often in various parts, were generally made of clay or stone. Pendants[30] and finger-rings[31] with beautiful designs like crescent, star,[32] including those found on medallions,[33] dot and coma[34] have been found from Taxila. Such moulds are

made of two or more pieces to fit together. A closed mould is provided with a channel cut in the stone for pouring in the molten metal.[35]

A large number of cast coins have been recovered from Sugh[36] (Dist. Ambala, Haryana), Noh,[37] Kaytha[38] (Dist. Kaira, Gujrat), Tripuri,[39] Khanna Mihir-Dhippi and Itkhola[40] (West Bengal) and Chandraketugarh[41] (West Bengal). In addition to these terracottas, coin moulds have also been found from a large number of sites including Sanghol[42] (Dist. Ludhiana Punjab), Naurangabad[43] (Hariana) and Ataranjikhera.[44]

(C) Hollow Casting :

In this process first of all a model of the object was prepared in clay or plaster. Then it was coated with wax to the thickness of the metal to be cast and final touches were given to the wax coating. This coated object was then covered with clay and broken pottery. Some metal rods were thrust through the mass at various points to hold the core in position. Vent holes and tubes were also provided. Now this carefully prepared item was heated and when the wax had melted and run out, molten metal was poured in to take its shape. Subsequently, the cooled mass was removed from outside as well as from inside to obtain a desired replica of the object. Finally, minor defects were removed with chisels or other tools. Though specimens of hollow casting have not been unearthed so far from any pre-Kushana site, a few household utensils have been found from Sirkap[45] from the Kushana level. Heavy ornaments like torques[46] etc. were made hollow. Lac or copper base was used below the golden cover.

(D) Embossing :

A few specimens of embossed reliefs in silver, copper and bronze, recovered from Sirkap, appear to have been made by hammering the metal-sheet to a solid metal die. The desired pattern was drawn on a plate or die. A thin sheet of metal was heated and pressed down on the plate or die. Then the sheet was removed and the face was worked up with punches and chisels. Such moulds for ornaments were made of one piece and without any channel. These moulds were mainly used to produce impressions over thin sheets of gold or silver by pressing them on their cavities to form designs. Subsequently, the design was given finishing touches with the help of some delicate tools. A large number of such moulds were found amidst a jewellers' stock at Sirkap.[47]

In a few cases some coin dies of the Greek issues were altered by obliterating the Greek legend and engraving the new Iranian ones for further use. Some of the gold coins[48] are from such dies.

(E) Granulation :

This technique was used to decorate gold surface of an object. The technique was prevalent in the Punjab and the Graeco-Roman world.[49] Some ear pendants and necklaces of the Kushana period are the finest specimens of this technique.[50]

(F) Filigree :

This method of decorating gold or silver ornaments came to India from the Graeco-Roman world. The technique is effected by soldering fine wire-plain twisted or plaited into a chain or bordered pattern. Such specimens of wire-work may be seen in the discpendants[51] recovered from Taxila.

(G) Incrustation :

The art of incrusting gems on jewellery and other items was popular during the period under review. This art seems of Indian origin, and was rarely practised in the western world.[52] The jewellery of this period exhibits incrustation of two kinds. In one case, the gem or paste was enclosed in small compartments or cloisons, contiguous to one another covering the whole surface, and in the other they were sparsely studded in the designs either in cloisons or in box-settings. Two silver dishes from Sirkap[53] are perhaps the best examples of this technique which were once studded with gems.

Metal workers of the period were equipped with the necessary aids. A large number of furnaces, crucibles, blow-pipes and touch-stones have been recovered from different sites.

(H) Furnaces :

A Buddhist text, *Saundaranand*,[54] described the process of purifying raw gold. First it was cleaned in water and the dust was removed. Then it was heated in a furnace.[55] Fortunately, a few sites including Shamlji,[56] Noh,[57] and Tripuri[58] have yielded remains of several furnaces for smelting the metal and a large number of metal slags. The furnace found at Tripuri is worth mentioning. It is a burnt-brick structure which has a rectangular floor with an apsidal platform having post holes

and a well planned pit. Evidence of a portable furnace also comes from Sirkap.[59] Such furnaces have been depicted on a few sculptures at Sanchi.[60]

(I) Crucibles :

A large number of crucibles to melt the metal have been found from various sites including Shamlji,[61] and Sirkap.[62] The terracotta crucible from Shamalji bears lump of copper at the base. The cup-shaped terracotta crucibles of coarse fabric, grey in colour, with fused silicea deposit on their outer surfaces, of different height (1.5 and 2 in) have been found from Sirkap.

(J) Blow-Pipe :

The *Saundarananda*[63] tells us that goldsmiths blew air in the furnace. Sirkap[64] yielded a blow-pipe of beaten copper (length 8.75 in) which more or less resembles the pipes still used in India by goldsmiths, particularly for soldering purposes.

(K) Touchestones :

Pebbles of black basanite of hord silicious state cut into long strips, were used by the goldsmiths to test gold. Surprisingly a few of them from sirkap[65] retain upod them marks of gold.

(L) Burnishers and Polishers :

Probably small articles of gold and silver were polished with burnishers, Sirkap[66] has yielded spindle shaped burnishers having one end more pointed then the other. They are made of chalcedony and black chert.

In the end it would be worthwhile to enumerate the tools which formed the craftsman's pit. These include-clamps,[67] staples,[68] pliers,[69] tweezers,[70] nails,[71] nailbosses,[72] scissors,[73] calipers,[74] tongs,[75] chisels,[76] saw,[77] spade.[78]

The above account testifies that a large number of people were engaged in metal technology right from extracting the ore to the final disposal ot the finished items through market and trade.

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GUPTA INFLUENCE IN KAMARUPA AS KNOWN FROM ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

R. D. Choudhury

It is known from archaeological evidences that, like other parts of India, Kamarupa also came under Gupta influence directly or indirectly. The ancient name of Kamarupa was Pragjyotisa as is mentioned in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*.[1] After that for the first time, we know this country as 'Kamarupu' from the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. The mention of Kamarupa in this inscription of 4th century is an important fact. In this famous epigraph it is written as follows: "Samatata—Davaka—Kamarupa—Nepala—Kartripura adi pratyanta nrpatibhir ......"[2] It is learnt form this epigraph that although Kamarupa did not from a part of the Gupta dominion, the king of Kamarupa obeyed the orders of the Gupta emperor, paid taxes and honoured him.[3]

The Nilachal rock-cut inscription incised on a rock at the slope of Nilachal hill, Gauhati, is also an important document. It was caused to be incised dy king Surendravarman, who has been identified with Mahendravarman. It does not bear any date. However, on the basis of the character of the script, D. C. Sircar has placed it in 5th century A. D.[4] The character of the script of this inscription bears Gupta style or atleast it is similar to the script that was used in North India, which is derived from Brahmi.

The Doobi Copper plate inscription of Kumar Bhaskarvarman, the most important ruler of Kamarupa in the 7th century A. D., also reflects Gupta tradition. The character of the script used in this inscription is quite similar to the script of the Gupta period that was popular in North India in that time. From this copper plate inscription it is learnt that King Bhutivarman of Kamarupa used the epithet '*Maharajadhiraja*' and performed a horse sacrifice[6] which were nothing but borrowed traditions from the neighbouring Gupta dominion. Probably taking advantage of the decay of the Gupta might in the 6th century, Bhutivarman threw up the yokes of the Gupta emperor and used the epithet '*Maharajadhiraja*'.

Davaka, a place in the district of Nowgong, is identifiable with 'Davaka' of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. In the Gupta period, as

N. K. Bhattasali thinks, Davaka was most probably a small but independent kingdom. He further says, 'there is evidence to show that Davaka, in the present district of Nowgong, was originally a separate kingdom and in a way independent of Kamarupa.[7] Sylhet and Nowakhali districts of Bangladesh and Tripura State (Tipera) were included in the Samatata Kingdom and the Kapile, Yamuna and the Kollong valleys were most probably included in the Davaka Kingdom. It is possible that this small kingdom could exist at least upto 5th century A. D. Afterwards, when the rulers of Kamarupa became more powerful, it could not, it is likely, continue its independence. It is learnt from a Chinese account *Shung Shu* that an envoy of the King from Kapile valley was sent to China in 428 A. D.[9] In any case, it can be rightly supposed that the Kingdom of Davaka was to the east of Kalang, Kapile and Yamuna valleys and the Eastern limit of Kamarupa stood there.

In addition to the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, the Nilachal rock-cut inscription and Doobi plates, the Barganga rock-cut inscription of King Bhutivarman of Kamarupa informs us that the king performed a horse sacrifice and he used the epithet 'Maharajadhiraja'. The inscription is incised in well cut Gupta Characters, and it bears a date in Gupta era which corresponds to 554 A. D., according to N. K. Battasali.[10] The ruins at Mikirati, a village near Davaka, also bear semi Gupta characteristic features. Here we find two types of sculptures—the first having Gupta trait and the second bearing Pala features of the 10th—12th centuries. The remains of brick built *garbhagrha* of a temple at the site are noticed and the *siva linga* installed in it is *in situ*. In addition to three broken pieces of three different stone images—two female figures and the other a male figure—bearing Gupta modelling bespeak of the influence of the great school of art that flourished in that golden age. The two broken pieces of images do not provide any clue to their identities. It is possible that they were damaged by some iconoclasts. The first broken piece has already been removed to the Assam State Museum. In addition to all these there is a Visnu image (stone) in the tin shed where a few other stone images also have been kept. This image is also sculptured in Gupta style possibly in early Pala period. From the scattered ruins at Mikirati, one can very well conclude that there were about four or five small temples. But whether

these small temples or shrines of pre-Ahom age is not known. It deserves a thorough examination.[11] Recently in a small excavation taken up by the Department of Archaeology and Assam State Museum, a few earthen pots were revealed. All the pots are full with some substances. After their examination in the Assam Forensic Laboratory, it was found that the substance in pots represent paste of rice. It is possible that carbon-14 test may give some clues to the antiquity of the pots.

Just near the Barganga rock-cut inscription near Hawraghat, mentioned above, there is a rock-cut big sculpture representing a Dvarapala. The style of the headgear and the anatomy of the figure reflect Gupta traits. Behind the rock-cut inscription in the same site remains of a plinth of a temple can be noticed. It is possible that the temple was constructed in the same period to which the sculpture and the inscription belong.

R. D. Banerji has placed the famous ruined temple dvara of Daparnatia in the 5th/6th centuries A.D.[12] P. Sarma has made a study on the garbhagrha, mandapa etc., the plan of the original temple and placed this ruined temple in the 5th century A. D. He also has opined that this is the first brick built temple in Gupta period.[13] Sarma has no doubt rightly drawn the plan of the temple but we beg to differ in point of the antiquity of the temple. After the comparison of the present temple dvara with the dvaras of the temples found at other places belonging to the Gupta period, we are inclined to place the dvara in the 6th century A. D., and so, in our opinion, the present ruined temples cannot be the oldest brick built temple of the Gupta period.[14] S. K. Sarasvati has revised his opinion and would like to place it in the 5th century A. D.[15] While clearing the jungle at the site, R. D. Banerji found a few terrocotta plaques which, on stylistic grounds, may be placed in the 6th century A. D.[16] On the whole, it can be safely concluded that the ruined temple with the beautifully scupltured figures of Ganga and Yamuna bears Gupta features both in architecture and art as well.

Recently an image of Visnu was discovered at Kharamedhipara near Dudhnoi in the Goalpara district. We conld see the image at the site. Now the image has been preserved in the Assam State Museum, Gauhati. Here Visun is shown holding Sankha and Padma with upper

hands while the lower hands are made to touch the head of Gadadevi and Chakrapurusa, who are shown standing on either side of the deity. The style of depicting gada and chakra, the two ayudhas of Visnu in human form was evolved in the Gupta period. After the fall of the Gupta empire also this style continued in various parts for some centuries. Now it is clear that this pre-Pala or early Pala image in style bears Gupta theme.

Gupta art style more or less penetrated as far east as Deopani, near Golaghat. The inscribed Visnu image, the inscribed image of Harihara (the bigger one), the headleas image of Visnu—all of which have been preserved in the Assam State Museum and the images of Kevala Narasimha and Vamana preserved in the Deopani modern temple should be dated c-8th-9th centuries A.D., and should be the product of Gupta art formula, of course, with local tribal art style. The script of the Sarapathar inscription[17] discovered in that region have the same type of character that were in use in North India after the Gupta period.

A few years back quite a few gold coins were discovered at Paglatek to the west of Goalpara town on the bank of the Brahmaputra.[18] After the fall of the Gupta Empire, the rulers of the small kingdom that were so long acknowledging the suzerineity of the Gupta emperor, threw off the yoke of the Guptas and independently started issuing coins in imitation of the Gupta coins. Such type of imitated Gupta gold coins have been found in Bangladesh, Tripura, etc., which are ascribed to c.7 th century A.D.[19]

The Tezpur rock-cut inscription of King Harjjarvarman dated 510 G.E.[20] is an eloquent testimony to the fact that Gupta influence or tradition did continue in Kamarupa as late as 829-30 A.D. In Nepal and Kathiawar also late inscriptions bearing Gupta era have been noticed.[21] D.C. Sircar thinks the names of King Samudravarman and Queen Dattadevi of Kamarupa were nothing but the imitations of the names of Gupta Emperor Samudragupta and queen Dattadevi.[22]

From the above discussion, it appears true that although the Gupta rulers did not conqur Kamarupa, the rulers of Kamarupa did acknowledge the suzernairity of the powerful Gupta rulers. That Kamarupa was not included in Gupta Empire is well documented.[23] As in political field, in the field of art and culture too Gupta tradition influenced Kamarupa artists.

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3. *Ibid*, p. 14.
4. *Epigrophia Indica* Vol. XXXI, pp. 67-69.
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12. *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India*, 1923-1924, pp. 98-99.
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20. P. Bhattacharji, '*Kamarupa Sasanavali*' Bengali Edn. pp. 180-192.
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23. In the Mandasor Pillar Inscription of Jasodharma of 6th Century A. D. it is mentioned that he extended the limit of his kingdom as far east as the Lauhitya. But it lacks corborative evidence and hence, it is nothing but an exaggeration. See, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 142-148, also P. C. Choudury, *op. cit*. p. 157.

THE REIGN OF QUEEN AGATHOCLEIA AS KNOWN FROM COINS

A. N. Lahiri

Our researches have thrown some new light on the nature of the reign of the Indo-Greek queen Agathocleia who is known only from coins. Her name has a striking resemblance with that of the Graeco-Bactrian monarch Agathocles, the son of Demetrius I and grandson of Euthydemus I. In fact, she is generally taken to be the daughter of Agathocles.

Agathocleia is numismatically associated with the Graeco-Indian king Strato I Soter Dikaios. Some 2o-rati silver drachms of the Indian standard depict on the obverse the portrait-bust and name of 'Queen Agathocleia the God -like' (in greek) and on the reverse the figure and name of 'King Strato the Saviour and Pious' in Prakrit.[1] Another series of square copper coins bear on the obverse the helmeted bust and name of 'Queen Agathocleia the God-like (in greek) and on the reverse the name of 'King Strato the Saviour and Pious' in Prakrit but the figure of 'Seated Heracles' (the characteristic device of the coins of Euthydemus I).[2]

There are, again, some 80-rati Indian tetradrachms which display on the obverse the conjugate busts of Strato and Agathocleia together with the Greek legend meaning '[Coin] of King Strato the Saviour and Agathocleia', and on the reverse the figure of 'thundering Athena' along with the Prakrit legend which means '[Coin] of King Strato the Saviour and Agathocleia.'[3]

E.J. Rapson believed that Agathocleia was the queen of Menander, who died in camp, leaving his minor son Strato.[4] According to him, the widowed queen Agathocleia ruled the kingdom of the late king Menander on behalf of her minor son Strato just after her husband's death, and during that time she issued the first series of silver coins as well as the copper pieces which bear her own name on the obverse and that of Strato on the reverse. Subsequently when Strato grew up, Agathocleia issued as 'joint coins' the second series of silver coins bearing the conjugate busts and names of Strato and Agathocleia. Thereafter Strato himself took the rein of administration into his own hand, ruled the kingdom and struck coins in his own name alone.[5]

But on a critical and comparative study of the portrait-busts of the coins of the second series of silver coins along with some other Greek coins bearing the conjugate busts of couples definitely known as husband and wife, G.K.Jenkins comes to the conclusion that Agathocleia was not the mother of Strato but his wife;[6] for, as on the coins of Ptolemy II and his sister-wife Arsinoe or those of Ptolemy IV and his wife Laodice,[7] where the wife's profile is to the left of the husband's, the profile of Agathocleia is *also to the left* of Strato's profile. It is shown. on the contrary, that coins which bear conjugate busts of mother and son, like those of Cleopatra Thea and Antiochus VIII, show the mother's profile to the *right* (not *left*) of that of her son.[8] In the light of this significant revealation, Agathocleia cannot be taken to be the mother of Strato.

The change in the nature of Agathocleia's relationship with Strato now compels us to discard the theory of Rapson and interpret the evidence of the above coins in differently. In fact, as the evidence goes, none of the two series of coins bearing either (a) the separate names of Agathocleia and Strato on tow sides, or (b) the joint names of Strato and Agathocleia on either side, can be placed *before the reign af Strato himself.*

As we know, Strato had a long rule, which had at least three stages . the initial period when Strato was quite a young man with a somewhat girlish appearance and bore a single epithet *Soter* (Saviour);[9] the intermediate period when Strato grew up to be a handsome young man and assumed an epithet, *Dikaios* (Pious), in addition to *Soter*;[10] and the final stage when Strato was a man of middle age and called himself *Epiphanes* and *Sother*, *i.e.* [God] manifest and Saviour.'[11]

Strato on the above two series of coins assumes either one epithet, 'Saviour', or two epithets 'Saviour and Pious'. This shows that the two series of coins under discussion were issued *before* the third stage of his career, i. e. before he grandiloguent titulature '(God-) manifest'.

Coins with the conjugate busts of the couple adorn the name of Strato not only with the royal title, 'King', but also with the epithet 'Saviour' (on both the Greek obverse and the Prakrit reverse) but leave the name of Agathocleia without any royal title or epithet. Thus Strato alone is here given full regal status, which is denied to Agathocleia, who is simple the consort of the reigning king. These coins were thus

no joint issues in the technical sense of the term. But it was certainly not for nothing that Strato issued these coins with the conjugate busts of himself and his queen Agathocleia. She was not an ordinary Greek woman, but a princess of the house of the great Graeco-Bactrian monarch Euthydemus I. Strato's marriage with Agathocleia added some lustre to his own regal status and he was out to proclaim it by issuing a special series of coins. The silver coins with the conjugate busts and names of 'King Strato the Saviour' and 'of Agathocleia' were in fact Strato's marriage manifesto, brought out to commemorate the royal union.

But the case of the other series of Indian drachms and the square copper pieces is thorughly different. On those coins names of Agathocleia and Strato occur separately on two sides and both are given the royal title: *Basilissa*, 'Queen', to Agathocleia and *Maharaja*, 'King', to Strato. But since the portrait and name of Agathocleia appear on the more important obverse side, she evidently enjoys a status superior to that of Strato.[12] In fact, she is now virtually the reigning sovereign. The 'king' Strato was alive, but his status was inferior to that of his wife. What could bring about such a curious position ?

Did Agathocleia usurp Strato's regal power and occupy his throne ? No; that could not have been the position. For, in that case, Agathocleia would not put the armed figure of Strato as well as his name with full regal title and epithets on the reverse of her coins. Nay, as it appears, Agathocleia was ruling the kingdom on behalf of Strato. But since Indian subjects who had a traditional dislike for a woman's rule,[13] Agathocleia put the well known armed figure and the Prakrit form of the legend of Strato's coins on the reverse for the satisfaction of the Indian subjects, which was clearly a piece of superb diplomacy. But why should Agathocleia rule the kingdom on behalf of Strato ?

Two types of Strato's silver coins appear to provide us with the reason. On one type of coins Strato's bust is shown with a beard.[14] On the coins of another remarkable type the right lower face of Strato shows an abscess-like scar-mark which was most probally due to some battle-wound.[15] And apparently because of this wound Strato was unable to shave for some time, and this was the reason for his being depicted with a beard.

It is thus quite likely that for some time Strato lay critically ill with some battle-wound, and there was very little hope of recovery. Agathocleia had to take courage in both hands and rule the kingdom on Strato's behalf. Greek courtiers and army men realised the position, and had no hesitation in considering Agathocleia as the reigning soverign; hence her portrait-bust and name with full regal title and epithet, *Basilissa theotropos*, 'the God-like queen', appear on the more important side of the coins. But to the Indian subjects Strato was the real sovereign, and Agathocleia was merely ruling on behalf of Strato; hence appear Strato's fully armed figure and the usual coin-legend in Prakrit on the reverse of the coins, which were meant for Indians in general.

But, as subsequent numismatic evidence indicates, this state of affairs did not last long. In course of time Strato recovered for his grave illness, himself took the rein of Administration and issued coins in his own name. The type of coins on which Strato's face shows an abscess-like scar-mark clarifies the position. On their reverse we have Strato's personal deity, Athena, *not as usual* in the act of hurling the thunderbolt, but as holding out Nike, the goddess of Victory. Athena was celebrating a victory for Strato. The king had now recovered from his grievous wound and his enemy was thoroughly subdued; and Strato had taken charge of his kingdom from his wife Agathocleia.

We thus see that even though for a short period, Agathocleia ruled the kingdom of Strato virtually as a reigning sovereign, and she was almost certainly the first queen of India to do so. The period of her reign would fall sometime in the last quarter of the second B. C.

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1. See A. N. Lahiri, *Corpur of Indo- Greek Coins (CIGC)*, p. 73,Type 3 Pl. I. 5 for the silver coin. There are also some rare drachms (*CIGC*, Pl. I. 3) which do not bear any epithet for the queen and were apparently issued earlier when she was only 'queen' (Basilissa).
2. See ibid., Type 4 Pl. I. 6 for the square copper coins.
3. See ibid., Type 5 Pl. I. 7 for the silver tetradrachms. There are some coins of this type which bear the Prakrit legend concerning Strato alone : "(Coin) of King Strato the Saviour and Pious" : see *CIGC*, type 6 Pl. I, 8.
4. See *Corolla Numismatica*, 1906, pp. 248-258.

5. For the coins of Strato alon see *CIGC*, pp. 172-182 and Pls. XXX-XXXII.
6. See *British Museum Quarterly*, XXI, pp. 70-73.
7. See Charles Seltman, *Greek Coins*, 2nd Edn., Pl. LVII. 1 (Ptolemy II and Arsinoe) and Pl. LVIIJ. 7 (Ptolemy IV and Laodice).
8. See *Greek Coins*, 2nd Edn., Pl. LIV. 4.
9. For such coins of the early stage see *CIGC*, Pl. XXIX. 7-8 and Pl. XXX. 3-5.
10. For the coins of the intermediate stage see *CIGC*, Pl. XXX. 9-13 and Pl. XXXI. 1-7.
11. For the coins of the last stage see *CIGC*, Pl. XXXII. 2-4.
12. When two royal names occur on two sides of a coin, the name that appears on the obverse always enjoys the superior status: cf. the coin, *P.M., Cat*, I, p. 144, Pl. XIV. 395, where the name of Spalirises is given the superior status by putting it on the obverse.
13. As shown by E.W. Hopkins in *The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India* (Reprinted in *Jour. Anc. Indian Hist.*, II, p. 423): "When a woman is the ruler, men sink like stone-boats' (*Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, XIII, 1888, p. 136, note)· Women's kingdoms seem far off and foreign, and are grouped as such : 'the barbarians, the Chinese, and those that live in a woman's kingdom' (III. 51.25)".
14. See *CIGC*, Pl. XXXI. 8-9.
15. See *CIGC*, Pl. XXXI. 10.
16. We have no evidence of a queen's rule prior to that of Agathocleia.

COMMON SYMBOLS OF THE PUNCH-MARKED COINS AND THE LOCAL COINS

Ehteshamul Hoda

Ever since 1800 when the first discovery of three silver punch-marked coins was made by Col. Cadwell, there has been a succession of discoveries of punch-marked coins in hoards, as stray finds and amidst stratified archaeological deposits in various parts of the country. Attempts have been continuously made to establish an exhaustive internal classification and fix chronology on the basis of the symbols or groups of the punched symbols. Similar studies have been made of early cast and die-struck coins of copper.[1] No doubt great strides have been made by viewing the problems of the punch-marked coins and the early cast and die-struck coins from various angles. But it seems that,

except for some general observations made for the common occurrence of symbols on the punch-marked coins and early cast and die-struck coins of copper, a detailed analysis of the common symbology remains a desideratum. Such a study may add a new dimension in fixing the chronology of the silver punch-marked coins and provide a clue to the monetary system in the economic structure of the time.

I have been able to collect some of the common symbols, as given in the appendix. These have a definite bearing on the chronology of the silver punch-marked coins :

S1, pellet surrounded by two crescents and two conventional fish interspersing each other, commonly known as the 'Taxila' symbol.

S2, a pellet surrounded by four crescents as a variant of S1.

S3, a cross with four balls at the extremities, commonly known as the 'Ujjain' symbol.

S4, solid triangle-headed standard with two short parallel bar projecting the right top end.

S5, a group of four elaborate *nandīpada* arranged accross having a common pellet.

S6, a full length human figure holding a full size staff in the left hand.

S7, six-armed wheel particularly the one having a pellet within a circle and surrounded on the circumference by three arrows and three tansives interspersed by each other.

S8, the three-arched hill with a surmounting crescent ; S8a, a miniature of S8.

S9, the six-arched hill.

S10, The Sun,

This list, however, is not exhaustive and more common symbols may be determined on closer scrutiny of two independent series.

It may well then be of interest to point out that the symbols S 1 is a common reverse symbol of the silver and copper coated with silver punch-marked[2] coins and is found to occur on the reverse of the local Taxilan[3] coins of the uninscribed cast copper variety. S2 is also a common reverse symbol of silver punch-marked[4] coins and it is noticed on the reverse of local Taxilan[5] coins of the similar variety. S3 is, so far known, exclusive reverse symbol of the silver punch-marked[6] coins, is found to occur primarily on the obverse

or the reverse of the uninscribed and inscribed local copper coins attributed to Ujjain[7] and Kausambi,[8] obverse of the uninscribed copper coins of Eran,[9] obverse of the inscribed coins of Mathura[10] pertaining to the 'Mitra' and 'Datta' series, reverse of the inscribed copper coins of Ayodhaya.[11] S4 is also a reverse symbol of the silver punch-marked[12] coins and is found to occur in quite similar form on the obverse of an uninscribed copper coin attributed to Ujjaini.[13] However, its variant in the form of hollow triangle is found to occur on the local copper coins attributed to Kausambi, Taxila and Ujjaini and with certain innovations on coins of Eran.[14] S5 is a solitary instancc found on the reverse of the silver punch-marked coin recovered from the cxcavation at Sugh.[15] In a similar form it is noticed on reverse of inscribed copper coins of Ayodhya[16] and with certain innovations on the reverse of the uninscribed copper coin attributed to Eran.[17] S6 is found to occur always on the obverse of punch-marked coins.[18] It is interesting, as pointed out by Allan,[19] to find identical form appearing on copper coins attributed to Ujjaini.[20] S7 is the most common obverse symbol of the silver punch-marked[21] coins and is found to occur on the obverse or reverse of uninscribed copper coins attributed to Eran[22] and Ujjaini.[23] S8 and S8a are the common obverse and reverse symbols on the silver punch-marked coins.[24] These are equally common on the uninscribed and inscribed cast coins of Taxila,[25] and the obverse of the inscribed copper coins attributed to Tripuri.[26] S9 is the obverse of the silver Punch-marked coins [27] and is found to occur on the reverse of inscribed cast copper coins attributed to Ayodhya bearing the legend *visakhadevasa*.[28] S10 is also one of the most common obverse and reverse symbols of the silver punch-marked coins and is found on the copper coins attributed to Ujjaini.[29]

The period beginning with c. 500 B.C. down to 300 A.D. is now generally considered to be the period of provenance of the silver punch-marked coins throughout the country and c. 300 B.C. to 300 A.D. is considered as the period of Provenance for the early 'local' and 'tribal' coins of the cast and die-struck copper coinage.[30] In summarising the problem of chronology of the punch-marked coins Gupta has divided the punch-marked coins into two groups. The first, according to him, is 'local' or earlier and the second, 'imperial' or later.[31] Furthermore he subdivides the imperial coinage into different periods beginning with Magadhan ascendancy down to the great Mauryas,[32] and suggests its currency

till about second century B.C.[33] However, to fix 2nd century B.C. as the terminus date seems implausible since the excavations of various places have given dates till c. 300 A.D. Up till that time it had remained in continuous circulation. One can perhaps argue, as is generally done, that this circulation was a mere free circulatian without the authentication of a host of independent states that emerged on the ruins of the great Mauryas. Both literary and the numismatic evidence suggests that after the death of Ashoka there was considerable political disintegration. Centrifugal forces were at full play and it is to this tendency that we can attribute the emergence of cast and die-struck series of copper coinage pertaining to different locality that sought to assume independence.

From the above standpoint and also due to the curious fact that we do not find any silver coin of the cast or die-struck variety till a very late time, except for the coins of the Kunindas, there is a strong possibility that the above mentioned common symbols might have been the original symbol or symbols of these local states which have been punched on the new coin blanks or were affixed on the silver coinage of the preceding period much in the traditional way in order to authenticate their prevalence within their own territory. Unlike copper currency, silver currency is not a static currency. That its movement easily crosses the limits of the territory of its origin is vouched for in the higher transactions concerning inter-state trade. It is, therefore, quite likely that each territory, tarversed by this silver currency, must have affixed its own distinctive symbol or symbols. Indeed we do find the distinctive marks of different states affixed on the silver punch-marked coins which have been enumerated above in the common symbology. But there must be an attempt to find out which mark or symbol was affixed at what time. Here it may be pointed out that archaeological evidence would have been of immense help; but unfortunately this is much wanting in archaeologists' reports.

However, the evidence of Sugh[84] is very significant. Variety VII of the silver punch-marked coin is a solitary instance amongst the 28 coins unearthed from the Sunga and Kushana layers. The reverse of this coin has the mark S5. This symbol, as remarked by Chopra, has not been reported earlier. Numismatic evidence may suggest that this representation of the *nandipada* form is an outcome of a gradual development beginning with the original form of a taurine. As pointed out earlier this spmbol in an almost exact form is found on the inscribed copper

coins attributed to Ayodhya. Can it, therefore, be suggested that the occurrence of this symbol on the reverse of a silver punch-marked coin was of a period when copper coins attributed to Ayodhya[85] was being minted and the same authority chose this particular mark to be affixed on the silver currency for its authentication in his own territory?

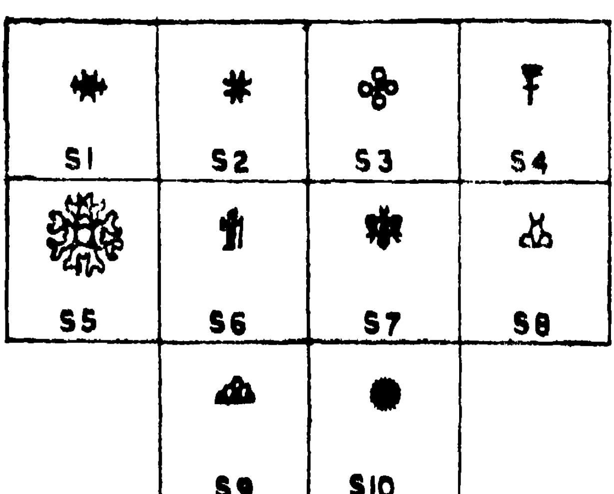
The instance of Eran is interesting since here we find that in the paucity of silver debased coinage is being resorted to by coating the copper coins with silver.[86] The punch-marked coins here, as pointed out by Bajpai, cover a period of 600 years from about the beginning of the 3rd century B C. to the end of the 3rd century A.D.[87] What is still more interesting is that they do not necessarily bear groups of five-symbols on the obvers. A deviation, thus, seemingly appears by putting four symbols only. The symbols occurring on the coins usually are the sun, crescent, six-armed wheel. hill, taurine, tree-in-railing, caduceus and the Ujjain symbol. Several of these occur on the tribal coins of Eran and Vidisha.[88]

The occurrence of the Ujjain symbol on the reverse of seven silver punch-marked pieces at Sugh[89] is also interesting. This symbol is rather rarely found on the silver punched-marked coins at other places.

To sum up, it may be pointed out that a more objective re-examination of the vast accumulation of the silver punch-marked coins is called for in order to workout a more comprehensive chronology of this early series of Indian coinage; though the task is not an easy one.

APPENDIX

Common Symbols of the Punch Marked Coins and the Local & Tribal Coins



REFERENCES

1 As a culmination of these studies two Separate seminars in the years 1965 and 1966 were held under the auspices of the College of Indology, Department of AIHC & Arch., Banaras Hindu University. The earlier seminar was concerned with 'The Chronology of the Punch-Marked Coin' and the later with 'Local Coin of Northern India (c. 300 B. C—300 A. D.)'.
2. Allan, J., BMCAI, intro. p. xxxviii and xliv. Cf. Marshall, J., Taxila, p. 851.
3. *Ibid.*, intro., p. cxxxviii.
4. *Ibid*, intro., p. cxxxviii. But as pinted out by Allan it also occurs on the obverse in combination with other mark (*ibid*,) intro., p. xxxv).
5. *Ibid.* intro., p. cxxxiii.
6. Chopra, S. N., JNSI, xxxv, p. 43.
7. Allan, J., *op. cit.*, pp. 241-62.
8. *Ibid*, pp. 148-54.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 140-44.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-75.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-31. 133-34.
12. *Ibid.*, Pl. iv. 3 & 5. It seems that Allan has not been able to make a correct identification of this symbol. In his introduction p. xxxviii he gives a very different reproduction. His reference to a similar mark on the obverse given on p. xxxv, however, cannot be verified from the accompanying illustration Pl. III. 5.
13. *Ibid.*, Pl. xxxvii, 19.
14. *Ibid*, intro. p. xxxiv.
15. Chopra, S. N., *op. cit.*, p. 42.
16. Allan, J., pp. 130 and 132.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 144, var. o.
18. *Ibid.*, intro. p. xxxvi.
19. *Ibid.*, intro. p. xxxvi.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 248, Pl. XXXVIII, 11 & 14.
21. *Ibid*, intro. p. xxiii.
22. *Ibid*, pp. 143-4.
23. *Ibid*, pp. 242-7; 253-5, 259 & 261.
24. *Ibid*, intro. pp. xxiv-xxv.
25. *Ibid.* pp. 216-35.
26. *Ibid*; p. 239.
27. *Ibid*, intro. p. xxiv.
28. *Ibid*, p. 131.
29. *Ibid*, p, 243, class 1, var. d.; and pp. 245, class 2, var., a.
30. Proceeding of the Seminars on '*The Chronology of the Punch-Marked Coins' and 'Local Coins of Northern India,*' published by College of Indology, BHU, 1966, 1968 respectively.
31. Proceedings of the Seminar on '*The Chronology of the Punch-Marked Coins*, 1966, Varanasi, BHU, pp. 2 and 186.

32. *Ibid*, p. 186.
33. *Ibid*, p. 6.
34. Chopra, S. N., JNSI, xxxv, p. 42.
35. *op. cit.*
36. Bajpai, K. D., *Indian Numismatic Studies*, Chap. 2, p. 7.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*
39. Chopra, S. N., *op. cit.*, p. 43,

THE HASNAN HOARD OF THE GUPTA GOLD COINS

D. K. Chakravarty

The rich and varied collection of Gupta gold coins in West Bengal mostly stray finds, includes a number of hoards, the earliest and the largest being that of Kalighat (in Calcutta), discovered as far back as the year 1783, A. D. and containing more than 200 gold coins[1] Majority of these coins were melted down, only a few handed over to some Museums in England as presentations.[2] Nearly a century afterwards a hoard of 13 Gupta gold coins was discovered at village Madhavapura in Hooghly district[3] (Hughly Hoard) consisting of a 'Standard type' of Samudragupta, five 'Archer type' of ChandraguptaII, three each of the Archer and Horsemen types of Kumaragupta I and one 'Lion-slayer type of Kumaragupta I.[4] On 12 November 1974 some young boys of Hasnan village (P. S. Dadpur, Makalpur Anchal, district Hooghly and situated about 5 Kms. south-west from Dadpur) were instrumental in discovering, while they were playing a hoard of eleven gold coins preserved in an earthen pot which was jutting out from an eroded bank of a tank. The coins were seized by the authorities of the local Police Station at Dadpur and subsequently handed over to the Directorate of Archaeology, West Bengal.[5] The earthen pot that contained the gold coins could not, however, be traced. After a preliminary study the coins appeared to be the gold issues of the rulers of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, viz, four of 'Archer Type' belonging to Chandragupta, II, one of 'Horseman type' belonging to Kumargupta, I, two of 'Archer type' (*Suvarna* weight

standard) belonging to Narasimhagupta Baladitya II, one of 'Archer type' (*Suvarna* weight standard) belonging to Kumaragupta one of 'Archer type' (*Suvarna* weight standard) belonging to Visnugupta. There is one coin of Archer type the legend of which is not legible. The last, but not the least, is the rare coin of Samcharadeva representing his 'Archer type' now known from a recorded provenance. The present paper is concerned with the detailed study of these coins; *viz.* their weight, size and typological classifications more or less arranged chronologically.

The descriptions of the coins illustrated figurewise in the accompanying Plate are given below :—

No. 1 Gold; 1.5 cms; 121.912 grains, (7.900 gms.)

Obv. King standing to 1, nimbate wearing tailed coat and trouser, necklace and armlets on his person; he holds a bow in his left hand and arrow (?) in the right.

Garudadhvaja decorated with fillets stands in his front.

Chandra written vertically under left arm.

Circular legend not traceable.

Rev. Goddess Lakshmi wearing the armlets and bracelets seated on lotus in *padmasana*' her outstretched r. hand extended while by her 1. hand holding lotus high above. Legend on r. *Srivikramah.* Monogram on the left.

No. 2 Gold; 2 cms; 126. 388 grains (8.190 gms.)

Obv. King standing to 1, nimbate wearing coat and trouser necklace and armlets on his person; he hold a bow by his left hand and arrow by his extended r. hand *Garudadhvaja* decorated with fillets stands in his front.

Chandra written vertically under left arm. Traces of circular legends appear on the right.

Rev. Goddess Lakshmi seated on lotus holding lotus with her left hand which rests on her thigh. By her outstretched r. hand she is holding some object which is indistinct in this specimen. Legend on r. *Srivikramah.* Monogram on left. Border of dots around.

No. 3 Gold, 1.5 cms. 123.301 grains (7.990 gms.)

Obv. As described against No. 1 above.

Rev. As described against No. 1 above but Goddess is holding a *pasa* by her outstretched r. hand. Monogram on the left is the same.

No. 4 Gold, 1.8 cms, 122.684 grains (7.950 gms.)

Obv. Same as described against No. 2 above.

Rev. Same as described against No. 2 above but here goddess is holding a pasa by her outstreched r. hand. Monogram on the left, however, is different.

The four coins just described represent the Archer type Class II coins of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya which is the most popular of the coin types issued by the emperor. So far from Bengal (including the present Bangladesh) it may be recalled that five coins of this same type issued by Chandragupta II were recovered from the Hughli Hoard in the year 1883,[6] while the Kalighat hoard contained some coins of this type to which our attention has been drawn by Dr. B. C. Sen.[7] M. Harunur Rashid in his article[8] on 'The Mainamati Gold Coins' has reported about the discovery of one Archer type with lotus reverse of gold coin of Chandragupta II found during the excavation at Mainamati Samanta also reports about the discovery of such a type of coin from village Abravati in Burdwan district now in the collection of the University Museum, Burdwan.[9] In the State Archaeological Gallery West Bengal there are two gold coins of 'Archer type' issued by Chandragupta II, one belonging to Class I (Throne reverse type) and the other Class II (Goddess seated on lotus seat and holding lotus and *pasa*) P. C. Das Gupta has described and illustrated these coins in the 'Great Centres of Art—Culcutta.[10] Gaurishanker De has published one coin of Archer type' collected by him from the region of Chandraketugarh (Simher Ati) in 24-Parganas district which he ascribes to Samudragupta[11] but Nisar Ahmad is of opinion that the coin should be attributed to Chandragupta II[12] and the legend should correctly be read as *Chandra*.

No. 5 Gold; 1.7 cms 127.622 grains (8.270 gms.)

Obv. King bare-headed and with wig like coiffure riding tor. Wearing coat and trousers. Also wearing necklace and armlets on his person, halo around his head. Mane of the horse is pleated. Legend from I, *Guptakulavyomasasi, jayatyaje jitamahendrah* and ends at XI, which, however is not fully legible.

Rev. Goddess seated on a *vetrasana* holding lotus having a long stalk by her left hand resting on her waist and feeding a peacock by a bunch of grapes held in her r. hand Legend. *Ajitamahendra.*

It may be recalled that three coins of this type of coin of Kumaragupta I were recovered from the Hugli Hoard.[13] While a specimen was obtained from Tamluk in Mindapur District[14] which became one of the popular coin types issued by the emperor. S. V. Sohoni[15] suggests that the Horseman coins belong to the 'manovinoda categery' to which later the ideology of either the Sun or Moon riding on horse back was attached by Kumargupta I. J.P. Singh[16] is not inclined to accept the view of Sohoni and observes that the real significance of the Horseman and many other coin types of the Guptas has not yet been pointed out by any scholar and he is making some attempts to determine the real nature and significanee of the coins which will be published in the near future. However, from the artistic point of view this coin reveals the best tradition of the numismatic art of the Guptas.

No. 6 Gold; 1.8 cms, 150.770 grains (9.770 gms.)

Obv. King, nimbate, head bare having curly hairs standing to l, holding bow by his l. hand and arrow (indistinct) by his r. hand. *Garudadhvaja* behind his r. arm some symbol above it. Blow the left arm *Ku* with crescent above. Traces of Marginal legend ... ...*rajadharaja* ......, *ja* between kings feet.

Rev. Goddess Laksmi seated on *padmasana* holding lotus by her left hand resting on thigh and *pasa* by her outstretched r. hand. Some indistinct symbol on l. Legend on r. *Sri Kramaditya.*

From the numismatic evidence now in our possession the coin can be attributed to Kumaragupta III, son and successor of Narasimhagupta Baladitya II. Most of the coins of this ruler were recovered from the Kalighat hoard while a solitary specimen however ascribed to Kumaragupta II was discovered from Khardah situated on the bank of the Ganges in 24-Parganas district.[17] Although the gold contents of our specimen has not been checked, from superficial observation it appears that it has greater alloy and may be comparable with the coins listed in Class II, Variety B (issued by Kumaragupta II) by Professor Altekar.[18] From the point of view of gold content and other stylistic considerations the coins of Kumaragupta. ('Archer type' of *Suvarna* weight standard) can be classified into two groups, which is also corroborated by epigraphic and literary traditions. Pending further scientific analysis and discovery of materials this specimen may be attributed to Kumaragupta III who issued the Bhitari Seal and the Nalanda sealings.

No. 7 Gold; 2.1 cms, 148.147 grs. (9.600 gms.)

Obv. King, nimbate, standing to 1 and holding middle of the bow in 1. hand and arrow in r. hand and wearing *dhoti* and jewellery. Garuda standard on 1 Legend under the left arm of the king *Nara,* crescent above. Faint traces of circular legend. Between the feet some character.

Rev. Lakshmi seated on lotus facing to front, *pasa* in her right hand, while by her left hand she is holding a lotus having a long stalk. Some circular marks on both sides of her head. Legend *Yaladityah.*

Nos. 8 Gold; 1.9 cms, 149.690 grs. (9.700 gms.)

Obv. Same as No. 7, but the style is degenerate. No traces of circular legend. Between the feet there is a letter *gre* in Gupta Brahmi.

Rev. Same as the rev of No. 7 But there is a monogram on the left. Rev. Legend is *Valaditya.*

These two coins having the obverse legend *Nara* and the reverse legend *Valaditya* may be ascribed to Narasimhagupta Baladitya. The coins issued by this ruler are not scanty. Altekar mentions that so far 50 pieces issued by this ruler have been found.[19] Most of these coins were found in the Kalighat hoard, though one was found from Ranaghat in Nadia district in West Bengal.[20] Several coins of this king are said to be included in the Nahar collections and the cabinet of the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta.[21] In the State Archaeological Gallery, West Bengal, two coins of this ruler were acquired from Lakshmi Hatir Danga, district Murshidabad. Both the coins are of 'Archer type', one of them preserving the legend *Valadityah* on the reverse. The coins weigh 150.15 and 148.76 grains respectively. Their gold contents are 42 and 45 per cent respectively.[22] In addition to these two specimens there is another specimen of this ruler of unrecorded provenance. From the point of view of gold content and othr stylistic considerations the coins of Narasimhagupta can be classified into two groups, which is also corroborated by epigraphic evidence and literary traditions. Thus there were two Narasimhagupta Baladityas; one was the son of Purugupta and the other the father of Kumaragupta III, who may be christened as Narasimhagupta Baladitya II who has also been credited with the expulsion of the Huna Chief Mihirakula by Hiuen-tsang.[23]

No. 9 Gold; 1.7 cms., 152.622 grains (9.890 gms.)

Obv. King standing to left holding bow and arrow. *Garudadhvaja* on the left. Legend under the left arm *Vishnu* beneath a crescent. No trace of circular legend. Between the kings feet occurs the letter *ru.*

Rev. Goddess Lakshmi seated on lotus holding *pasa* in her r.hand and lotus in the left. Traces of monogram on the left. The coin may be ascribed to Visnugupta *Chandraditya,* possibly the last king of the Imperial Guptas, who is also known from a fragmentary sealing from Nalanda where he traces his descent from Kumaragupta, possibly Kumaragupta III of the Bhitari seal and the Nalanda sealings. Most of the coins of this ruler were found from the Kalighat hoard, like those of his predecessors Kumaragupta III and Narasimhagupta Baladitya II, and are heavily adulterated. The artistic style has considerably degenerated.

No. 10 Gold; 1.8 cms., 156.943 grains (10.170 gms.)

Obv. King. nimbate, standing to 1 in *tribhanga* pose holding bow in 1. hand and arrow by his r. hand. He is wearing necklace and armlets and has curly hair. There is a *Vrisadhvaja* behind his r. hand. Legend below the left hand *Sama,* between the feet *cha.* There is a small crescent above the bull standard.

Rev. Lakshmi, nimbate, seated on lotus holding *pasa* by her r. hand and lotus by her left hand, symbol on left. Legend on r. *Srinarendravina.* This coin may be attributed to King Samacharadeva Sri Narendravinita who is known from a Nalanda seal, Faridpur and Ghugrahati Copper Plates (in Bangladesh), Kurapala Inscription (near Ghugrahati in Bangladesh) and only two coins (one of 'Archer type' and the other of 'Rajalila type') so far known. Ours is the first recorded provenance of the 'Archer type' of coin, the provenance of the other known 'Archer type' coin of this ruler remains unrecorded. He is usually taken to be the latest ruler in the triad of kings Gopachandra, Dharmaditya and Samacharadeva who are known from the five charters from Faridpur district, Bangladesh, one from Mallasarul in Burdwan district, West Bengal and the latest Copper Plate from Jayrampur, P. S Bhograi, Balasore district Orissa, pointing to the inclusion of Dandabhukti in Gopachandras empire.[24] He may be considered as a near predecessor of Sasanka, King of Gauda.

No. 11 Gold (highly debased); 1.6 cms, 150.462 grains (9.750 gms.)

Obv. King, nimbate standing to l holding bow by his l. hand and arrow by his r. hand. *Garudadhvaja* behind his r. arm. Traces of legend arranged vertically under left arm under a crescent, which is indistinct.

Rev. Lakshmi seated on lotus, holding lotus by her l. hand and some indistinct object by her outstretched r. hand. Monogram on the left. Faint traces of circular legend.

The legend of this coin cannot be deciphered and after minute observation it may be tentatively read as *Vishnu* and, as such, ascribed to Vishnugupta *Chandraditya*, one of whose coins we have discussed earlier (*Coin No. 9*)

The importance of the Hasnan hoard lies in the fact that it is the second hoard of Gupta gold coins recovered from Hughli district and it may perhaps speak about the greater concentration of economic activity in this region. It may be recalled that the ancient village of Mahanad within Polba P. S. of the same district has also yielded from time to time gold coins issued by the Gupta emperors and other antiquities belonging to the Gupta period.[25] The presence of coins belonging to the emperors beginning from Narasimhagupta *Baladitya II* to Visnugupta. *Chandraditya*, with Kumaragupta III *Sri Kramaditya* intervening in between them, perhaps confirms the chain of succession as recorded in the Bhitari Seal and some Nalanda sealings. The presence of the coin of Samacharadeva in this hoard indicates the territory occupied by the same ruler belonging to the dynasty of the other two rulers, Gopachandra and Dharmaditya; which is also confirmed by the find spot of Mallasarul and Jayrampur Copper plates mentioned above.[26]

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BULL/HORSEMAN COINS OF THE SULTANS OF GHAZNA, AD 1030—1186

Pratipal Bhatia

The present paper seeks to investigate certain characteristic features of the Bull/Horseman coinage issued by the successors of Sultan Mahmud I of Ghazna. We have so far not met with any Bull'Horseman issues with the names either of Amir Sabuktigin or Sultan Mahmud I inscribed on them. The successors of the latter who inherited the territories of the Shahis continued to issue Bull/Horseman coins with certain modifications. The entire Bull/Horseman coinage of the Ghaznavids can be studied under three separate series :

Series I — The Bull/Horseman type coins with the name Masud and Maudud inscribed in Kufic characters above the head of the reverse horse.

Series II — Bull/Arabic inscription type coins first introduced by Sultan Maudub b. Masud I (1041-50).

Series III — Bull/Horseman type anonymous issues.

The issues of Series I follow the style, size, fabric and weight standard of the later series of the Bull/Horseman coins of the Shahis. The bull and horseman of these issues are drawn in slightly high relief but they are stylised and two dimensional. The obverse has recumbant humped bull (*nandi*) to left with a dot on hump, a well formed trident on its rump,. marks below its head and Nagari legend in flowing script reading Sri Samantadeva[1] above. Second eye of the bull is shown by a dot near its face. A few issues have Kufic legends inscribed in extremely small sized characters on the *jhul* of the bull and some others have a small circle on *jhul*. The reverse of these issues has horseman to right with Sarda letter *bhi*[2] in the field to left of rider who is shown carrying in his right hand a standard pointed downwards the banner of which is shown by two lines above. The ear of the horse is turned up as found in the Bull/Horseman silver issues of Sri Khamarayakah which were issued by Sultan Mahmud I.[3] Some issues have the deformed Bactrian legend which looks like a sequence of Arabic numerals in the field to right above the head of the reverse horse, as found in later series of the Shahis,[4] However at this stage a definite change took place in the Bull/Horseman coinage and that was

the introduction of the name of the Ghaznavid Sultan inscribed in Kufic characters in the field to right above the head of the horse on the reverse. Some issues have a small circle below the name of the Ghaznavid Sultan and others have another name inscribed in Kufic characters. Thus for the first time the name of the sovereign inscribed in Kufic characters appears in the Bull/Horseman coinage along with the obverse Nagari legend Sri Samantadeva. The origin of such a practice can be traced to the Elephant/Lion copper coins of al-Muqtadir billah.

The silver content of the coins of Series I appears to be more as compared to Series II and III of the Ghaznavids. They weigh between 3.3 and 3·00 gms and, when plotted on a frequency table, show heavy concentration at 3.2 gms which is same as that of the later series of the *Shahis. Their average size is 17 mm.*

As these issues bear the name of the Ghaznavid Sultans whose chronology is fairly well established through literary sources the attribution of different issues to their respective issuing authority does not present any problem. However, in the absence of dates and mint names it is difficult to determine the exact year of each issue and the mint which produced them. On Type a of this series only a circle appears below the name of Masud, while on Types b-c name Majdud, sometimes abbreviated as Majd, appears below the name Masud on the reverse. Masud of these issues is no doubt to be identified with Masud b. Mahmud I who ruled between 1030-41. Majdud of these issues was the son of Masud b. Mahmud I. He was appointed governor of the province of Lahore,[5] *i.e.* the Ghaznavid territories in India to the east of river Indus,[6] in 427 AH/AD 1035-36[7] after the Ghaznavid forces had captured the fortresses of Hansi[8] and Sonepat[9] from the governors of the Tomara chiefs of Delhi, These coins, therefore, would have been issued in or after 1035-36 when Majdud was acting as the governor of the province of Lahore for his father Masud b. Mahmud I. These coins may have been issued from a mint located in the jurisdiction of Majdud and hence they bear his name along with his father's.

Group 2 of Series I has the name Maudud inscribed above the head of the reverse horse and Malik in microscopic characters inscribed on the *jhul* of the bull. He is to be identified with Abu I-Fath Maudud b. Masud I who ascended the throne in 1041. This seems to be his earliest issue of this series. It may have been issued soon after Maudud had

brougnt Lahore and its dependencies under his control on 4 August 1041 after a campaign against his brother Majdud.[10] He may have commemorated his victory by issuing Bull/Horse man coins bearing his name alone above the head of the reverse horse in Kufic characters. Group 2 of Series I can therefore be assigned to the later part of the year 1041. It is a rare issue and only one worn specimen of this variety has been examined by us so far. With this issue Series I came to a close for soon after this Maudud b. Masud I issued the new type in which the reverse horseman is replaced by an Arabic inscription in Kufic characters. Series I thus had a short career.

Maudud b. Masud I was the initiator of Series II which was faithfully followed by the later members of his family. In this series the obverse remains unchanged. Different marks however appear on the *jhul* of the bull of different issues such as 0.7. The trident on the rump of the bull also takes different shapes, and sometimes only or a dot is used. Gradual deterioration is noticed in the style in which the bull is rendered, and this deterioration becomes very sharp after the issues of Maudud b. Masud I. In earlier issues of this series the bull is rendered in the same style as in Series I, but in later issues the animal can hardly be recognised as bull. It is drawn in bare outline with dots here and there and it looks like a wooden toy horse. Change in the lettering of the obverse Nagari legend is also noticeable through successive issues.

The reverse of the series has an Arabic inscription in Kufic characters which gives titles and name of the Ghaznavid Sultan. Sometimes the reverse Arabic inscription begins with terms like *adl*, *saif*, *adad* and *allah*. One of the issues of Sultan Farukhzad (1053-59) has a decorative design above the Arabic inscription on the reverse. Sometimes dotted borders are visible on both sides of these issues. Some of the issues of Maudud b. Masud I and those of Abu Muzaffar Ibrahim b. Masud I (1059-99) have date and mint formula around on the reverse of which only a part can be read.[11] Thus for the first time the year of the issue and name of the mint town appear on the Bull/Horseman coinage. On some of these issues the name of the mint can be read as =Luhur[12]=Lahore. These Ghaznavid coins were definitely minted at Lahore and hence can be described as Lahore type.

The issues of Series II thus represent a combination of two types-obverse of the Shahi type and the reverse is like other dirhams of the

Ghaznavids. These coins are of thick fabric, coarse texture and of a slightly smaller size as compared to the coins of Series I. The coins of Khusraushah and Khusrau Malik are executed on broader flan and thinner fabric. Silver content in these issues appears to be very little and the later issues of this series have a very coppery appearance. When plotted on a frequency table they weigh between 3.3 and 2.6 gms with a very heavy concentration at 3.2 gms which is the same for Series I. Thus the Ghaznavids were able to maintain uniform weight standard in these series to the very end.

Since all the issues of this series bear names and titles of the reigning Ghazanavid Sultan they form a regnal series. However, it is difficult to determine the exact year of each issue as majority of them do not have dates, at least none visible. The ones which have a date and mint formula, the date on them is not easily decipherable as only a part of the legend around is visible, the rest is off flan.

For purposes of detailed analysis these issues can be arranged into a number of groups distinguished by the name of the Sultan that appears on them. This will make the arrangement in a chronological order. Each of these groups has a number of types distinguished primarily by the minute details and the style of lettering which are found on the obverse and reverse of these issues.

One may notice three different stages in the development of the characters of the obverse Nagari legend of this series. In the first stage the lower part of the Nagari characters is marked with slanting strokes and the letters are in flowing style. In the next stage these characters are found with straight strokes and look very much like modern Hindi characters. Gradually these characters get highly stylised and look like little squares and are in line with the style of the bull below. The style deterioration on the obverse of the Bull/Arabic inscription type coins of the Ghaznavids is in correspondence with the territorial shrinkage of the Ghaznavid empire. Slight change in the lettering of the reverse Arabic inscription is also noticeable through different issues of this series which becomes obvious after the coins of Sultan Ibrahim b. Masud I (1059-99).

Series III consists of hundreds of dumpy looking small sized Bull/Horseman coins of coarse fabric which, though apparently having the appearance of copper, are described as bullon issues in the records of

some museums. The silver content in these issues must have been nominal. The average size of these issues is 14 to 13 mm. When plotted on a frequency table they weigh between 3.8 and 2.8 gms with very heavy concentration at 3.2 gms. The intended weight of this series, therefore, was the same as that of Series I and II.

The obverse of the coins of this series has a recumbant humped bull in outline to left in the same style as the bull of Series I and II. All the issues have Nagari legend Sri Samantadeva above the bull in flowing and stylised script as found in Series I and on some issues of Series II. This script gets further stylised and on some issues the lower strokes of the Nagari letters become angular. The reverse of these coins has horseman in outline to right. The rider is shown carrying a standard the banner of which is shown sometimes by two lines above. The ear of the horse is turned up in the manner of the issues of Series I. Different issues have different plume symbols above the head of the horse and they resemble the plume symbols of different issues of later Shahis.[13] On some issues one can see the remains of the deformed Bactrian legend which looks like sequence of the Arabic numerals in the field to right as found on some issues of the Shahis and on Series I of the Ghaznavids. Some issues also have letter *bhi* in the field to left of the rider. On a large number of these coins the obverse and reverse devices are partly off flan suggesting that larger dies were used for smaller flans.

The plume symbols above the head of the horse, Nagari letter *bhi* in the field to left of the rider, and the deformed Bactrian legend in the field to right below the head of the horse on the reverse bring this series very close to the later Bull/Horseman coins of the later Sahis because their reverse, too, is characterised by these features.[14] But these features are not met with on the reverse of the Bull/Horseman coinage subsequent to the present series. However, the style in which the bull is drawn and of the Nagari letters on the obverse and the ear of the reverse horse correspond very closely with the issues of Series I and II of the Ghaznavids. Hence it is being suggested here that these issues which are met with in large quantities in many museums all over the world were also issued by the Ghaznavid Sultans in order to meet the currency requirements of their erstwhile Shahi territories. But unlike Series I and II these issues do not bear the names of the Ghaznavid Sultans. Therefore they are being described as anonymous issues. Different issues of

this series do not show any conspicuous change in type, size and weight standard except a few issues which show a change in the style of the lettering of the obverse Nagari legend. We feel, therefore, that the time span covered by Series III is much shorter as compared to some other series of the Bull/Horseman coins.

The coins of Series III which are being discussed here belong to the Ladoosar hoard of 178 billon Bull/Horseman coins found in Shekhawati district near Jaipur, Rajasthan.[15] and to the collection of late Mr. Lochen which are now in the University Coin Cabinet, Oslo (Norway) and Staten Historiska Museum och Kungle Myntkabinettet, Stockholm (Sweden). Different issues of this series can be divided into a number of groups which may further be sub-divided into a number of types distinguished by variant minute visible on the obverse and the reverse and the style of the lettering of the obverse Nagari legend. In the absence of proper names on these issues it becomes a little difficult to attribute each and every issue of Series III to the issuing authority with absolute certainty. However, by comparing the type of various issues of this series with the type of other known issues of Series I and II some typological parallels can be worked out which makes it possible to formulate certain typological sequence. This could help in establishing certain chronological synchronisms of these issues. On the basis of these synchronisms one could then attribute various issues of this series to the appropriate reign period. As the horseman disappears from Series II one is left only with the obverse to compare the type with.

Though the issues of Series III copy the style of the obverse and reverse devices of Series I, they differ from the latter in size, fabric and texture which are like the issues of Series II. It seems, therefore, that they were issued after Series I and were contemporary with Series II. Thus the Bull/Horseman type coins did not disappear completely after the introduction of the Bull/Arabic inscription type coins by Maudud b. Masud I (1014-50). The successors of Maudud, like their predecessors, continued to issue Bull/Horseman type coins. But unlike the earlier Ghaznavids, the later members of the family did not inscribe their names in Kufic characters above the head of the reverse horse of these issues. Thus from the time of Maudud b. Masud I the Ghaznavid Sultans issued two different types of Bull/Horseman coins, the Bull/Arabic inscription type and the Bull/Horseman type but without the name of the Sultan on the reverse. This then provides an upper limit in the chronology of

Series III. Now the type represented by the issues of Series III is certainly different from the Bull/Arabic inscription type coins of Malik Arsalan (1115-18), Bahramshah (1118-52), Khusraushah (1152-60) and Khusrau Malik (1160-86). This then seem to provide the lower limit in the chronolgy of Series III. The type of different issues of Series III corresponds with the Bull/Arabic inscription type coins issued by And ar-Rashid (1050-53), Farukhzad (1053-59), Ibrahim b. mas-ud I (1059-99) and Mas ud III b. Ibrahim (1099-1115). Series III, therefore would have been issued during the reign periods of these Ghaznavid Sultans. Thus on the basis of the typological synchronisms established between different issues of Series II and III we can attribute the Bull/Horseman anonymous issues to their proper issuing authority. However, in the absence of dated or decipherable dates on either series one can chronologically attribute these issues only in a general manner to the reign periods of different Sultans

The Ghaznavids issued copious Bull/Horseman coinage of different series which can be presented in a tabular form thus:

Series I	*Series II*	*Series III*
Masud b. Mahmud I (1030-41)	...	...
...	Maudud b. Mahmud I (1041-50)	Maudud b. Mahmud I (1041-50)
...	Abd ar-Rashid (1050-53)	Abd ar-Rashid (1050-53)
...	Abu Shuja Farukhzad (1053-59)	Abu Shuja Farukhzad (1053-59)
...	Ibrahim b. Mas'ud I (1059-99)	Ibrahim b. Mas'ud I (1059-99)
...	Mas'ud III b. Ibrahim (1099-1115)	Mas'ud III b. Ibrahim (1099-1115)
...	Malik Arsala (1115-18)	Malik Arsalan (1115-18)
...	Bahramshah (1118-52)	...
...	Khusraushah (1152-60)	...
...	Khusrau Malik (1160-86)	...

It can be seen that the Bull/Horseman coinage with the obverse *nandi* bull and Nagari legend/Sri Samantadeva continued right up to the end of the Ghaznavid dynasty when their type was adopted by Muhammad Ghori who put an end to the political power of the Sultans of

Ghazna. Different series of these coins may have been the product of different mints one of which was definitely located at Lahore. The earlier mints of Kabul and Ohind which produced Shahi Bull/Horseman coins, too, may have continued to function under the Ghaznavids.

Most of the Ghaznavid Bull/Horseman coin series circulated simultaneously with the Tomara/Chauhan Bull/Horseman coins which were definitely minted at Delhi. Thus during the llth and 12th centuries a number of Bull/Horseman coin series were being issued by different ruling dynasties from different mints located in the kingdoms of the Ghaznavids, Tomaras and Chauhans. This may have necessitated the use of the name of the issuing king on the reverse of the coins. The Ghaznavids inscribed it in Arabic, and the Tomaras and Chauhans in Nagari script. The eastern most limit of the area of circulation of the Ghaznavid Bull/Horseman coins would have been the western limits of the Tomara/Chuahan kingdoms. These coins formed a regular and stable currency of eastern Afghanistan, Pakistan and parts of Punjab during 1030-1186. Since the intrinsic value of these coins was not too great they may have either served as token money or provided small change for other high denominational Ghaznavid dirhams. How this Bull/Horseman currency was linked with other coin series of the Ghaznvids is a question that needs to be studied. Such a study may give us an idea about the purchasing power of these coins on the one hand and the currency policy of the Ghaznavid Sultans on the other.

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2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
5. In the *Tarikh-i Firishta* the name of Masud's son who was appointed governor of Lahore in 427 AH/AD 1035-36 is given as Modood at one place (Eng. tr. I, p. 107) and as Madud at another place (p. 111). This seems to be a mistake. According to the same text Modood (Maudud) was appointed governor of Balkh by his father Masud before the latter proceeded on his Indian campaign in AD 1035-36. Maudud remained governor of Balkh until his accession on the Ghaznavid throne in AD 1041. The same prince could not be the governor of Balkh and Lahore at the same time. Both Baihaqi (*Tarikh-i Masudi*, p. 501) and Gardizi (*Zain-ul Akhbar*, p. 104) give the name of the prince as Majdud b. Masud I who mas appointed governor of Lahore.

6. Baihaqi says that Majdud was appointed governor of Hindustan and he went towards Lahore. By Hindustan is meant the Indian territories then occupied by the Ghaznavids, i. e. Punjab and north west frontier province of Pakistan. Gardizi calls it province of Lahore, after the name of the provincial capital.
7. *Tarikh-i Masudi*, p. 501; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. J, pp. 106-07.
8. *Zain-ul Akhbar*, p. 104.
9. *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. I, pp. 106-07.
10. Ibid, p. 117.
11. It reads...*duriba hadh al dirham bi luhur sannata tha...arbami ah...*
12. The transliteration of the Arabic spelling of the name of Lahore found on the coins involves a tricky point of orthography. Al-Biruni (*India*, II, p. 18) gives the spelling Lohawar. which suggest that he regarded the first vowel as short; and he writes a long *alif* in the second syllable. Possibly upon our coins, the first *waw* represent no more than the' seat' of a *hamza*, following the short vowel *damma*; if however the initial vowel were regarded as *fatha*, the seat of the *hamza* would instead be *alif*, as in modern spelling. Moreover in Kufic script, long *alif* is sometimes omitted in the spelling though retained in pronounciation. Al-Biruni's Lohawar may thus be almost identical with a numismatic spelling Luhawar. It would, however, be pedantic to insist strongly on the precise spelling in Arabic of a non Arabic place name. Numismatists have usually preferred to render the modern spelling as Lahore, and we are probably justified in representing the medieval spelling as Luhawar rather than Luhawar.
13. *PIHC*, 1973, p, 55.
14. Ibid, pp. 50-59.
15. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXII, 1960, pp. 276-77.

ENDOWMENT PATTERNS OF THE VRIDDHAGIRISVARA TEMPLE AT VRIDDHACHALAM

A. Subramanian

Introduction:

VRIDDHACHALAM (79° 17'E, 11° 30'N) is a taluk headquarters town in South Arcot district of Tamil Nadu and an important junction on the Madras-Tiruchirappalli (Chord Line) of the Suthern Railway.

The temple of Vriddhagirisvara is situated on the southern bank of Manimuktta river at a distance of three kilometers from the station. It measures 230 by 120 metres and is a typical Chola edifice.[1]

Local traditions take the temple to the days of Brahma. The mountain of Medini at this place is taken to be the oldest on Earth. Great sages like Yajnavalkya, Kausika, the Tevaram trio Gnanakkuttar.

Santalinga Adigal and Guru Namasivayar (last three of the fourteenth century A.D.) are connected with this temple.

The temple is built in chaste Dravidian style and has a continuous art history for more then ten centuries. The 1. 5 metre high plinth, the 16-sided pilasters with bulbous capitals, the external ornamentation of the mukha-mandapa and the karana poses give a majestic look to the whole temple complex. The temple has some excellent portrait sculptures and exquisite bronzes too.

Inscriptions:

The Vriddhagirisvara temple is a veritable treasure-house for student of Epigraphy. About seventy inscriptions have seen the light of the day. Of these twenty-two are assignable to the Cholas of the Vijayalaya line,[2] sixteen to the Pandyas,[3] thirteen to Kopperunjinga, two to Virasekhara Kadavaraya, thirteen to Vijayanagar rulers,[4] two to Naicks,[5] and one to Thyagam Kalatti Setti. Six epigraphs cannot be definitely assigned to any ruler.

Spatial Distribution:

A long Telugu inscription is engraved on the wall to the west of the Agama temple. Two records are found on the southern wall of the 100 pillared mandapa.

Twenty-eight inscription are engraved on the wall near the entrance to the second prakara (eleven to the right and seventeen to the left of the entrance).

The temple kitcken has four inscriptions on the northern wall. We can see portions of some inscriptions on the western wall too; they cannot, however, be read satisfactorily in the present state of preservation.

Four long inscriptions are found engraved on both sides of the entrance to the unfinished gopura in third prakara.

The wall of Snapana-mandapa and Mahamandapa contain twenty-three inscriptions (Eastern-2, Southern-11 and Northern-10).

Endowment Patterns:

This paper restricts the analysis to the sixty-two inscription copied from this temple by the Epigraphical branch of the Archaeological Survey of India. These records have been noticed in the *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1900*[7] and Annual Reports on (South) Indian Epigraphy for 1918[8] and 1934-35.[9] Complete texts are available in the case of twentyseven records.[10]

A chronological analysis of these inscriptions reveals the following standard types and purposes of charitable endowments.

VRIDDHACHALAM—ENDOWMENTS PATTERNS

CHRONOLOGICAL BREAK-UP.

TABLE—I : TYPES

TYPES	DATES IN A. D.					TOTAL
	900—999	1000—99	1100—99	1200—99	1300 & Up	
LAND	3	5	2	5	6	21
ORNAMENT	1	1	—	4	—	6
ANIMALS	4	2	—	14	—	20
T. CONSTN	1	—	1	—	2	4
MONEY	1	1	—	—	—	2
TAXES	—	—	1	4	—	5
UTENSILS	4	—	—	—	—	4
LAMPS	3	—	1	1	—	5
GOLD	—	1	—	—	—	1
IMAGE	—	—	1	—	—	1
CLOTH	—	1	—	—	—	1
TOTAL	17	13	6	28	8	72

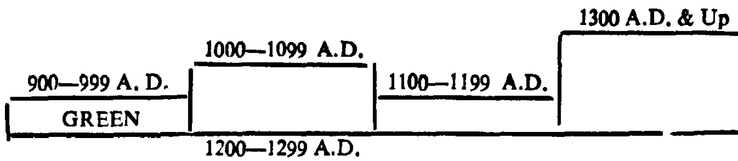
Total In col—II Includes Two Misc

TABLE—II : PURPOSES

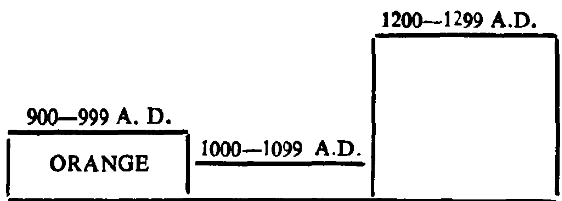
PURPOSES	DATES IN A. D.					TOTAL
	900—999	1000—99	1100—99	1200—99	1300 & Up	
LAMPS	5	3	1	13	1	24
OFFERINGS	3	3	1	4	—	11
HYMERS	—	3	—	2	—	5
T. SERVANTS	—	—	—	5	—	5
FESTIVALS	—	1	1	2	—	4
SACRED BATH	1	—	—	1	—	2
TEMPLE GARDEN	—	—	—	2	—	2
FREEDING	—	—	1	—	—	1
MISC.	—	1	—	—	—	1
TOTAL	9	11	4	29	1	55

VRIDDHALAM—ENDOWMENT PATTERNS

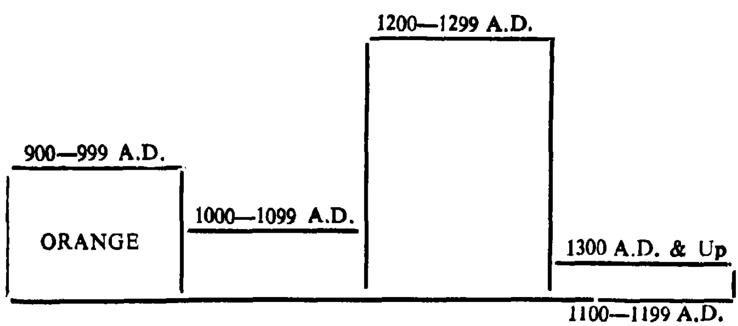
TYPES—LAND



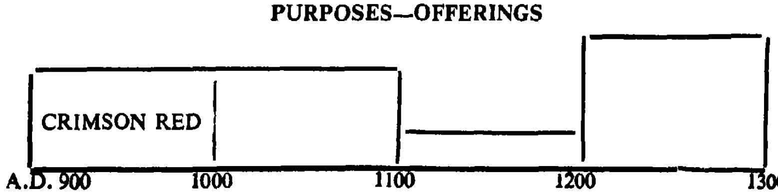
TYPES—ANIMALS



PURPOSES—BURNING LAMPS



PURPOSES—OFFERINGS



Drawn By The Author 23-12-1977

Methodology

I propose to give a new method for the diagrammatic representation of the above data. This method[10] consists of windroses and cylindrical diagrams.

Windroses are generally used by social scientists to show, for instance, the speed of the wind & C at a particular place during various seasons and months. That Pattern is used here to show the typological classification of charitable endowments based on the material that was endowed and the purposes for which they were endowed. Each arm (called AO, BO, O'A', O'B' etc.) represents a particular type or purpose. It is drawn to a scale of 1 cm–1 unit. The number at the central circle shows the number of epigraphs that do not conform to any of the standard type/purpose known to this writer.

After drawing the rays, points A, B etc., or A', B', etc., are joined to get a better visual effect.

The basic principle in the windroses is that the rays converge at O (which is the receiving point, say a temple) in diagrams for types and they emanate from O' (temple) in the diagrams for purposes.

The other method is that of cylindrical diagram. It is used by scientists to study, for example, the flow of traffic at a particular point of a thoroughfare during different periods (that is, to account for each type of vehicle crossing that point pre-prek hour, peak-hour and after-peak hour).

In our case the method is adapted to suit our needs viz, to study the chronological and typological distribution of the standard types and purposes of charitable endowments. Vertically each band represents a particular type/purpose. Horizontally each type or purpose is represented under five chosen period of 100 years starting from A.D. 900 and going upto 1300 and even beyond. Vertical scale is 1 cm-10 Units. Different hatchings have been used for the standard types and purposes of endowments. The top most portion of each horizantal divisions gives the total number of inscriptions assignable to that period.

Results of the Diagrams for Vriddhachalam:

The windroses are more or less self-explanatory. Cylindrical Diagrams need some discussion.

Types:

Land gifts show an undulating trend; upto A. D. 1099 they are on the increase when they suddenly fall down. The advent of Kadavarayas in Vriddhachalam saw a sudden spurt in the increase of land endowments.

Animals were endowed in large numbers initially. They show a declining trend upto A.D. 1199 and suddenly proliferate from 1200.

Remission and allocation of taxes become predominant after A. D. 1100. Gifts of utensils, money and ornaments are notable upto A. D, 1000.

So the period 1200-1299 A. D. marks the zenith for receiving maximum number of gifts. 28 out of the 72 inscriptions taken up for analysis belong to this period.

Purposes:

Provision for burning lamps, perpetual or otherwise, was the most common purpose.

The next item of expenditure was on paying to the temple servants.

Temple gardens were created from 1200 and arrangements were made for rearing trees and plants and keeping them in proper condition.

Learned brahmins were sumptuously fed during the period 1100 to 1199.

In this case also the period between 1200 and 1299 saw the maximum number of utilization of materials endowed to the temple. 29 of the 55 inscriptions are assignable to this period.

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2. Candraaditya 1, Rajaraja-19, Rajendra-14, Rajadhiraja-12, Vikramachola 2, Rajaraja-II 1 and Kulo hanga-III 3.
3. Vikrama Pandya 3, Virapandya 1, Sundara Pandya 3, Maravarma Pandya 1 and Konerinmaikondan 8,
4. Kampana 1, Pokkana 9 and Pratapadeva II, 3.

5. Muthukrishnappa Naick and Vaiyappa Krishnappa Naick one each.
6. Nos, 132 to 147 of 1900.
7. Nos. 39 to 92 of 1918.
8. Nos. 94 to 102 of 1934-35.
9. *South Indian Inscriptions* (Texts), Vol. VII, Nos. 145-153; Vol. XII Nos. 118, 121, 123, 124, 131, 144, 167, 192, 227, 239 and 263; Vol. XIII No. 52 & Vol. XIX Nos. 302, 303, 325, 374 and 397.
10. See also my paper "Endowment Patterns of the Vedaranyam Temple"; *Proc. of IHQ.*, XXXVII, Calicut Session, Dec. 1977.

SIGNIFICANCE OF AN UNDATED POST-MAURYA INSCRIPTION OF MATHURA BEARING ON SLAVERY.

H. C. Satyarthi

A post-Maurya inscription of Mathura refers to the existence of some of the features of slavery at that time.[1] This inscription suggests that (a) the donor named Ciri was the son of a slave and in spite of his being a freeman he seems to have accepted the social status of the son of a slave and did not rebel against his low position; (b) a slave enjoyed the right of emancipation, (c) on account of his not being literate a slave was not conscious of the importance of date and time of which the higher people were very much aware, (d) a slave had rights to own property and in the exercise of these he could make donations, and (e) a slave was very much inclined towards unorthodox sects.

The inscription under discussion states that Ciri was the son of a slave (*dasasya putra*) meaning thereby that his father was a slave but he was himsslf not so; he was a freeman. Ciri seems to be either free or emancipated and in both ways not in the chain of slavery. But he was so conditioned that he did not even mind stating the fact that he was the son of a slave. References to the emancipation of a slave by means of wealth are as old as the *Rgveda.*[2] According to Kautilya an

Arya captured in war could be emancipated through the payment of ransom or by doing work for a specified period and any hesitation showed by the master in recognising him as an *Arya* (freeman) resulted in a fine of twelve *panas*.[3] In case a person who was freed from slavery after the payment of ransom was again sold or pledged, a fine of twelve *panas* was recommended, except in the case of those who themselves agreed to remain in slavery.[4] The *Milindapanno* says that a slave could be set free after he had made the full payment of ransom to the master. A slave was considered morally bound not to leave the house of his master without paying the proper ransom. Yajnavalkya also states that if a slave saved the life of his master, he was recommended to be a freeman.[6] There is also mention of voluntary emancipation by the master of a slave.[7] Besides all these two types of manumission, we have the testimony of Kautilya to the effect that the off spring of a female slave by her master would be freed along with the mother; but if she remained attached to her master with a view to supporting her family and if she looked after the family of her master, then her brother and sister were to be emancipated instead.[8] It is not clear to which type of freedom from slavery this case belonged. That Ciri should have called himself the son of a slave may be seen as a reflection of the efficacy of contemporary devices of scialisation. It also reflects, perhaps, that even after manumission the stigma of slavery continued to dog the manumitted slave, and that as a result of effective social conditioning as well as social sanctions, the person concerned either did not possess or could not betray a reasonable modicum of self-respect. He was oppressed by tradition.

It is significant that while almost every inscription of the period under review indicates the date and time of donation. Ciri, the son of a slave, did not bother about them. It is possible that though out of regard for some unorthodox religious sects he donated his upbringing and likely denial of the benefits of education kept him innocent in regard to such notions as that of time. The same reason influenced the selection of word *dasasya putro* instead of *dasaputra*. It may be added that the word *dasaputra* was perhaps not popular in comparison to *dasaputra*.

It is disputable whether a slave could have the right to property. The inscription under discussion suggests that a slave could own pro-

perty and make donations according to his will.[10] Literary evidence exists both for and against the slaves right to property. The *Dhammapada* holds that a slave being considered as a piece of property had no right to possess anything.[11] The *Apastanba*, *Gautama*, and *Vasistha Dharmasutras*, the *Milindapanho*, and the *Arthasastra* as well as the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* refer to the sale of slaves.[12] Manu also not only denies them any wealth but makes a positive statement that the possessions of a slave belonged to his master.[13] The *Jataka* literature also refers to a female slave, who was beaten by her master for not having handed over to him the wages she had received.[14] This means that the literary sources were convinced that a slave himself being an item of property to be owned or possessed by his master, should not think of his right to own property.

But, we also have literary evidence to prove that they owned property. There are some instances of acquisition of property and inheritance by slaves. Kautilya's reference to the right of a slave to inherit his ancestral property[15] and the mention of the kith and kins of a slave as his successors in whose absence alone could a master claim the property of his slave[16], lead us to think of the existence of the proprietary rights of a slave at that time, Manu's provision that the son of a sudra born of a slave girl could take a share of the inheritance with his father's permission[17] refers to some kind of proprietary right of a slave. Yajnavalkya's regulations that the son of a slave woman by her sudra master can take a share of his father's property according to his (father's) consent, and his legal son's obligation to offer half of his property to the son born on the female slave if the father died without making any provision for his sons and in absence of his sons or grandsons the reference to the title of son of the female slave to inherit the whole of it, indicate their proprietary rights. It is significant that this rule was not applicable to sons whose fathers belonged to the three upper *varnas*.[18]

Further corroborative evidence can be cited. Kautilya mentions the supply of bad wine to slaves (and servants) as part payment of their wages.[19] Clearly, slaves were in receipt of daily wages; obviously they enjoyed the right to own at least their wages which ultimately might have had accumulated as their personal wealth. The *Arthasastra's* reference to the emancipation of slaves through the payment of ransom and their earning without detriment to their master's work,

suggests the existence of certain opportunities for them to earn wealth.[20] The reference made by the *Milindapanho* to a slave regaining his freedom by paying ransom to his master,[21] corroborates the above notion. On the basis of Ciri's donation it can be said that he possessed some wealth, but whether he inherited this wealth from his father or he had himself earned it cannot be definitely said.

The practice of gifts by a slave to an unorthodox sect is corroborated by literary sources. A slave girl is mentioned to have sold her hair to meet the expenses of a meal for a Buddhist monk.[22] Some slave girls are referred to as interested in seeking the supreme enlightenment.[23]

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12. *Manu,* Viii. 415, SRE, XXV; Chowkhambha Sanskrit Series, Varanasi. *Bharya putrasca traya evadhanah smrtah. datte Samadhigacchanti yasya te tasya taddhanam.*
13. *Jataka,* 402, 484.
14. *AS,* III. 13.14.
15. *Ibid,* 22.
16. *Manu.* IX. 179 *Dasyam va dasadasyam va Yah Sudrasya Sutobhavet,* Sonujnato *haredasamiti charmo avasthitah.*

17. Yaj. II. 133-134.
18. *AS*, III.
19. *Ibid.*, III. 13.14, 19.
20. *Milinda*, II, p. 131. The *Rgveda* also states that a slave could gain emancipation on payment of money.
21. Ibid, II. 391, pp. 145-146, SBE, XXXVI, p. 146.
22. *Ibid*, p. 124.

THE VAHLIKAS OF THE MEHARAULI IRON PILLAR INSCRIPTION

Raghavendra Vajpeyi

The present paper proposes to reopen the issue of the identification of the *Vahlikas* of the Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription.[1]

D. R. Bhandarkar had, on the basis of the *Ramayana* II, 68, 18-9, placed Vahlika on the Beas and had identified the Vahlikas as the people of the Beas region of the Punjab.[2] N.L. Dey had also considered that they were the people of the Punjab. He had, instead of providing them a seperate place in his dictionary, accommodated them under the Vahika heading.[3] Going a step further, Sudhakar, Chattopadhyaya pronounced the final virdict : "In this period the term Bahlika, which originally denoted. Bactria, came to be used as a synonym for Bhika, or the Land of the Five Rivers".[4]

No doubt, the word *Vahlikan* in the aforesaid verse of the *Ramayana* stands for the people of the Punjab.[5] But, on the basis of a comparative study of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, D. C. Sircar has come to the conclusion that the copyist of the *Ramayana* had committed the error of writing *Vahlikan* for *Vahikan*.[6] Since the very basis of Bhandarkar's identification has been challenged and rejected by Sircar, a fresh effort of identification of the *Vahlikas* becomes a desideratum.

Internal evidence of the Meharauli Inscription also supports the hypothesis that the *Vahlikas* whom Candra had defeated were not the people of the Punjab. According to verse one, line one, of the inscription, in order to invade them that ruler had to cross the seven mouths

of the river Sindhu (Indus), That is, their country was situated in the trans-Indus region. And, in the absence of any corroborative evidence that might suggest that after gaining some initial success against the people of the Indus valley, Candra had decided to conquer the Punjab, it is difficult to agree with Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya that "Candragupta evidently went from the Lower Indus Valley to the Punjab".[7]

The description of the military achievements of Candra gives the impression that the author of the inscription wanted to describe the geographical limits of his empire.[8] That is, Vanga or Bengal was the easternmost area of the empire; in the south it stretched up to the Daksina Jalanidhi or the Indian Ocean; in the west it covered the region watered by the seven mouths of the Sindhu or the Indus and it included Vahlika which was situated in the trans-Indus region. This clockwise description of the geographical limits of the empire should convince us that Vahlika was situated in the north.

Though epigraphic evidence does not provide any definite clue about the geographical location of Vahlika, early medieval commentators are positively of the view that Vahlika was situated beyond the northwestern frontier of India.

Ksirasvami, the IIth century commentator of the *Namalinganusasana*, maintains that Vahlika was the country where on the banks of the river Vanksu saffron was cultivated and was known as *Vahlikam, i. e.* the product of Vahlika. To make it clear that Vahlika was outside India, he asserts the saffron cultivated in Kashmir was, likewise, called *Kasmiram.*[9] In order to justify his identification of Vahlika, he has quoted the half verse of Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsa* IV. 67 according to which Raghu's chargers had obtained saffron colour , with saffron flowers clinging to their manes, when they had rolled on in the cultivated saffron fields on the banks of the Vanksu. Vallabha, the 12th century Kashmiri commentator of the *Raghuvamsa,* also supports this indentification. According to him, Vahlika was being watered by the river Vanku and, during the course of his *Uttaradigvijaya,* Raghu had reached there.[10]

Thus for more than six centuries Indian writers had preserved the memory of Vahlika and its conquest by an Indian ruler. And on this point there is no difference of opinion between the Meharauli Inscrip-

tion, and Ksirasvami and Vallabha. Both the commentators had quoted Kalidasa. It is obvious that Kalidasa, the fourth century contemporary and court-poet of the Gupta ruler Candragupta II, knew that the river Vanksu was watering Vahlika.

Candra's identification with Candragupta II has provided a definite historical perspective to the description of his military achievements. Since the Meharauli Inscription deliberately ignores any reference to Candragupta's success in defeating and ousting the Sakas of western India,[11] an achievement on which much of his glory rests, it becomes clear that his conquest of Vahlika was considered much more important than his victory of western India.

Though the Meharauli Inscription does not tell us why Candra had decided to invade Vahlika and why he had selected the less frequented Indus route for reaching Vahlika, Kalidasa informs us thot before launching his Uttaradigvijaya Raghu was already present in the Aparanta (western India).[12] There he had compelled the rulers of that region to accept his overlordship.[13] After his success against them. he had adopted the land route for invading the Parasikas.[14] In a well contested battle he had defeated them.[15] And, after some respite in the vine country,[16] he changed his course and adopted the northern route (Kauberi disa)[17] and descended on the banks of the river Vanksu.[18] This evidence clearly proves that an Indian ruler who wanted to invade Vahlika, especially when he was having his base in western India, could adopt the trans-Indus route, which passed through the north-western frontier, entered southern Afghanistan, and with the change of direction headed towards north and finally terminated where the road to the Oxus joined it.

As early as in 1912, K. B. Pathak had, with the help of a comparative study of the Sanskrit and the Greek phonetics; asserted that the Sanskrit word Vanksu was spelt in the Greek as Oxus and was pronounced as Vaksu. He had maintained that the river Vanksu of Kalidasa was the same as the river Oxus of the Greeks.[19]

This discussion convince us that Vahlika of the Meharauli Inscription was not the Beas region of the Punjab. It was in fact Bakhtri of the Achaemenians, Bactria of the Greeks, and Balkh of the medieval writers.

The Gupta-Vakataka inscriptions of the post Candragupta phase support our analysis of the literary evidence and also our conclusion that Vahlika was situated beyond the north-western frontier of India. They are very clear on the point that Candragupta had made some territorial acquisitions in the north.

In her Poona Copper Plate Inscription the dowager Vakataka queen Prabhavatigupta had maintained that her father Candragupta's fame had tasted the waters of the four seas.[20] Though her brother Kumaragupta I had not added any territory to his anscestral empire, he, too, had claimed that his empire was having four sea limits.[21] Likewise, Kumaragupta's son Skandagupta, who had spent much of his time in quelling revolts and in restoring order in the empire,[22] had boasted that his empire was extending up to the waters of the four oceans.[23]

Since Samudragupta had made no such claims and since Candragupta's successors had asserted that their empire was having the four sea limits ('though they had not made any addition to the Gupta empire), we are compelled to believe that Candragupta was responsible for the extension of the empire up to its said fourth sea limit.

The concept of the four sea limits had not crystallized before the time of Candragupta. It appears that his northern conquest had made the fifth-century Indians feel that it was some sea which had stopped his progress towards the north of Vahlika. Thus, according to them, the empire had obtained a natural boundary in the north, as well. This is what Kalidasa suggests by using the expression *Udadhisyamasima Dharitri*[24] for the limits of Dusyanta's empire in the Abhijnana Sakuntala.

Though the Meharauli Inscription describes the people of Vahlika as the Vahlikas, Kalidasa,[25] Ksirasvami[26] and Vallabha[27]—are all one on the point that they were the Hunas and were living on the banks of the river Vanksu. The sources of the fifth century history of Persia confirm their identification by maintaining that during that period the Hunas were present in the Oxus valley.[28]

We can offer the following reconstruction of the events which had led to Candragupta's conquest of the Vahlika Hunas :

After expelling the Sakas from western India, Candragupta had decided to free the north-western frontier from the domination of the Daivaputra, Sahisahanusahi and Saka-murunda rulers, whom Samudra-

gupta had allowed a new lease of life when they had accepted his supremacy. Since Candragupta wanted to have effective control on entire north India, he had decided to control the north-western passes which were not only vulnerable from the point of view of the defence of India but which also provided the land routes through which India maintained trade links with Central Asia and other countries.

In a well-contested battle, Candragupta had defeated them. That battle had taken place somewhere in southern Afghanistan. He had pushed them towards the Persian border. His success against them had inspired him to invade the Oxus valley Hunas.

Once he took that decision, he adopted the northern route and descended on the Oxus valley.

Since the Hunas had done nothing which could make the Indian ruler hostile towards them, they did not expect any invasion from the south. They were taken by surprise. And before they could recover from the initial shock, they were defeated by the Indian army.

This is what we can make out by piecing together epigraphic and literary evidence. While the Meharauli Inscription says that Candra had in a war (*samara*) won a victory over the Vahlikas, Kalidasa tells us that that war had taken place on the banks of the river Vanksu and in it Raghu had defeated the Hunas. Prabhavati's claim that her father's fame had tasted the waters of the four seas suggests that after his victory over the Hunas Candragupta had asserted that his empire had obtained a fourth sea limit in the north. And his next two successors claim that their empire was stretching up to the four seas indicates that they had successfully maintained their hereditary supremacy over the Hunas.

It appears that though Candragupta had won a decisive victory over the Hunas, he was aware of the magnitude of the problems of maintaining effective control on the Huna kingdom. He knew that apart from administrative and financial liabilities that would follow, great risk was involved in taking up such an ambitious project. The distance factor would only add to the problems. Therefore, as a realist, he followed the same policy of *Dharmavijaya* which his father Samudragupta had pursued towards his south Indian subordinates.

Thus a hurried peace treaty was signed by both the parties. According to it the Hunas agreed to accept the Gupta overlordship and also

to pay war indemnity etc. And the Gupta ruler willingly allowed them to manage their own affairs. He also allowed them a free hand in the Central Asian politics. But as a victorious ruler, Candragupta felt that he had a right to claim supremacy over the Hunas and as such he asserted that his empire had obtained a new fourth sea limit in the north.

This analysis of the epigraphic and literary evidence on the identification of Vahlika and the Vahlikas of the Meharauli Inscription is based on the following assumptions:

(1) Kalidasa was a contemporary of Samudragupta and Candragupta. He was a young man when Samudragupta had built his empire and he had become a mature writer during Candragupta's days. In recognition of his literary genius, he was made a court-poet by the latter ruler.

(2) Kalidasa had written the *Raghuvamsa* during his old age. The military genius of the two Gupta contemporaries had inspired him to write that epic.

(3) His Raghu did not reflect the image of any particular Gupta ruler. He was the manifestation of the Gupta imperialism. During his conquest of the south, Raghu resembled Samudragupta. And his *Uttaradigvijaya* reflected Candragupta's conquest of the north-western frontier and beyond. Individually, though none of the two Gupta rulers, in spite of their great military successes, reached his stature.

(4) The Daivaputra, Sahisahanusahi and Sakamurunda rulers of the north -western frontier were the Parasikas of the *Raghuvamsa*. They had, in spite of their long stay in the frontier region, maintained their non-Indian traits, manners and customs. In their appearance they closely resembled the Persians. They not only grew beard but also, like the Persians, put on helmets when they went to the battle field. These Persian affinities made contemporary Indians feel that they were the same Parasikas.

(5) Vahlika of the Meharauli Inscription was the same Vahlika which was identified by Ksirasvami and Vallabha as the Huna country of Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsa*.

(6) The river Vanksu of Kalidasa and Ksirasvami and Vanku of Vallabha was the river Oxus.

(7) The Vahlikas of the Meharauli Inscription were the Hunas of Kalidasa, Ksirasvami and Vallabha. They were the same Oxus valley

Hunas whom the fifth century sources of Persian history have referred to as fighting against Persia.

We can safely conclude not only that the Vahlikas of the Meharauli Inscription were the Oxus valley Hunas, but also that the first Gupta-Huna contact and conflict had taken place during the reign of Candragupta II. That is, the date of the first Gupta-Huna conflict should be fixed some forty years before the date of the so-called Huna invasion during the time of Skandagupta. In the light of this discussion, a reappraisal of the evidence of the Bhitari stone pillar Inscription of Skandagupta on the Gupta-Huna conflict is likely to yield fruitful results.

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3. N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, 1971, p. 15.
4. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India*, Cal., 1968, p. 205.
5. Yayurmadhyena Vahlikan Sudamansca parvatam; Visnoh padam presamana Vapasam capi Salmalim (*Ramayana*, II, 68, 18-9).
6. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 283-5 (notes 5; 4 (p. 285)).
7. Chattopadhayaya, *op. cit.*, p. 205-6.
8. Sircar also accepts this position but he his doubtful about the historical value of the assertion (*op. cit.*, p. 284 note I).
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11. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 279-82. Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Gupta Year 82; Sanchi Stone Inscription of Gupta Year 93; and, Inscription on some Silver Coins of Candragupta II 90+X
12. *Raghuvamsa*, IV, 58.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid*, IV, 60-4.
16. *Ibid*, IV, 65.
17. *Ibid*, IV, 66.
18 *Ibid*, IV, 67.
19. K. B. Pathak, "Kalidasa and the Hunas of the Oxus Valley", *Indian Antiquary*, XLI, p. 266.
20. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 436. Caturudadhi-salisvaitayasa (11.5-6).
21. *Ibid*, p. 304. Catussamudranta-vilola-mekalam (Mandasor Stone Inscription mentioning Kumaragupta I and Bandhuvarman-Malava Years 493 and 529 (=436 and 473 A. D.) (1.13, v. 23).

22. *Ibid*, p. 308. Junagarh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta, Gupta Years 136, 137 and 138 (=455, 456, and 457-8 A. D.) (1.3. v. 2); and Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta (11.10-15 vv. 4-7(. Kahaum Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta Gupta Year 141 (=460 A.D.) is the first inscription of that rular which refers to the Santa Varsa of his reign *(Select Inscriptions*, p. 316, 11.3-4)
23. *Ibid*, ibid, (Caturudadhi-jalantam sphita-paryanta-desam) 1.3, v. 3.
24. Act II, v. 16.
25. *Raghuvamsu*, IV, 68.
26. *Namalinganusasana*, p. 159.
27. Narayan Ram Acharya's *Raghuvamsa*, p. 101.
28. J. J. Modi, "History of the Hunas and their Inroads in India and Persia", *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1917, pp. 545, 565-7.

A SURYYA IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM RAJGANJ

P. K. Bhattacharyya

The Akshaya Kumar Maitreya Museum of North Bengal University has recently acquired a Suryyya image from Rajganj. The image was discovered from a tank near the Rajganj Police Station, a few miles to the north-west of the Jalpaiguri town, in the district of Jalpaiguri.

The region comprising the districts of Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar and Darjeeling was situated at the peripheri of the PundraVardhana-*lehukti*, as such archaeological finds similar to what we come across in the districts of West Dinajpur and Malda and the adjacent areas of Bangladesh cannot be expected from here. But archaeological specimens, sculptural representations of Pala-Sena periods are not altogether wanting in these regions.[1]

The present image which is made of black bassalt, is complete in all the details that we generally find in the images of late Sena period.[2] But the crude manner in which all these have been executed leaves little doubt that the image was the product of still later period.

The image is 75 cms by 36 cms and it contains a one line inscription covering about 18 cms by 4·5 cms on the pedestal. The language is Sanskrit and the inscription is in prose.

The inscription seems to refer to one Siva (Siva)-deva who has dedicated the image. Such names of dedications often accompany the name of deity. It may be noted that immediately after the discovery of the image photographs of the inscription were sent to some scholars[3] who have read the name of the donor as *Srl-Siva.* We, however, propose to read the name as Sri-*Sivadeva* (the correct spelling is *Siva-deva*).

The dedication of Suryya image by one Sivadeva is interesting. It may have some bearing on the history of the development of the concept of Siva-Suryya identification. Siva came to be closely associated with Suryya in medieval period in eastern India, particularly in Bengal and soon both of them stood for fertility symbol. This has explicitely been stated in the *Suryya Mangal Pancali*, a literary product of the 18th century A. D., in which it is mentioned that Suryya alias Siva is taking stramonium and his companions are sixteen hundred gopis.[4] Sonaray, the tiger god of Kamtapur did the same long before.[5] This has led some scholars to believe that *Suryya Mangal Pancali* was influenced by the folk song and folk literature of Kamatapur.[6] It has also been suggested that the conception of Sonaray is nothing but the admixture of Dharma-Thakur, Suryya and Siva.[7]

Incidently, it may be tempting to examine a few points in connection with the identifications of Sivadev. The script used in the present inscription is proto-Bengali in character. It closely resembles those we find on the coins of Cooch Behar State during the 15th/16th century A.D., particularly in respect of *da, sa, Sa.* It appears that Brahmanical religion was first introduced among the Koch tribe in the reign of Visvasimha (c. 1496 A.D.), the founder of Kamata kingdom.[8] Not only Visvasimha but his brother Sisyasimha embraced Hinduism, and Sisyasimha (also known as Sisu) took the title Siva-kumara.[9] Sisyasimha is said to have held the umbrella over the king Visvasimha at the time of his installation.[10] Visvasimha made Sisyasimha (alias Siva-kumara or Sivasimha) *Raikat* (*Rai kot*—Chieftain of the fortress) and Commander-in-chief. After his appointment as *Raikat* Sisyasimha constructed a house near Siliaguri or Silikhaguri (i.e. modern Siliguri) and the entire territory including Vaikunthapur (i.e. the present district of Jalpaiguri) was given to him as *petbhata* (appanage).[11] His descendants began to administer the region from Vaikunthapur with the title of Raikat. It is not impossible that the present Suryya image was dedicated by the first *Raikat*.[12]

TEXT

Om. Siddham. Sri-Siva-deva-dityah !!

REFERENCES

1. Cf. P. K. Bhattacharyya, 'An Interesting Stone Image from North Bengal' in the *Journal of the University of North Bengal*, 1968. For other references see *Jalpaiguri District Centenary Soubenir* (1869—1968), Jalpaiguri, 1970; S. C. Mukherjee, *Koch Behar Jelar Purakirtti* (in Bengali), Govt. of West Bengal, 1974.
2. The following few lines which are indicative of the characteristics of Pata Sena Sculptures may be cited for reference :

   'In the 9th, 10th & 11th Centuries, the accompanying elements, in spite of their seeming exuberance and Sensuous luxuriousness, maintain a balance, but in the twelfth, not unoften they simply overwhelm the main figures by their overgrowth. ...Not only the modelling but also the volume becomes petrified and gradually loses its plastic significance. Ornaments are inordinately lavish and sumptuous and do not seem to be connected organically with the figures', (R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Chapter on "Sculptures")
3. In a letter addressed to Dr. Charu Chandra Sanyal of Jalpaiguri, dated 3-2-1976, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee pointed out that he had read the inscription along with Prof. Sarasi Kumar Sarasvati. I am indebeted to Mr. Nirmal Chandra Chowdhary of Jalpaiguri for supplying this information.
4. cf. Sivai Thakur Yatra Kare dui Kane dhutura !

   Solasata Gopini laye caliche Mathura !!

   See A. K. Chakravartti, *Literature in Kamata Koch-Bihar Raj-Darbar from Fourteenth to Eighteenth Century*, Dhubri (Assam), 1964, p. 110.
5. cf. *Sonarayergan* in A. K. Chakravartti, *op. cit.*, p. 109. Sonarayergan i.e. the songs of Sonaray differs from those of Daksinaray, the tiger god of rest of Bengal.
6. A. K. Chakravartti, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
8. cf. the accounts of Sir William Hunter as recorded by Amanatulla Ahmed, see the English translation, *A History of Cooch Behar* by Sarat Chandra Ghosal, Cooch Behar, 1942, p. 120. It may be noted in this connection that Abul Fazal refers to a story (in his *Akbarnama*) that the mother of Visvasimha begot him after worshipping the Jalpesvara Siva *(op. cit.*, p. 119).
9. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
10. *Samudranarayanera Vamsavali*, p. 17.
11. Sarat Chandra Ghosal, *op. cit.*, p. 284.
12. It may be mentioned here that the fourth *Raikat* was known as Sivadeva who flourished in the middle of the Seventeenth Century A. D. His name is, however, strikingly similar to that of the donor of the present inscription. *Loc. cit.*

PLACE NAMES AND TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS IN SULTANATE-PERIOD INSCRIPTIONS

S. Farrukh Ali Jalali

It is a well known fact that the reconstruction of ancient history of India is based mainly on epigraphic sources. But while studying medieval history scholars rarely go to epigraphic sources for shedding light on administration or aspects of social and economic history.

The object of this paper is to study the territorial divisions and place names occurring in Arabic and Persian inscriptions. An attempt has also been made to seek corroboration from literary evidence.

A selected list of the terms for territorial divisions occurring in the inscriptions, is given below.

Arsa	p. 2
Iqta	p. 3 Toghluqs
Khitta	p. 4 Office
Ma'mura	p. 5 Century
Mua'mala	
Qasaba	
Pargana	
Shahr	
Shiqq	

The Cambay inscription of A.H. 762/A.D. 1361 gives both the terms *Shahr* and *iqta*, along with the name of Khambayat (Cambay). This means that the city of Khambayat was also the heaquarters of the *iqta* of Khambayat. In the Chanderi inscription of A.H. 828/A.A. 1424, we come across the term, Iqta-i-Shiqq-i-Chanderi, suggesting similarly that Chanderi was headquarters of another *shiqq* iqta".

The following cities of Gujarat are mentioned in the inscriptions.

1. Khambayat
2. Naharwala
3. Surat
4. Asawal
5. Malwan
6. Mangloor
7. Sami
8. Patan Sukhnath (Somnath)
9. Dholka

ARSA

Arsa, an Arabic word, means a big courtyard. The author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*,[1] in A.H. 658/A.P. 1259-60, uses the word for the whole country of Hindustan. But, during the time of the Tughluqs an inscription from Gujarat[2] (726/1326) uses the term *Wali-in-Arsa* (Governor of this '*area*) giving the name of an area. But in the late fourteenth century, in an inscription from *Mongrol* (Gujarat), the term *Arsa-i-Gujarat*[3] has been used. The same term Arsa was again used in an inscription of 807/1405[4] from Cambay. *Arsa* had thus come into use for a big administrative unit.

Literary sources also show that the term *Arsa* was commonly used for a big province. In 761/1360 Shams Munshi Muhammad bin Hindu Shah Nakhjawani in his book *Dastur-ul-Kabib fi Ta'aiyun-ul-Maratib*[5] used this term for the whole country of Iran (Arsa-i-Mimlakat-i-Iran. In A.H. 760/A.D. 1359 an Indian author, Abdul Hamid Muharrir Ghaznavi,[6] while defining the function of the office of Daftar-i-Jama ul Hisab mentions these terms for territorial divisions, viz *Villayat Shiqq Iqta*, and *Arsa*. He again uses the term *Arsat* and Shiqqha in the same context.

During the period of the Mughals the term 'Suba' was frequently used to denote a province. But during the sultanate period this term was never in use. Following are some references taken from Barni[7] for use of area as denoting a big administrative unit.

Naib-i-Arsa-i-Gujarat	p. 471
Ars-i-Sind	p. 66
Arsa-i-Kanpila	p. 483
Dar Arsat wa Iqalim	p. 471
Arsat-Wilayat	p. 469

In A.H. 838/A.D. 1434, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*[8] also uses the same term for a province or a big administrative unit.

Arsa-i-Gujarat	p. 182
Arsa-i-Multan	p. 201
Arsa-i-Dhar	p. 176

IQTA

Two inscriptions of Firuz Shah (Tughluq) designate Khambayat as Iqta-i-Khambayat.

Occurrences of the term *Iqta* in incriptions are very few.

References of the term *Muqti* are also found, but here we cannot link this term to particular *Iqtas*.

Much has been written on the *Iqta* system. For details see C.L. Cahen's article on Ikta in Ency of Islam. Vol. III pp. 1088-91; Prof. K.A. Nizami's book, 'Some aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the 13th Century, Aligarh 1961, pp. 128-131; Sk. Abdul Latif's article 'Iqta system under the early sultans of Delhi' in I.H. Congress Aligarh, 1975 and a paper read by the author in I.H. Congress, Calicut 1976, entitled 'Administrative offices in 13th and 14th Century Sultanate inscriptions'.

KHITTA

Khitta is an admidistrative term. From the earliest part of the fourteenth century various inscriptions refer to Budaun as Khitta-Badavan.[9] Budaun was an important city of thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It seems only big cities were treated an Khitta.[10]

Literary sources also verify this fact.

Khitta is an Arabic word and means 'a boundry or foundation line of a horse'.

According to Abdul Hamid Muharrir Ghaznavi[11] those places were called *Khitta* where forts existed. Throughout the Sultanate period, the term *Khitta* was commonly used for the city, as a metropolis *Badavan* (Budaun), Bihar (Sharif) and Khambayat (Cambay) have been designated Khittas.

The author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*[12] mentions the following cities as. *Khitta* :

Khitta-i-Badavan	pp. 468, 485, 488
Khitta-i-Bahraich	p. 470
Khitta-i-Lukhnoti	p. 469
Khitta-i-*Hansi*	p. 453
Khitta-i-Kannuj	p. 470
Khitta-i-*Nagaur*	p. 65
Khitta-i-Kol	p. 42

Barni[13] also employs this word thus :

Khitta-i-Kol	pp. 595, 596
Khitta-i-Kannuj	p. 496
Khitta-i-Avadh	p. 587

Similarly the author of *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*[14] has used the term *Khitta* for important cities;

Khitta-i-Firuzpur Sarhind	p. 185
Khitta-Bayana	p. 202
Khitta-i-Badauan	p. 188
Khitta-i-Multan	p. 219
Khttta-i-Sarsuti	p. 214
Khitta-i-Sunam	p. 229
Khitta-i-Panipath	p. 225

The author of *Madar-ul-Afazil*, (a Persian dictionary) of the 16th century also describes *Khitta* as a big city for instance the city of Sahrind was, known as Khitta-i-Firuzpur Sahrind.

MAMURA

As for the term *Mamura*, it has been used for a big and well populated place.

According to the inscriptions big cities (famous for trade and culture) like Khambayat (Cambay) and Ajmer were designated *Mamura*.

MUAMALA

The occurrence of this term in inscriptions is very rare. Afif uses it only in his account of territorial divisions e.g. Iqta'at, Parganat and Muamalat.[15]

In a Barikhatu inscription of Malik Ladla we find this. From the context of this inscription of 886/1481 any of the adjoining area of a fort may be treated as *Muamala*.

QASABA

Inscription refering to the term Qasaba are numerous. The occurrence of this term in inscriptions indicates that normally small townships have been treated as *Qasabas*, e.g. Qasaba Bilgram[16] in U.P., Qasaba Pitlawder[17] (Petlad) in Gujarat, Qasaba Sanbhar[18] in Rajasthan 'Qasaba Ranod'[19] in M.P. Thus various inscriptions of every century from every corner of the country use this term. In a inscription 765/1363-64) from Amber Museum, Rajasthan, designating *Sanbhar* as *Qasaba*, we find the oldest dated occurrence of this term.

According to Abdul-Hamid Muharrir Ghaznavi,[20] a town without a fort was called a *Qasaba*.

The author of the *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*[31] in 658/1259 mentions many Qasbat.

Qasaba Loni	p. 472
Qasaba Meherpura	p. 466
Qasaba Ahirvat	p. 448

Following are some references taken from Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi[32] :

Qasba Narnaul	p. 179
Qasaba Ludhiana	p. 191
Qasaba Kanpil	p. 203
Qasaba Rapri	p. 208
Qasaba Jalesar	p. 184
Qasaba Sanbhal	p. 188

PARGANA

In an inscription of 643/1246[23] we are able to trace the term Pargana. This is the oldest occurrence of this term. But this reading of the said inscription is doubtful.

Moreland defines this term as an aggregate of villages.[24] He says it came into official Moslem use in the 14th century by partially superseding Qasba.

It is very difficult to agree with Moreland, in equating Pargana with Qasaba. Abdul Hamid Ghaznavi clearly indicates that a town without a fort was called a *Qasaba*.

The term *Pargana* was in use for denoting a smaller unit of administration. It is a very old term. Inscriptions refering to the term *Pargana* are only a few.

Afif also used this term in the fourteenth century.[25]

SHAHR

Shahr was an old term for city. In an inscription of 661/1262-63 we find *Shahr-i-Dehli*[26] instead of *Hazrat-i-Delhi* of the literary sources. 'Delhi by the end of the thirteenth century had come to occupy a unique position in India'.[27]

According to an inscription of 721/1421, a newly founded city was also known as Shahr, Zafarabad, a big town founded by Muhammad Tughluq Shah, in East U.P.

From the inscriptions of *Shahrs* it appears that only big cities were

treated as *Shahr* e.g., Dehli, Shadiabad, Zafarabad, Khambayat and Naharwala.

SHIQQ

Shiqq as denoting an administrative unit came into use only in the fourteenth century.

But from the collection of inscriptions of the fifteenth century, we are able to trace the term *Shiqq* as an important part of administration.

In the inscriptions one comes across Shiqq-i-Surat and Shiqq-i-Chanderi.

According to Moreland,[28] Shiqq in the fourteenth century was an administrative area, either a province, or a division of a province. In the fifteenth century, it meant a province.

According to the fifteenth century inscriptions the nature and scope of the term seems to have been narrowed down, and was used for denoting only a big district.

In 805/1402-3, Surat was known as Shiqq-i-Surat and in 806/1404 another area of Gujarat was also known as Shiqq-i-Asawal.[29]

Afif says that *Shiqq-i-Hansi* was renamed Shiqq-i-Hisar Firuza, and Malik Dilan was appointed as Shiqdar Hisar-i-Firuza.[30]

The author of *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*[31] mentions the following Shiqqs :

Shiqq-i-Dipalpur	p. 193
Shiqq-i-Bayana	p. 205
Shiqq-i-Samana	p. 176
Shiqq-i-Saharanpur	p. 183
Shiqq-i-Hisar-i-Firuza	p. 179

Appendix

ARSA

	Term or name of area as given in inscription	*Period of inscription*	*Reference*
1.	Wali-in-Arsa	A.H. 726	Desai, Z.A. *EIAPS*
		A.D. 1326	1955-56-pp. 89-90
2.	Arsa-i-Gujrat	797	Desai, Z.A. *EIAPS*
		1395	1962 p. 35
3.	Arsa-I-Gujrat	807	Desai, Z.A. *EIAPS*
		1405	1963 p. 10
4.	Arsa-i-Damoh	885	Verma, B.D. *EIAPS*
		1480	1955-56 p. 113

CITIES AND OTHER TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS

5.	Bayana	669	Yazdani, G. *EIM*
		1270	1937-38 p. 5
6.	Sonpat	670	Horn, P. Epigraphia
		1271	Indica Vol. II p. 138
7.	Mohoba	722	Desai, Z.A. *EIAPS*
		1322	1966 p. 24
8.	Jagir	722	Desai, Z.A. Yazdani
		1322	Comm. Vol. 1966 p. 79-80
9.	Jalor	723	Chaagtai, A. *EIM*
		1323	1949-50 p. 32
10.	Khizarabad	725	Desai, Z.A. *EIAPS*
		1324-25	1955-56 p. 69
11.	Devgir	733	Desai, Z.A. Yazdani
		1333	Comm. Vol. 1966, p. 81
12.	Bihar	753	Ahmad, Q-*CAPIB*
		1353	p. 35
13.	Khambayat	755	Desai, Z.A. *EIAPS*
		1354	1962 p. 6
14.	Dholqa	762	,, ,,
		1361	p. 11
15.	Malva	795	Zafar Hasan *EIM*
		1392	1909-10 p. 19
16.	Sorath	797	Desai, Z.A. *EIAPS*
		1395	1962 p. 35

17.	Sorath	803	
		1400-01	,, p. 39
18.	Manglor	803	
		1400-01	,, p. 39
19.	Gujarat	803	
		1400-01	,, p. 39
20.	Mandu gadh	807	
		1405	Zafar Hasan *EIM*
			1906-10 p. 12
21.	Daultabad	809	
		1406	,, p. 19
22.	Orisa Jajnagar	831	Verma, BD. *EIAPS*
		1427-28	1955-56, p. 119
23.	Gujrat	877	Desai, ZA. *EIAPS*
		1472	1963 p. 31 432
24.	Hansi	896	Horn, P. Epigraphia
		1490-91	Indica Vol. II p. 432
25.	Bihar	901	Ahmad, Q. *CAPIB*
		1495-96	p. 127
26.	Raichur	904	Kadri, AA. *EIAPS*
		1498	1962 p. 61
27.	Mohammadabad		Desai, ZA. *EIAPS*
			1955-56 p. 27
28.	Gujrat	Khalji	Zafar Hasan, *EIM*
			1937-38.
		HISAR	
29.	Hisar-i-Malwan	866	Desai, ZA. *EIAPS*
		1461-62	1963, p.28
			Gulab Mian
			Tarikh-i-Palanpur
			1911 Vol. 3 p. 165
		KILA	
30.	Kila-i-Khatu	886	Desai, ZA. *EIAPS*
		1481	1970 p. 33
31.	Kila-i-Nalwar	Sh. 909	Rahim, S.A. *EIAPS*
		1509	1965, p. 32

IQTA

32. Iqta-i-Shahr Khambayat	762 1361	Desai, ZA. *EIAPS* 1962, p. 11
33. Iqta-i-Khambayat	782 1381	Desai, ZA. *EIAPS* 1962, p. 20
34. Iqta-i-Shiqq-i-Chanderi	828 1424	Rahim & Desai *EIAPS* 1964 p. 20
35. Iqta-i-Khambayat	883 1478	Desai, ZA. *EIAPS* 1963 p. 33

KHITTA

36. Khitta-i-Badavan	707 1307	Yazdani, G. *EIM* 1917-18 p. 21
37, Khitta-i-Kol	711 1312	Desai, ZA. *ELAPS* 1968 p. 25
38. Khitta-i-Badavan	726 1326	Raziuddin, Kunz-ul 1907 p. 42
39. (Barid-i-Khitta)	761 1360	Ahmad, Q. *CAPIB* 1973 p. 42-43
40. Khitta-i-Badavan	792 1392	Siddiqi & Desai, *EIAPS* 1964 p. 20
41. (Hakim-i-Khitta)	799 1397	Ahmad, Q. *CAPIB* p. 68
42. (Dar in Khitta)	806 1403	Rahim & Desai. *EIAPS* 1964 p. 46
43. Khitta Bihar	847 1443	Ahmad, Q. *CAPIB* p. 81
44. Khitta-i-Sirsuti	880 1475	Desai, ZA. *EIAPS* 1970 p. 30
45. Khitta-i-Khambayat	918 1512	Desai, ZA. *EIAPS* 1963 p. 40

MAMURA

46. Mamura-i- Khambayat	716 1316	Yazdani, G. *EIM* 1917-18, p. 38
47. Mamura-i-Ajmer	733 1332-33	Desai, ZA. *EIAPS* 1967, p. 12

		MUAMALA	
48.	Muamala-i-Khatu	886 1481	Desai, ZA. *EIAPS* 1970, p. 33
		PARGANA	
49.	Pargana Munk	643 1246	Hor, P. Epigraphic Indica. Vol. II. p. 138
50.	Pargana Chatsu Atiq	783 1381	Desai, ZA. *EIAPS* 1967, p. 22
		QASABA	
51.	Qasaba Bilgram	Ilbari or Khalji	Siddiqi, W.H. *EIAPS* 1962, p. 46
52.	Qasaba Sanbhar	765 1363-64	Bukhari, Y.K. *EIAPS* 1955-56, p. 59
53.	Qasaba Pitlawadar	Tughluq	Yazdani, G. *EIM* 1915-16, p. 13
54.	Qasaba Mangloor	805 1402-03	Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagri, Bombay, 1889 p. 19
55.	Qasaba Sami	807 1404-05	Desai, Z.A. *EIAPS* 1963, p. 9
56.	(Qasaba)	807 1404	Zafar Hasan. *EIM* 1909-10
57.	Qasaba Ranod	845 1441-42	Rahim & Desai *EIAPS* 1964 p. 54
58.	(Qasaba)	847 1443	Desai; Z.A. *EIAPS* 1963, p. 22
59.	Qasaba Sihor	858 1454	Rahim & Desai, *EIAPS* 1964 p. 62
60.	Qasaba Patansukhnath (Somnath)	859 1455	Desai, Z.A. *EIAPS* 1955-56 p. 95
61.	Qasaba Nauganwah	880 1476	Desai, Z.A. *EIAPS* 1955-56 p. 5
62.	Qasaba Khambayat	910 1504	Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagri Bombay, p.33
63:	Qasaba Maliabad	918 1513	Kadri, A.A. *EIAPS* 1962, p.64

SHAHR

64.	Shahr Delhi	661 1262	Bukhari Y.K. *EIAPS* 1959-60 p. 3
65.	Shahr Zafarbad	721 1321	Desai, Z.A. *EIAPS* 1967, pp. 19-26
66.	Shahr Khambayat	762 1361	Desai, Z.A. *EIAPS* 1962 p. 11
67.	Shahr Sakar (Sagar)	793 1392	Yazdani, G. *EIM* 1931-32, p. 10
68.	Shahr Dhar	795 1392-93	Zafar Hasan. *EIM* 1909-10 p. 15
69.	Shahr Dhar	807 1404-5	" " p. 11
70.	Shahr Shadiabad	807 1404-5	" " p. 28
71.	Shahr Shadiabad	809 1406	" " p. 19
72.	Shahr Muoarakabad	816 1413	Kadri AA. *EIAPS* 1964 p. 33
73.	Shahr Naharwala	821 1418	Desai, ZA. *EIAPS* Dec. 1963 p. 15
74.	Shahr Naharwara (Naharwala)	895 1490	" " p. 35

SHIQQ

75.	Shiqq-i-Surath	805 1402-03	Desai, ZA. *EIAPS* 1968, p. 22
76.	Shiqq-i-Asawal	806 1403	Desai, ZA. *EIAPS* 1963, p. 8
77.	Shiqq-i-Chanderi	828 1424	Rahim & Desai *EIAPS* .1964 p. 52
78.	Shiqq-i-Ajmer	858 1454	" " p. 62
79.	Shiqq-i-Bihar	859 1455	Ahmad, Q. *CAPIB*
80.	Shiqq-i-Chanderi	864 1459	Rahim-Desai, p.85 *EIAPS* 1969 p. 57
81.	Shiqq-i-Saranpur	899 1493	" " p. 72
82.	Shiqq-i-Chanderi	930 1524	Verma, BD. *EIAPS* 1956-57 p. 123

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See for the 'Evolution of the Vilayat, the Shiq and the Sarkar' an article by I. H. Siddiqi Medieval India Quarterly Vol. V 1963.

31. Yahya Sihrindi—Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, Calcutta, 1931.
See also Sk. Abdul Latif's article 'Administrative charges in fourteenth century' in Indian History Congress Calicut, 1976.

ABBREVIATIONS

CAPIB—Corpus of Arabic and Persian inscriptions of Bihar, Patna 1973.
EIAPS—Epigraphia Indica—Arabic & Persian supp.
EIM—Epigraphia-Indo-Moslemica.

BUDHI MANDU

Shankarlal Agrawal

Dhar is a historical and cultural town of M.P., situated in the plateau of Malwa. It is well-known for its fertility and agricultural produce. Since ancient times Dhar had been economically prosperous and a seat of political and cultural activities.

"Mandu, the city of joy of medieval India" is about thirty-five kilometres from Dhar. It is the pride and glory of this district, which is unfaded even after centuries of historical ups and down. Mandu is known for its monuments whose speaking silence takes us back to the times that are no more. Muslim rulers realised their visions of architecture in buildings and the constructions of this place. Mandu with its natural surroundings of Vindhya ranges is full of natural beauty. It attracts a great number of tourists from all over the world.

Apart from this fortified city of medieval India, there is another Mandu, neglected and perhaps forgotten, hidden in a valley of Vindhya ranges. It is not very far from the present Mandu, which is known by local inhabitants as Budhi Maudu. It is seven kilometres South-West of Mandu. It is something of an anigma that this beautiful architectural treasure has remained unknown and unexplored. Truly the Budhi Mandu is older than the present one and rather cut off due to inaccessible dense forest, hills, valleys and rivulets. Journey to Budhi Mandu is adventurous and full of interest. Once the archaeological

authorities realise the importance of the place, the place of Budhi Mandu in the historical heritage of the country can be restored.

Budhi Mandu is scattered and its ruins can be seen in an area of about ten kilometres. After crossing the hills, the valleys and the rivulets, when we reach near the ancient fort, the ruins of ancient temples and the remains of the impregnable wall of the fort greet our eyes. On the way we come across an idol of Hanuman, the God of valour (Shakti). The height of the idol is five feet and it is lying on the ground.

The actual number of buildings must have been more than what can be seen today. At present we can see the ruined remains of ten temples. Who demolished them? The forces of nature or some human destructive agency? The style of architecture and sculpture of the temples is of the 10th and 11th centuries. These temples can be compared with the ancient famous Jain temples of the village of Oon in district Khargone, M.P. The temples of Oon were constructed between the ninth and tenth centuries.

If we take up this work, we may find out some link between these temples. It may throw some light on the development and extension of similar architectural style of temples over a vast area from Oon to Budhi-Mandu. Instead of certain idols we see there several statutes of women in different romantic poses. Their lovely, attractive and romantic gestures with different human sentiments declare the artistic efficiency and insight in life of their builders. These stone statues look so life-like and living. There are many beautiful images of gods and goddesses like those of Khajuraho.

The ancient architectural style of Budhi Mandu temples must have been related to post-Gupta period. The Pratihar and Parmar rulers were interested in patronising the Takshan art. That is why the idols of Mandu and Dhar resemble 'Takshan' style and are similar in artistic value. Not only this, the architecture of the temples of Budhi Mandu appears to be similar to 'Nagar Style' as prevalent in Gujrat (Kathiawada) during the pre-medieval period.

Besides ancient temples there may be so many places, tanks, wells, and guard-rooms in Budhi Mandu. It is found that the steps of the tanks are still visible. The rulers of those times might have been interested in the development of gardens. The ancient ruins of the fort (Budhi

Mandu) look grand against natural surroundings, and are strong and well-guarded.

It is quite possible that the sculpture and architecture of Budhi Mandu may be of a period between the 8th and 12th centuries. The pillars used in the Inn (Sarai) to the right of the Hosang Shah's Mosque in Mandu are similar to the ones found in the temples of Budhi Mandu. There are many other similarities of architecture.

Budhi Mandu needs proper patronage and regular protection, so that the architectural glory and the cultural prosperity of that period may be kept alive. Thousands of travellers, tourists, high authorities and historians visit Mandu every year and remember the glorious heritage of the past, but they are deprived of a visit to Budhi Mandu, which is equally valuable and a treasure of a cultural heritage. Therefore, we appeal to the archaeological authorities to provide the means of proper transport to reach the place and protect the historial and cultural prosperity of our country which enables us to peep into the glorious and prosperus past.

APPENDICES

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS HELD AT THE UTKAL UNIVERSITY, BHUBANESWAR ON 28-12-1977

The following members were present :

Professor L. B. Keny
Professor R.S. Sharma
Dr. M. Athar Ali
I. H. Siddiqui
Professor Barun De
Dr. Aniruddha Ray
Professor Irfan Habib
M. P. Sridharan
A. P. Ibrahim Kunju
T. K. Abdul Latheef
Christhakumar W. E. Nicholas
E. Ismail
Chandan Mitra
H. S. Srivastava
S. Dwivedi
N. Dwivedi
Gautam Chattopadhyay
Tanika Sarkar
Sumit Sarkar
Manju Chattopadhyay
V. Ramakrishna
T. Mohandas
Chaya V. T.
V. Sriramachandra Murty
G. Manikyala Rao
J. C. Dua
P. K. Shukla
G. D. Gulati
S. G. Mishra
D. N. Jha
H. C. Verma

Harbans Mukhia
M. Pattabhi Rama Reddy
C. V. Ramachandra
Iqtidar Alam Khan
S. S. Dave
S. A. Ghugare
T. Jamal Mohamed
Ranajit Sen
P. N. Dutta Nan
Nand Kishore Kumar
N. P. Verma
C. M. Kulkarni
B. R. Grover
M. B. Dongre
P. K. Dhake
M. V. Sahtrabhudya
Chanda Gilda
Megha Kulkarni
T. M. Meshram
Chittaranjan Lahiri
K. Maitra
R. P. Singh
G. P. Upadhyay
Jagdish N. Sinha
Devayani Mitra
J. D. Kishore
Santimay Ray
Suvira Jaiswal
M. S. Khan
B. M. Lall
K. Lall
M. C. Kotnala
C. Palit
Tarasankar Banerjee
A. M. Shastri
P. L. Mishra
P. Bhatia
Maya Gupta

Latika Lahiri
Manmathnath Gupta
M. M. Gavir Rowth
V. Jha
V. C. P. Chaudhary
R. L. Shukla
K. K. Das Gupta
Yogendra Mishra
Dadasahib D. G. Mahajan
B. K. Roy
A. P. Sharma
Y. Sriramamurty
K. G. Dutta
C. P. N. Sinha
Neelam Koomar
Sanat B.
A. Gautam
K. N. Panikkar
Pardaman Singh
R. P. Sikka
K. N. Gupta
P. L. Saswadkar
P. Pradhan
Muzaffar Alam
Dilbagh Singh
R. N. Varma
G. S. Sharma
M. N. Das
J. B. Bhattacharjee
H. M. Ghodke
Rajendra Ram
Rajeshwar Prasad Singh
A. N. Chandra
K. P. Dutta
Arun Kumar Mishra
Dinesh Singh
Kumud Shukla
Mani Kamerkar

Sheela Raj
Mariam Dossal
E. R. Hambye
Cynthia Deshmukh
A. J. Syed
Sushil Saha
Gourisankar De
K. C. Rathor
Sunil Dutta
Om Prakash
J. S. Mehra
G. S. Dhillon
R. N. Nandi
Shireen Moosvi
Sobhana T. R.
Sowdamini K. V.
Yogeshwari Shastri
K. M. Shrimali
G. B. Kadam
S. C. Mishra
P. S. R. Samar
M. Amir Ibrahim Khan
Amita Ray
P. P. Sudhakaran
Veluthat Kesavan
T. V. K. Kurup
M. G. G. Nair
A. V. Ramachandran Nair
Sampad Mohapatra
Rama Krishna
Harmohinder Singh
M. L. Bhatia
S. G. Kolarkar
A. S. Rawat
Shekhar Pathak
Zahoor Ali Khan
S. P. Verma
Rafat Bilgrami

Pushpa Prasad
Rajkumar Bais
J. V. Singh Agra
K. K. Trivedi
P. V. Ranade
Durga Nand Mishra
S. Hasan Mahmud
S. C. Misra
Om Prakash
Shashi Joshi
Adrienne Cooper
A. A. Webster
Bhagwan Singh Joshi
Afzal Husain
S. Shafiullah
I. A. Zilli
Sk. Abdul Latif
Iqbal Husain
Krishna Kant Sharma
B. R. Puri
R. Vajpeyi
J. S. Grewal
S. Maity
Upendra Thakur
Radhakrishna Chaudhary
Shyam Deo Prasad Singh
O. P. Jaiswal
K. P. Mishra
K. L. Chattopadhyay
Debaprasad Ghosh
Awadh Kishore Prasad
Dipak Kumar Sandwar
Sharda Pandey
Durgaprasad Bhattacharya
M. D. David
V. C. Joshi
Devahuti
Mahendra Pal Singh

Hemant K. Sarangi
M. L. Bhargava
Rupkant Bhargava
D. N. Gupta
K. Prasad
R. N. Kumar
P. N. Sahay
A. K. Singh
V. K. Thakur
Ram Bhushan Singh
A. Kumar
S. N. Pandey
S. M. Raza Naqvi
R. A. Alavi
Mohd. Umar
Afzal Khan
Mansoora Haider
Poonam Goel
Madhu K. Trivedi
Mohd. Husain A.
M. Khaisar Zaman
Masood Ahmad Khan
Ahmed Raza Khan
M. Y. M. Siddiqui
Jamal M. Siddiqui
B. L. Bhadani
Ravindra Srivastava
Tariq Ahmad.

Refore the formal functioning of the meeting, the Secretary announced that in view of the absence of the President, Dr. Satish Chandra, and at the request of Professor R. S. Sharma, the Executive Committee resolved that Dr. L. B. Keny be requested to preside over the Annual Business Meeting.

Amidst the applaus, Professor L. B. Keny occupied the Chair.

1. The meeting noted with sorrow the demise of the following historians and observed silence as a mark of respect in their memory.

1. Professor Trilochan Pant (Varanasi)

2. Professor Nalinaksha Datta Chakkey (Calcutta)
3. Professor Sardar A. A. Patil (Dewas, M. P.)

2. The minutes of the Annual Business Meeting held at Calicut University were confirmed.

3. The Report of the Secretary, as recommended by the Executive Committee was approved.

4. The Treasurer's Report for 1977, statement of income and expenditure for 1977 and budget estimate for 1978 as recommended by the Executive Committee, was approved.

5. The Secretary reported on the decisions arrived at after deliberations in the Executive Committee.

The recommendation of the Executive Committee to hold the annual Symposium for the 1978 Session on 'Social Roots of ideas in Indian History' was approved.

The recommendation of the Executive Committee authorising the Secretary to explore a new venue for the 1978 session, if the invitation from Bangalore University is not renewed, was approved.

6. The proceedings of the Publication Committee of the Project of Comprehensive History of India, transmitted through the Executive Committee were approved.

7. The appointment of auditors, viz. M. S. Singhal, Chartered Accountant, Aligarh, for the Aligarh Office and M/s Mehta Associates, Chartered Accountant, New Delhi, for the Delhi office, for accounts of 1977-78 was approved.

8. The election of the following office bearers, General President and Sectional President for 1978 was accepted.

President	:	Professor Satish Chandra
Vice-Presidents	:	Professor J. N. Sarkar
		Prof. R. S. Sharma
Secretary	:	Dr. M. Athar Ali
Joint Secretaries	:	Dr. D. N. Jha
		Dr. M.P. Sridharan
Treasurer	:	Mr. I. H. Siddiqui
General President for 1978-79	:	Prof. S. Gopal
President Section I	:	Professor M. G. S. Narayanan
II	:	Professor Azhar Ansari
III	:	Professor Nilmani Mukherjee

IV : Professor Upendra Thakur
V : Professor Ajoy Mitra Shastri

9. The following resolution was presented on behalf of the Executive Committee by Professor Irfan Habib, Seconded by Dr. Amalendu Guha and Dr. Anees Jahan Syed :

"The Indian History Congress meeting at Bhubaneswar for its 38th Session reaffirms the commitment of Indian historians to the scientific and secular approach to the study of history. This Congress believes that it is indefensible to use history for conveying communal, caste and racial prejudices. The Congress is convinced that the task of the historian is to establish and correlate facts relevant to all aspects of human endeavour, political, social economic and cultural while preserving all the time a keenly critical spirit.

In the present attack on certain history text-books approved for use in schools, these principles have been expressly brought into question. An attempt is being made by the Government to remove these text-books and there are apprehensions of Government offering patronage to the rewriting of history on, communal and chauvinistic lines. It cannot also escape notice that the policy of personal bans and restrictions has also been resorted to as part of the attack on historians noted for scientific approach to the past, just as was done under the previous regime.

The historians of India have to be on guard against the divisive forces bent on giving a distorted and harmful depiction of our people's great past. The Indian History Congress urges the Government of India to clearly and forthwith give an assurance that it would desist from giving official support and backing to such forces.

Several members spoke on the resolution. The resolution was adopted unanimously.

10. It was resolved that some suitable measures may be adopted to ensure the delivery of the proceedings volumes to the Life Members of the Indians History Congress.

11. Professor Barun De thanked the authorities and the staff and students of the Utkal University, Bhubaneswer for the hospitality extended to the delegates of the Congress.

(M. Athar Ali)
Secretary

(L. B. Keny)
President

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress held at the auditorium, Utkal University on 27-12-1977. The following members were present :

R. S. Sharma
M. Athar Ali
I. H. Siddiqui
D. N. Jha
MGS Narayanan
Irfan Habib
Amalendu Guha
Amalendu De
Latika Lahiri
Jayanta Bhusan Bhattacharyya
A. P. Sharma
L. B. Keny
R. L. Shukla
Bipan Chandra
O. P. Jaiswal
M. P. Kamerkar
Sarada Raju
M. B. Choudhury
M. P. Sridharan

1. The Committee noted with sorrow the sad demise during the current year of the following historians, and observed silence for two minutes in their memory :

Professor Trilochan Pant	(Varanasi)
Professor Nalinaksha Datta	(Calcutta)
Professor Sardar A. A. Patil	(Dewas, M.P.)

2. The minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee held on 30-12-1976 at Calicut University were confirmed. The election of Mr. I. H. Siddiqui as Treasurer in place of Mr. Iqtidar Alam Khan by circulation was approved.

3 The Secretary's Report was approved with slight modifications.

4. Treasurer's Report was approved. The Audited Accounts of the Calcutta office and New Delhi Office for 1976-77 were approved.

5. M/s Singhal & Co. of Aligarh Chartered Accountant, and M/s Mehta Associates Chartered Accountant, New Delhi were appointed Auditors for the year 1977-78 for Aligarh and New Delhi offices respectively.

6. Proceedings of the Publication Committee as presented by the Secretary of the Committee were approved.

7. Resolved that the topic for the Symposium to be held in 1978 Session should be 'Social Roots of Ideas in Indian History'.

8. The venue for 1978 was discussed and the Secretary was authorised to explore new venue if the invitation from Banglore University is not renewed.

9. Professor Jagdish Narayan Sarkar and Professor R. S. Sharma were elected as Vice-Presidents of the Congress. Dr. M. Athar Ali, Dr. D. N. Jha, Mr. I. H. Siddiqi were re-elected as Secretary, Joint Secretary incharge of the Permanent office, and Treasurer respectively. Mr. M. P. Sridharan was elected as Joint Secretary.

General President for 1978	:	Professor S. Gopal	(JNU)
Section I	:	Prof. MGS Narayanan	(Calicut)
Section II	:	Prof. Azhar Ansari	(Jamia Millia)
Section III	:	Prof. Nilmani Mukherjee	(Kalyani)
Section IV	:	Prof. Upendra Thakur	(Magadh)
Section V	:	Prof. Ajoy Mitra Shastri	(Nagpur)

10. The following resolution was recommended :

"The Indian History Congress meeting at Bhubaneswar for its 38th Session reaffirms the commitment of Indian historians to the scientific and secular approach to the study of history. This Congress believes that it is indefensible to use history for conveying communal, caste and racial prejudices. The Congress is convinced that the task of the historian is to establish and correlate facts relevant to all aspects of human endeavour, political social, economic and cultural, while preserving all the time a keenly critical spirit.

In the present attack on certain history text-books approved for use in schools, these principles have been expressly brought into question. An attempts is being made by the Government to remove these text books and there are apprehensions of Government offering patronage to the rewriting of History on communal and chauvinistic lines. It cannot also escape notice that the policy of personal bans and restrictions has also been resorted to as part

of the attack on historians noted for scientific approach to the past, just as was done under the previous regime.

The historians of India have to be on guard against the divisive forces bent on giving a distorted and harmful depiction of our people's great past. The Indian History Congress urges the Government of India to clearly and forthwith give an assurance that it would desist from giving official support and backing to such forces."

11. In view of the absence of the President, Dr. Satish Chandra, and at the request of Professor R. S. Sharma, the Executive Committee resolved that Dr. L. B. Keny be requested to preside over the Annual Business Meeting of the Indian History Congress to be held at the Auditorium, Utkal University on 28-12-1977.

12. Vote of thanks.

Sd/-
(R. S. Sharma)
PRESIDENT

Sd/-
(M. Athar Ali)
SECRETARY

SECRETARY'S REPORT

Mr. President and Fellow Members,

I deeply regret to announce the sad demise of Sri Trilochan Pant of Varanasi, Dr. Nalinaksha Datta Chakkey of Calcutta, and Sardar A A Patil of Dewas (M.P.) who were Life Members of the Congress. I am sure the Congress will join me in extending our condolences to bereaved members of the family of the deceased.

Membership:

As of 26.12.1977, the total membership is 1154 compared to 1187 last year. Life Membership stands at 137, Institutional Members 41 and ordinary membership comes to 976, excluding 3 Patrons. I most warmly welcome new members to the fold of the Indian History Congress. I would also request that all those members who have not received our circulars should send their present addresses to us for proper indexing which has been started this year. I may also add that the Institutional membership has not increased at the same ratio and I feel it is the duty of all of us here to make renewed effort to enrol new Institutional Members.

Papers:

I am happy to announce that the number of papers to be presented this year at Bhubaneswar has increased to over 250 a considerable increase since last year. Under the circumstances, we are obliged to continue two sections for each of the three big sections. I hope that the members will find enough time to present their papers and have meaningful discussions on them. With the four-day session to be held from 1978, we will have some more time with us for deliberation.

Volumes of Proceedings :

I deeply regret that the Proceedings Volume of the 37th Session held at Calicut could not be handed over to our scholars at this session because of unavoidable circumstances.

Grants :

We have already applied for the grant of Sir Dorabji Tata Trust for

Rs. 1,000/-for the 1977 session. No reply has yet been received. We are also negotiating with the ICHR for a suitable grant for the publication of the proceedings volumes and the expenses for the Symposium. The report of the Committee of the Comprehensive History of India, set up in 1976 by the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress, is enclosed herewith. I request members who are in a position to approach foundations for donations for the maintenance of our voluntary organization which subsists mainly on membership subscriptions and sale of the back numbers of the Proceedings Volumes.

Release of Professor L.B. Kenny :

The History Congress at its sessions held during the Emergency at Aligarh and Calicut protesed against the arrest of teachers of History, including Professor L.B. Kenny, a member of the Executive Committee. The History Congress was the only national organisation of academics in the country to pass such a protest resolution during the Emergency. To our great regret, the then Government remained for long deaf to our protests. Ultimately Professor Kenny was released this year, and I am glad to welcome him in our midst.

The Text Books :

The controversy about the withdrawal of text books by eminent historians revealed that there was an effort to encourage a communal view of history. Since this was contrary to the tradition of scientific and secular approach to history consistently advocated by the History Congress I wrote to the Union Minister of Education on 11 July 1977, protesting at the move against the text books. The Minister was good enough to reply that our views would be duly considered. No further communication has, however been received.

In conclusion may I express my deep sense of gratitude to all members and office bearers of the Indian History Congress for the co-operation that they have given me. Finally, I am sure you will join with me in extending warm thanks to the authorities of the Utkal University for agreeing to host the present session.

M. Athar Ali
SECRETARY
Indian History Congress

27.12.1977

TREASURER'S REPORT

Mr. President and Fellow Members,

I herewith present the report of accounts of income and expenditure from 1-4-1977 to 15-12-1977 and estimated budget income and expendture from 16-12-1977 to 31st March 1978 and budget estimate for 1978-79. This report and estimated budget represents the consolidated account of the Indian History Congress office at Aligarh and of the permanent office at New Delhi. This statement of account was prepared on 16th December 1977 for presentation to our Association at its Annual General Meeting. Membership subscriptions as well as orders fos previous back volumes of Proceedings are being received even now, and, therefore, the report is not final.

On April 1, 1977 the Association started with an opening balance of Rs. 19,021.38. Income from membership fee during the period under review was Rs. 22,387.61; income from sale of back proceeding volumes at Delhi was Rs. 3,305.25. Total expenses incurred during this period were Rs. 10,747.00. The balance thus left is Rs. 33,967.24 excluding a sum of Rs. 1,400.05 which is due to be received from the Treasurer, Indian History Congress (Calcutta Office).

Our membership enrolment till December 15, 1977 was as follows :

(a) Ordinary members	
(b) Life members	979
(c) Institutional members	136
	35

	1150

The audited income and expenditure account of the Congress for the period 1st April 1976 to 31st March 1977 are being presented to you. The audited account for the same period of the permanent office at Delhi has been presented by Dr. D.N. Jha.

I trust that you will approve of it. I would like to thank Dr. D. N. Jha and his staff who have been forthcoming with the greatest of help in

the preparation of this consolidated account. I would also particularly wish to express my most grateful thanks to Dr. Aniruddha Ray with whose timely assistance, I could do all this job. My thanks are also due to the staff of the Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh Muslim University who took pains in working out the figures at short notice.

Aligarh
December 27, 1977

I.H. Siddiqui
TREASURER

STATEMENT NO. 1

Statement of Income and Expenditure 1977 (upto 15-12-77)

(Combined Accounts of Aligarh & Delhi Offices)

Income

1.	Opening Balance as on 1-4-77 Aligarh (from Calcutta office)		50.00
2.	Balance due from Calcutta office Aligarh.		1,400.05
3.	Opening Balance (Delhi office) (Amount received from the ex-Joint Secretary Shri BR Grover)		
	(a) Cash	500.00	
	(b) Bank Drafts	4,499.02	
	(c) Cheques	3,279.00	
	(d) Cash in Bank :		
	(i) Allahabad Bank Patna (SB A/C)	14.36	
	(ii) Allahabad Bank Current A/c	64.85	

Expenditure

1. *Office Establishment*		
(a) Delhi	1,546.95	
(b) Aligarh	2,350.00	3,896.95
2. *Contingencies*		
a. (i) Postage Aligarh office		1,281.00
(ii) Postage & Rly. Freight (Delhi office)		238.70
b. (i) Stationery (Aligarh office)		1,615.00
(ii) Stationery (Delhi office)		223.85
(iii) Packing material (Delhi office)		38.85
(iv) Miscellaneous („ „)		62.80
(v) Bank charges („ „)		10.70
3. Office Equipment (Aligarh office)		215.85
„ „ (Delhi office)		70.30
4. Conveyance & Transport (Delhi office)		2,414.85

(e) Amount receivable from ICHR i.e. 5% of the publication grant	2,850.00	
(f) Amount due from IHC Calcutta given as loan	4,000.00	
(g) Books supplied but money yet to be received	3,764.15	18,971.38
Subscription (Aligarh office)		
(a) Old members	10,040.00	
(b) New members	7,777.61	
(c) Life members	3,730.00	
(d) Institutional members	840.00	22,387.61
5. Sale of Proceedings.		3,305.25
Grand Total Rs.		46,114.29

5. Transfer of Aligarh office to Bhubaneswar	678.15
6. Cash with Calcutta office (Aligarh)	1,400.05
7. Cash with Bank (Aligarh)	15,273.61
8. Cash in hand (in connection with 38th session at Bhubaneswar	1,024.00
9. *Delhi office*	
(i) Cash in hand	1,067.65
(ii) Cash in Bank	6,362.62
(iii) Money to be received from ICHR towards 5% of the publication grant.	2,850,00
(iv) Money receivable from IHC, Calcutta given as loan	4,000.00
(v) Cash in Bank, Allahabad Bank, Patna (Savings Bank account)	14.36
(vi) Cash in Bank, Allahabad Bank, Patna (Current Account)	64.85
(vii) Proceedings supplied but cheques yet to be collected.	3,310.15
Grand Total Rs.	46,114.29

Statement No. 2

ESTIMATED INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FROM (16-12-77 to 31-3-1978)

(Delhi & Aligarh offices)

Expected Income		*Estimated Fxpenditure*	
1. Sale of Proceedings	5,000.00	Printing of Circulars, stationery etc. (Aligarh)	1,200.00
2. Grant-in-aid from ICHR	25,000.00	Printing of Proceedings (Delhi)	29,000.00
3. Membership fee	1,600.00	Printing of list of papers (Aligarh)	2,000.00
		Proof Reading (Delhi)	1,000.00
		Office Establishment (Delhi)	640.00
		,, ,, (Aligarh)	1,410.00
		Postage & Railway Freight (Delhi)	350.C0
		,, ,; (Aligarh)	400.00
		Audit Fee (Delhi)	200.00
		,, (Aligarh)	200.00
		Transfer of office from Bhubaneswar to Aligarh (Aligarh)	1,000.00
		Conveyance & Transport (Delhi)	1,500.00
		Miscellaneous (Aligarh)	500.00
		Packing material (Delhi)	40.00
		Stationery (,,)	150 00
		Editors (,,)	1,000.00
		Furniture and office equipment	100.00
Grand Total Rs.	31,600.00	Grand Total Rs.	40,690.00

Statement No. 3

BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR SECRETARY's/TREASURER's OFFICE AND PERMANENT OFFICE AT NEW DELHI FOR 1978-79.

Income		*Expenditure*	
1. Sale of Proceedings	20,000.00	1. Establishment	6,500.00
2. Grant-in-aid for the publication of Proceedings—38th session.	25,000.00	2. Postage & Railway Freight	4,000.00
3. Membership fee	22,000.00	3. Stationery	8,500.00
4. Balance due from Calcutta office	1,400.05	4. Conveyance, TA/DA	6,000.00
		5. Printing of proceedings-38th session, circulars, list of papers etc.	35,000.00
		6. Packing material	300.00
		7. Audit Fee	400.00
		8. Office Equipment	2,500.00
		9. Typewriter	6,000.00
		10. Editors	1,000.00
Total Rs.	68,400.05	Total Rs.	70,200.00

Statement No. 4

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE 1977 (upto 15-12-1977)

Income

1.	Opening Balance as on 1-4-77 (Aligarh)		50.00
2.	Balance recoverable from Calcutta office		1,400.05
3.	Subscription :		
	(a) Old members	10,040.00	
	(b) New members	7,777.61	
	(c) Life members	3,730.00	
	(d) Institutional members	840.00	
			22,387.61
	Grand Total Rs.		23,837.66

Expenditure

1.	Postage	1,281.00
2.	Stationery, printing of pads, circulars, envelopes etc.	1,615.00
3.	Transfer of office to Bhubaneswar	678.15
4.	Office Equipment	215.85
5.	Office Establishment	2,350.00
6.	Cash with Calcutta office	1,400.05
7.	Cash in hand (in connection with 38th Session at Bhubaneswar)	1,024.00
8.	Cash with bank	15,273.61
	Grand Total Rs.	23,837.66

Statement No. 5

ESTIMATED INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE PERIOD FROM 16-12-77 TO 31-3-78 AT ALIGARH OFFICE

Expected Income till 31-3-78			*Estimated Expenditure till 31-3-78*		
1.	Membership fee	1,600.00	1.	Printing of Circulars, Stationery etc.	1,200.00
			2.	Office Establishment	1,410.00
			3.	Transfer of office from Bhubaneswar to Aligarh	1,000.00
			4.	Postage and Railway Freight	400.00
			5.	Audit Fee	200.00
			6.	Printing of 'list of papers' — 38th session (bills unpaid)	2,000.00
			7.	Miscellaneous	500.00
	Total Rs.	1,600.00		Total Rs.	6,710.00

T. K. Ghose & Co.
Chartered Accountants

Phone : 23-9951
10, Old Post Office Street
Calcutta-1.

AUDITOR'S REPORT

To

The Members of the Indian History Congress

We have audited the attached Receipts and Payments Account of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta office, as at 31st March, 1976 and we report thereon as follows:—

(1) We have obtained all the informations and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary for the purpose of our audit.

(2) In our opinion, proper books of account as required by the custom have been kept by the Association so far as appears from our examination of books.

(3) The Receipts and Payments Account is in agreement with the books of account and give a true and fair picture of the accounts of the Association.

Sd/- T. K. Ghose & Co.
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS

Dated, December 20th 1976

T. K. Ghose & Co.
Chartered Accountants

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS, CALCUTTA OFFICE, CALCUTTA

Receipts & Payments Account for the Period from April 1,1975 to March 31, 1976

RECEIPTS		AMOUNT Rs. P.	PAYMENTS		AMOUNT Rs. P.
To *Opening Balance :*			By *Office Establishment* (Secretary's/Treasurer's Office)		1,025·00
(I) Cheques not yet credited	432.00		By *Printing & Stationery* (Printing of Circulars, Stationery & Cyclostyling etc.		1,772.87
(ii) Cash-in-hand	231.25		By *Printing & Publication*		
(iii) Cash-at-Bank	8,975.55	9,638.80	(a) Printing of summary of 36th Session, 1975	4,300.00	
To Membership Fees (including bank charges)		19,646.00	(b) Printing of Presidential address of Prof. N. Sinha (Jadavpur Session)	300 00	4,600.00
To Donation from Sir Dorabji Tata Trust		1,000.00	By *Refund of Subscription*		
To Amount received from Local Secretary, Jadavpur University Session, 1974		208.75	(a) Dr. Sulabha Brahma of Gokhale Institute	51.00	
To Received from Prof. Nirmal Sinha		100.00	(b) Dr. (Mrs.) A. J. Syed, Life member	98.00	149 00
To Interest earned on SB A/c. No. 4095 with Syndicate Bank		391.90			
To Misc. receipt		1.25			

Total	30,986.70	By *Hospitality* (Bangladesh delegates of Jadavpur Session, 1974)		651.50
		By *Postage Expenses*		961.75
		By *Local Conveyance* (Secretry's/Treasurer's Office)		222.07
		By *Bank Charges*		199.45
		By *Audit Fee* (Calcutta Office for 1974-75)		200.00
		By *Transfer of Office* (Calcutta Office to Aligarh including expenses at Aligarh)		2,297.50
		By *Misc. Expenses*		362.83
		By *Closing Balances:*		
		(i) Cheques not yet credited	160 00	
		(ii) Cash-in-hand	1,418.23	
		(iii) Cash-at-Bank (as per Bank Certificate)	16,966.50	
				18,544.73
			Total	30,986.70

10, Old Post Office Street,
Calcutta-1.

In terms of our separate report of even date

Sd/- Aniruddha Ray

Dated, December 20th 1976

Sd/- T. K. Ghose & Co.
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE STATEMENT OF THE PERMANENT OFFICE NEW DELHI FROM 1-4-1977 TO 15-12-1977

Income		*Expenditure*	
I. Opening Balance		I. Office Establishment	1546.95
(Received from the Ex-Joint Secretary		II. Office Equipment	70.30
Shri B.R. Grover)		Stationery	223.85
(a) Cash	500.00	Packing Material	38.85
(b) Bank Drafts	4,499.02	Conveyance and Transport	2,414.85
(c) Cheques	3,279.00	Postage and Railway Freight	238.70
(d) Cash in Bank		Bank charges	10.70
(i) Allahabad Bank Patna		Miscellaneous	62.80
(SB A/C)	14.36		
(ii) Allahabad Bank Current A/C	64.85	Total	4,607.00
(e) Amount received from CHR ix.		(i) Cash in hand	1,067.65
5% of the publication Grant	2,850.00	(ii) Cash in Bank	6,362.62
(f) Amount due from IHC Calcutta		(iii) Money to be received from ICHR	
given as loan	4,000.00	towards 5% of the Publication	
(g) Books supplied but money yet		Grant	2,850.00
to be received	3,764.15	(iv) Money receivable from IHC	
		Calcutta given as loan	4,000.00
Total	18,971.38	(v) Cash in Bank, Allahabad Bank,	
		Patna (Savings Account)	14.36

II. Sale of proceedings	3,305.26	(vi)	Cash in Bank, Allahabad Bank, Patna (Current Account)	64.85
		(vii)	Proceedigs supplied but cheques yet to be collected	3,310.15
Grand Total Rs.	22,276.63		Grand Total Rs.	22,276.63

Sd/-
(D. N. Jha)
Joint Secretary and Incharge
PERMANENT OFFICE
INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS
NEW DELHI

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Expected Income till 31-3-1978	Rs. P.	*Fxpected Expenditure till 31-3-1978*	Ss. P.
1. Sale of Proceedings	5,000.00	1. Printing of Proceedings	29,000.00
2. Grants-in-Aid from I.C.H.R.	25,000.00	2. Proof Reading	1,000.00
		3. Office Establishment	640.00
		4. Postage and Railway Freight	350.00
		5. Packing Material	40.00
		6. Stationery	150.00
		7. Audit Fee	200.00
		8. Furniture and Office Equipment	100.00
		9. Conveyance and Transport	1,500.00
		10. Editors	1,000.00
	30,000.00		33,980.00

Sd/-
(D. N. Jha)
Joint Secretary and Incharge
PERMANENT OFFICE
INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS
NEW DELHI

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

BUDGET ESTIMATE FOR THE YEAR 1-4-1978 TO 31-3-1979

	Income	Rs. P.		*Expenditure*	Rs. P.
1.	Sale of Proceedings	20,000.00	1.	Printing of Proceedings 38th Session	30,000.00
2.	Grants-in-Aid for the Publication of Proceedings 38th Session	25,000.00	2.	Establishment	2,500.00
			3.	Conveyance and Transport	4,000.00
			4.	Postage and Railway Freight	1,000.00
			5.	Packing Material	200.00
			6.	Audit Fee	200.00
			7.	Stationery,Pads, etc.	1,500.00
			8.	Furniture and Office Equipment including one Room Cooler for the office	200,00
			9.	Editors	1,000.00
	Total	45,000.00		Total	40,600.00

Sd/-

(D. N. Jha)

Joint Secretary and Incharge

PERMANENT OFFICE

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

NEW DELHI

Mehta Verma & Co.
Chartered Accountants

Phone : 522242
8/4, D.B. Gupta Road,
"Jewan Mansion" Pahar Ganj
New Delhi-110055

M/J/2145/129

December 14, 1976

Auditor's Report

To
The Joint Secretary & Incharge
Permanent Office
Indian History Congress
New Delhi

Dear Sir,

We feel pleasure in enclosing audited Statements of Account for the year ending on 31st March, 1976 of your Association and comment as follows :

A. The net financial position of the association on 31st March 1976 stands as follows :

(a) Cash in hand	303.91
(b) Allahabad Bank, Patna in Saving Account	14.36
(c) Allahabad Bank, Patna, in Current Account	64.85
(d) Loan amount due from I.H.C. Calcutta	4,000.00
(e) United Commercial Bank, New Delhi in Saving Account	8,898.04
	13,281.16
Add :	
(a) Amount receivable from I.C.H.R. as against towards the Publication of 71, 72 & 73 issues	2,250.00
(b) Amount receivable from I.C.H.R. as against towards the publication of 1974 issue	25,000.00
(c) Amount receivable on account of sale of proceedings	7,988.15
	48,519.31
Loss :	
Cheques issued but not yet presented to United Commercial Bank, New Delhi for payment	24,420.38
Net Balance	24,098.93

B. That the balances with Allahabad Bank, Patna, have been shown the same as opening balance.

C. Expenses on conveyance and travelling include local conveyance charges, expenditure on cartage of proceedings and travelling expenses for attending session at Aligarh.

D. An amount of Rs. 7,988.15 is outstanding against the sale of proceedings. The Institution should recover these amounts at the earliest.

In the light of our above observations we report that we have found the annexed statements correct according to the Books of Account produced and information supplied to us. Books of accounts are excellently maintained and to best of our satisfaction.

We are greatly thankful to the office staff of Permanent Office for the assistance and to co-operation extended to us during the course of audit.

Yours faithfully,
For MEHTAVERMA & Co.,
Sd/-
(D. K. MEHT.)
F.C.A.

Mehta Verma & Co
Chartered Accountants

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS : PERMANENT OFFICE

STATEMENT OF RECEIPT AND PAYMENT ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST MARCH. 1976

Receipts	Amount	
To *opening Balance* :		
Cash in hand	303.10	
With Allahabad Bank, Patna in Current A/c.	64.85	
With Allahabad Bank, Patna in Saving A/c.	14.36	
Loan amount due from IHC, Calcutta.	4,000.00	4,382.31
To amount realised on account of sales of proceedings.		8,492.25
To *Grant-in-Aid received*		
From Indian Council of Historical Research		
(a) for symposium	4,750.00	
(b) for publication of Chandigarh proceedings	23,750.00	28,500.00

Payments	Amount
By opening balance with United Commercial Bank, New Delhi. (Temporary overdraft due to over issue of cheques)	16,805.21
By Printing of proceedings for 1973 issue Volume II	23,185 00
By Printing & Stationery	725.86
By Establishment	4,495.00
By Postage	741.75
By Office furniture	339.94
By Miscellaneous expenses	48.37
By Bank Charges	36.95
By Conveyance & Travelling (Inclusion of the amount spent for attending the I.H.C. session at Aligarh (1975))	1,209.35
By Audit Fee	200.00
By Freight & Cartage	25.30

To Interest earned on Savings Bank Account	298.95	By amount paidto IHC, Aligarh Unit for symposium 1975		5,000.00
To Adjustments on account of cheques issued but not yet presented to bankers for payment. (United Commercial bank, New Delhi.)	24,420.38	By *cash & Bank balances*: Cash in hand	303.91	
		With Allahabad bank, Patna in Current A/c	64.85	
		With Allahabad bank, Patna in Saving A/c	14.36	
		Loan amount due from IHC Calcutta	4,000.00	
		With United Commercial bank, New Delhi in saving account (Balance is in reconciliation with bank Account)	8,898.04	13,281.16
Total Rs.	66,093.89	Total Rs.		66,093.89

(B, R. GROVER)
Joint Secretary and Incharge
PERMANENT OFFICE
Indian History Congress
New Delhi.

AUDITORS REPORT
As per our separate report of even date.
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS

Mehta Verma & Co.
Chartered Accountants

STATEMENT OF INCOME & EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDING ON 31ST MARCH. 1976

Expenditure	Amount	Income	Amount	Amount
To Printing of proceedings (1973 issue Volume II)	23,185.00	By Sale of Proceedings (includes a sum of Rs. which is outstanding)	7,988.15	16,480.40
To Stationery & Printing	725.86			
To Postage	741.75			
To Conveyance & Travelling	1,209.35	By Interest earned on Saving bank A/c		298.95
To Freight & Cartage	25.30	By *Grants in aid*		
To Establishment expenses	4,495.00	From Indian Council of Historical Research (amount receiveable for issue 19[illegible]4)	25,000.00	
To Miscellaneous expenses	4[illegible].37	From Indian Council of Historical Research for symposium at Aligarh, 1975	5,000,00	30,000.00
To Audit Fee	200.00			
To Office furniture	36.95			
To symposium expanses paid to local Secretary IHC Aligarh for 1975	5,000.00			
To Excess of Income over expenditure	10,771.83			
Total Rs.	46,779 35	Total Rs.		46,779.35

AUDITORS REPORT

As per our separate report of even date

Sd/-
(B. R. Grover)
JOINT SECRETARY & INCHARGE
PERMANENT OFFICE

Sd/-
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS

8/4, D. B. Gupta Road,
Jeewan Mansion.
Pahargani, New Delhi
14 Dec. 1976

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Comprehensive History of India

A meeting of the Publications Committee of the Comprehensive History of India Scheme was held on 26.12.77 at 5,00 p.m. in the Utkal University, Bhubaneswar.

Members Present:

Professor S Nurul Hasan (in the Chair)
Professor R.S. Sharma
Professor Barun De
Shri B.R. Grover
Dr. M Athar Ali.

1. The minutes of the last meeting of the Publication Committee held at Aligarh, 1975, were confirmed.

2. The audited accounts of the Comprehensive History of India for the period of April 1976—March 1977, were approved and recommended to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress along with the Auditor's Report.

3. The Committee recommended and forwarded to the Executive Committee the Progress Report for 1977 as prepared by the Secretary of the Editorial Board.

In this connection the Committee had the benefit of studying the report of the Committee appointed by the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress at Calicut. The Committee decided to recommend to the Indian History Congress that the report of the Committee be approved (as appended).

4. The Budget Estimates as prepared by Secretary were approved and recommended to the Executive Committee for adoption.

5. The Publication Committee further recommended that it be authorised by the Executive Committee to increase additional expenses, if necessary, upto the extent of Rs. 5,00/-in the item under Remuneration to Contributors to enable the implementation of the recommendattions of the Committee.

6. The accounts from April to November 1977 were approved.

7. Since the Publication Committee could not meet last year for want of quorum, the Committee recommended for approval the following to the Executive Committee:

(a) The audited accounts of the Comprehensive History of India for April 1975-March 1976.

(b) The Budget Estimates for 1976-1977.

8. The payment of Rs. 1,600/-on account of incidental expenses to Dr. RC Majumdar, Editor for Volume III, was approved.

9. The question of appointing an Editor for Volume VIII of the Comprehensive History of India in place of Professor Sri Ram Sharma (deceased) was postponed.

10. The expenditious printing of the Volumes by the publishers was considered. It was decided that the Delhi based members of the Publication Committee may get into touch with the publishers who may be asked to expedite printing

Prof. N. Hasan
December 26, 1977 Chairman

A meeting of the Committee of Professor R.S. Sharma, Dr. Barun De and Dr M Athar Ali appointed by the Indian History Congress at its Calicut session was held on 26.12.1977 at 4.00 p.m. in the Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, to review the programme of the publication of the Volumes planned under Comprehensive History of India Scheme.

The following were present:

1. Professor RS Sharma
2. Dr Barun De
3. Dr M Athar Ali.

1. The Committee felt that it would not be desirable at this stage to modify the Editors' planning of the Chapters for the 12 Volumes.

2. The Committee recommended that where Editor feels that the Chapters of his Volume require revision or re-writing, he may put forward proposals to the Publication Committee for the consideration of the Committee.

3. The Committee further recommended that extra remuneration on account of extra additional work may be paid because in the larger interest of the Scheme and the prestige of the Indian History Congress, it is essential to ensure that the Volumes are brought up-to-date.

26.12.1977 R.S. Sharma
CHAIRMAN

S.K. Dass & Co, 15, Mahatma Gandhi Marg
Chartered Accountants ALLAHABAD

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Comprehensive History of India.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st MARCH, 1977.

Receipts	Amount	Payments	Amount
To Opening Balance as per last account	1.48,885.33	By Salaries	2,410.00
,, Interest received	11,783.25	,, Office Rent	720.00
		,, Postage & Telegrams	255.95
		,, Audit fees	100.00
		,, Contributors Remuneration	385.00
		,, Preparation of Volumes	1,085.25
		,, Miscellaneous Expenses	80.40
		,, Closing Balances:—	
		Fixed deposit	1,27,000.00
		State Bank of India	25,569 92
		Advances to Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi	2,500.00
		Advances to Prof. S. R. Sharma	442.00
		Advances to Dr. Bipan Chand	5.09
		Cash in Hand	114.97
Total : Rs.	1.60,668,58	Total : Rs.	1,60,668.58

AUDITOR'S REPORT

Certified that we have audited the accounts of Indian History Congress (Comprehensive History of India) for the year ending 31-3-77 and further certify that in our opinion the same are correct to the best of out knowledge, information and belief and according to the books paper vouchers etc. produced before us and explanations given to us during the course of our audit.

Dated : 10-8-1977. S.K. Dass
Place : Allahabad. Chartered Accountant

Indian History Congress

COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF INDIA

Progress Report 1977.

I am happy to report that many Volumes have reached the take-off stage, and await the finishing touch by the Editors to be ready for the press. A number of chapters belonging to various Volumes have been received during the year under report, making such Volumes nearly complete. Most of the chapters of Volume IV (post Gupta Period) Volume VII (Mughal Period), Volume VIII (Mughal Period Social and Economic history) and Volume X (1772-1818) have been received. Volume VIII was progressing well and part of it had been edited also, but the sad and untimely demise of Professor Sri Ram Sharma blocked further progress. A new editor has to be appointed to complete the Volume for the press. If a few chapters which had been promised years back had been received in time, Professor Sharma might have edited the whole of it. Despite constant reminders a few scholars have been unable to contribute their share. Volume VI (Sultanate Period. Cultural and Economic History) was replanned last year and every effort is being made to get the chapters from the contributors. The joint editors have offered their full cooperation. Volume I (Pre-Budhist history) has been replanned and work on it is proceeding. So also Volume XII (1858-1947) is making progress though not rapid, Some chapters have been received and effort is being made to get all the chapters within a year. I appeal to the contributors to take interest in the work which they have willingly taken upon themselves.

M/S People's Publishing House Pvt Ltd. New Delhi have been unable to print the three Volumes with them (Vols. III, IX and XI). The Publishers have promised to publish Volume IX by December 1977 and Volume III early in February 1978. But printing of Volume XI has not yet begun. Progress in printing has been extremely disappointing, and reminders have little impact on the printing programme. Some alternative arrangement may have to be made for getting the Volumes published soon. The Publication Committee is seized of the matter.

Volume I : It is still in its first stage and the contributors approached have promised to write the chapters early.

Volume III	:	In the press and will be published within a few months.
Volume IV	:	It is awaiting editing by the Editor concerned. The Editor has also to write two chapters assigned to him.
Volume VI	:	Both Professor K. A. Nizami and Professor B. P. Saksena are making efforts to get the chapters written by the scholars concerned. A few chapters have been received
Volume VII	:	Professor S.Nurul Hasan has been reminded to take up the work of editing and writing two chapters assigned to him. Two more chapters have to be received.
Volume VIII	:	A new editor has to be appointed. Four chapters have yet to be received.
Volume IX	:	To be published by the end of 1977.
Volume X	:	The Editors, Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad and Dr. Bipan Chand are taking necessary steps to start the editing of the Volume. A few chapters have yet to come in.
Volume XI	:	With the press.
Volume XII	:	Scholars concerned are being reminded constantly and a few chapters have been received so far.

Allahabad,
November 10, 1077.

Bisheshwar Prasad
Secretary Editorial Board.

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